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English Reprints.

VOLUME IV

UTOPIA . . . .
SIR THOMAS MORE

THE ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE . . . .
GEORGE PUTTENHAM

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FORREINE TRAVELL . . . .
JAMES HOWELL

ROISTER DOISTER . . . .
NICHOLAS UDALL

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SIR THOMAS MORE.

Utopia.

Originally printed in Latin, 1516.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY

RALPH ROBINSON,

Sometime Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

HIS SECOND AND REVISED EDITION, 1556: PRECEDED BY THE TITLE AND EPISTLE OF HIS FIRST EDITION, 1551.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER.

Associate, King's College, London, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., &c.

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INTRODUCTION.

TOPIA—probably written the ſecond book at Antwerp about November 1515; and the firſt in London in the early part of 1516—was firſt publiſhed abroad. It was printed by Theodore Martin at Louvain, under the editorſhip of Eraſmus, Ægidius, Paludanus and other of More's friends in Flanders, towards the end of 1516.

More then reviſed it, and, through Eraſmus, it was ſent to John Frobenius at Baſle to print. This more ſumptuous and, as regards authorſhip, ſecond edition—probably containing the ſtandard text—bears the date of November 1518. In the meantime however, a friend of Eraſmus, the Engliſhman Thomas Lupſet, brought out a reprint of the firſt edition at Paris, which was printed by Gilles de Gourmont before March 1518; and which is therefore in point of time, the ſecond edition; the Baſle one, being the third; and one at Vienna in 1519, the fourth in order of appearance. All four were in Latin, then the common familiar language of the learned.

By a ſtrange fate, not a ſingle copy of this work, in any language whatſoever, was printed in England in More's lifetime: or indeed prior to theſe Engliſh verſions of Ralph Robinſon. Yet—deſpite its original Latin garb—the work is eſſentially Engliſh, and will ever reckon among the treaſures of our literature.

Without ſome acquaintance with Sir Thomas More's life, one might be apt to aſſume *Utopia* to be entirely his own work, and the perſons named in it to be fictitious. He wrote the letter to Petrus Ægidius, and the two books of Raphael's communication. Eraſmus' letter to Frobenius (not here tranſlated) was printed by him in the Baſle edition of 1518. The following alſo contributed to the earlier Latin editions.

PETRUS ÆGIDIUS, the PETER GILES of this translation, [b. 1490—d. 1555], secretary to the municipality of Antwerp. *Wrote a letter translated at pp.* 163-166.

JOHN CLEMENT [d. 1 July 1572] at the time More's attendant, afterwards Professor of Greek at Oxford. *See p.* 23.

JOHN PALUDANUS, *Cassilitensis* 'an ancient friend' of Erasmus, *p.* 7: contributed to the first edition, a letter and a poem *not translated by Robinson.*

JEROME BUSLEYDEN, latinized BUSLIDIUS [b. 1470—d. 27 Aug. 1517] a rich

generous *diplomate.* Founder of the College *of the three languages* (Latin Greek, Hebrew), at Louvain. He wrote a letter to More, *not translated by Robinson.*

GERARD BRONCHROST, of Nimeguen in Latin NOVIOMAGUS [b. 1494—d. 1570]. Sometime Mathematical Professor at Rostock, wrote a short poem, *see p.* 167.

CORNELIUS SCHRYVER, latinized GRAPHÆUS [b. 1482—d. 19 Dec. 1558] made in 1533 secretary to the municipality of Antwerp, also contributed a short poem, *see p.* 167.

WILLIAM BUDE, latinized BUDEUS or BUDÆUS [b. 1467—d. 23 Aug. 1540] the most learned Frenchman of his time. His letter to Lupset first appeared in the Paris edition of 1518, *not included by Robinson.*

THOMAS LUPSET [b. 1498—d. 27 Dec. 1532] while studying at Paris edits second edition of *Utopia.* Afterwards becomes Lecturer in Rhetoric at Oxford.

Utopia is worthy of multiformed ſtudy. Not only from its reflection of the character, principles, and merry wit of its author; from its propoſed ſolutions of ſuch ſocial problems, as the ſcarcity or overplus of population, the prevention of famines, and the like: but alſo from its reference of the condition of the poor, eſpecially the 'bondmen,' the then dying out 'villenage' of England; from its alluſions to the late, as well as to the preſent Engliſh king; from its ſurvey of Continental politics in 1516: and on other accounts.

The furtheſt diſcovery of Amerigo Veſpucci in his fourth voyage, along the coaſt-line of Brazil, appears to have been Cape Frio. Sir Thomas More apparently refers to Deodati's collection, in ſpeaking of 'thoſe iiii. voyages that be nowe in printe, and abrode in euery mannes handes;' which, in Latin, was firſt publiſhed in 1507, under the title of *Qvattvor Americi Veſpvttii Navagationes.* Near the end of this tract is the following account of what occurred on 3 April, 1504.

Relictus igitur in caſtello præfato Chriſticolis. xxiiij. et cum illis. xij. machinis ac alijs plurimus armis/ vna cum prouiſione pro ſexe menſibus ſufficiente/ . . .

On this paſſage More hangs his whole fiction. This is the carefully concealed ſtarting-point of the imaginary portion of his work. Thence the Portugueſe Hythlodaye wanders to the iſland of 'Nowhere,' which to More's mind was 'beyond the line equinoctial' between Brazil and India. There for five years and more Hythlodaye ſtudied the laws and habits of a community (allowing the very low average of 20 perſons to each of the 6000 houſeholds of the 54 cities) of 6,500,000

perſons; not including their countrey population or outlying 'forreyne towns.' At length, returning home from India in the Portugueſe fleet, Hythlodaye is repreſented as introduced by Peter Ægidius to More in the doorway of Antwerp Cathedral: whence all three adjourn to the garden in Sir Thomas' houſe, where, on a bench 'covered with torues' they, with John Clement, liſten a whole day to the ſtory of Hythlodaye: the contents of the firſt book being recounted before dinner: and thoſe of the ſecond between dinner and ſupper.

Hythlodaye may well ſay 'that this nation tooke their beginninge of the Grekes, bicauſe their ſpeche . . . . kepeth dyuers ſignes and tokens of the greke langage in the names of their cityes, and of theire magiſtrates:'* as, for example, the following:—

English.	Latin.		Greek.
Utopia	Utopia [=Nusquama]		*οὐ, no; τόπος, place.*
Hythlodaye	Hythlodæus	patro-	*ὕθλος* [=nugæ] *nonſenſe.*
Achoriens	Archorii	nymic	*ἄχορος, joyleſs, wretched.*
Macariens	Macarensii	forms of	*μάκαρ, bleſſed, happy.*
Amaurot	Amaurotus		*ἀμαυρός, ſhadowy, unknown.*
Anyder	Anydrus		*ἄνυδρος, waterleſs.*
Phylarch	Phylarchus		*φῦλος αρχή, chief of the tribe.*

There is an eſſential difference of purpoſe in the ſomewhat ſimilar works of Plato and More. In the *Republic*, Plato, in the perſon of Socrates, endeavours 'thoroughly to inveſtigate the real nature of juſtice and injuſtice,' by firſt inveſtigating their character in cities, and afterwards by applying 'the ſame inquiry to the individual, looking for the counterpart of the greater as it exiſts in the form of the leſs.'† More, in the perſon of Hythlodaye, looking round the world, perceives nothing 'but a certein conſpiracy of riche men procuringe theire owne commodities vnder the name and title of the commen wealth.'‡ Plato endeavours to attain to an exact idea of an abſtract vertue: More ſeeks to deviſe a ſyſtem in which the poor ſhall not periſh for lack, nor the rich be idle through excuſe of their riches: in which *every one* is *equally* of the commonwealth, and in which the commonwealth poſſeſs only a common wealth.

* *p* 118. † *The Republic of Plato.* Ed. by J. L. Davies, M.A., and D. J Vaughan, M.A. p 52. 3rd Ed. 1866. ‡ *p.* 159

Circumſtances

connected with the earlier iſſues

of

UTOPIA.

Referred to in *Letters & Papers Foreign & Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII.* Arranged and Catalogued by Rev. J. S. BREWER, M.A. London, 1864.

1515. [Feb. ?] [London?] MORE to ERASMUS. *Letters, &c.* ii. 430.
More's embassy has been successful, but tedious; has been away more than six months. . . . Has formed a close intimacy with Pet. Giles [Ægidius] of Antwerp.

1516. Oct. 31. London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 777.
The *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* is popular everywhere. Is glad that Peter [Ægidius] likes his *Nusquama* [Utopia]. Wishes to hear if Tunstal approves of it, and other judges.

1516. Nov. 12. Louvain. GERARDUS NOVIOMAGUS (of Nimeguen) to ERASMUS. ii. 793.
His friend Theodoricus [Martin] will undertake to print the *Utopia*. Paludanus will show him a cut of the island by a great painter, if Erasmus desire any alterations.

1516. Nov. 18. Brussels. ERASMUS to PETER ÆGIDIUS. ii. 796.
Utopia is in the printer's hands.

1516. [?] Mechlin. JEROME BUSLIDANUS to MORE. ii. 814.
In praise of his *Utopia*.

1516. [?] London. MORE to PETRUS ÆGIDIUS. ii. 896.
Letter. Translated by Robinson at *pp.* 21-26.

[1516. Dec.? The Editio princeps appears. *Libellvs vere avrevs nec minvs salvtaris qvam festiuus, de optimo reip. statu. deque noua Insula Vtopia.* . . . It has no pagination. (1) First comes the picture-chart of the island above referred to; (2) Then the Utopian alphabet, in which A to L are represented by circles or curves; M by a triangle; and N to Y by rectangles or portions thereof: dashes being used in connection with these for further diversity. (3) Then we have Anemolius' Utopian Hekastichon, *see p.* 167; (4) Then Ægidius' letter to Busleyden, *see pp.* 163–166; (5) Then another letter to him, from John Paludanus, who also contributes a poem; neither of which were included in Robinson's translation; (6) Then a poem by Girardus Noviomagus, *De Utopia, see p.* 167; (7) Then the poem of Cornelius Graphæus, *Ad lectorem, see p.* 167; (8) Then Busleyden's letter to Thomas More, (not included in Robinson's translation); (9) Then More's letter to Ægidius, *see pp.* 21-26; (10) Then the Text, in two books.]

1517. [?] MORE to TUNSTALL. ii. 1541.
His last letters were the most delightful he ever received from him, as they spoke so highly of his Republica (*Utopia*). Trusts they were as sincere as candid. . . . . Was afraid, among his many avocations, he would not have time for such trifles, nor could he have done so except out of partiality. Is glad he is pleased with the work, and not less for his candid advice.

1517. Jan. 13. London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 891.
Begs Erasmus will thank Paludanus and Giles [Ægidius].

1517. Feb. 24. Antwerp. ERASMUS to WILLIAM COPE. ii. 953.
Begs him to send for More's *Utopia*, if he has not yet read it, and wishes to see the true source of all political evils. [This proves the publication of the first edition before this date.]

1517. Mar. 1. Antwerp. ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 958.
Sends one letter to Marlianus, who imagined that the first book of *Utopia* was written by Erasmus. . . . . As soon as More has corrected the *Utopia*, Erasmus will send the MS. to Basle or Paris.

1517. Mar. 8. Antwerp. ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 963.
'Send the *Utopia* at your earliest opportunity.' A burgomaster at Antwerp is so pleased with it that he knows it all by heart.

1517. [?] London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 913.
Sent his *Utopia* some time since, and is delighted to hear it will come out in a magnificent form.

1517. July 31. Paris. GULIELMUS BUDÆUS to THOMAS LUPSET. ii. 1124.
Thanks him for a copy of More's *Utopia*. . . . Long commendation of the *Utopia*. [Printed in both editions of 1518.]

1517. Aug. 25. Louvain. ERASMUS to JOHN FROBENIUS. ii. 1147.
Sends . . . *Utopia* for Frobenius to print.

1517. [?] ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 1090.
Has sent More's *Epigrams* and *Utopia* to Basle.

1517. Aug. 28. Antwerp. FRANCIS CHIEREGATO to ERASMUS. ii. 1151.
On his leaving England for Rome, to avoid the sweating sickness, touched at Antwerp and heard that Erasmus was staying with Petrus Ægidius, secretary to the municipality of Antwerp. On calling heard that Erasmus had started the day before for Louvain.

1517. [?] London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 1155.
Is in the clouds with the dream of the government to be offered him by his Utopians; fancies himself a grand potentate, with a crown and a Franciscan cloak *(paludamentum)*, followed by a grand procession of the Amauri. Should it please Heaven to exalt him to this high dignity, where he will be too high to think of common acquaintances, he will still keep a corner in his heart for Erasmus and Tunstall; and should they pay him a visit to Utopia, he will make all his subjects honor them as is befitting the friends of majesty. The morn has dawned and dispelled his dream, and stripped off his royalty, plunging him down into his old mill-round at the Court.

1517. Aug. 31. Louvain. ERASMUS to TUNSTAL. ii. 1154.
Has taken up his abode at Louvain, and is on good terms with the theologians. Is staying with Paludanus, his ancient friend, but wants to find more room for his books.

1517. Sept. 3. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 1157.
Sends his *Utopia (Nusquamam nostram nusquam bene scriptam ad te mitto)*.

1517. Sept. 15. Paris. THOMAS LUPSET to ERASMUS. ii. 1162.
Intends getting a new edition of More's *Utopia* printed.

1517. Dec. 15. London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 1201.
Expects his *Utopia*.

1518. Mar. 5 Louvain. ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 1238.
The printers at Basle excuse their delay in the *Utopia* by reason of the preface added by Budæus. [This is the *third* edition.] Has seen a French edition of the *Utopia*. [Lupset's edition, printed by Gilles de Gourmont at Paris, must therefore rank as the *second* in point of time, but is only a reprint of the Louvain edition of 1516.]

1518. Nov. [Date of the Basle edition, *third* in point of time, *second* as regards authorship. It omits Paludanus' letter and poem of the first edition, and has in addition the above mentioned letters from Erasmus to Frobenius, and from Budé to Lupset. This edition therefore embodying also More's corrections of the previous year, is at once the most complete and most correct published in his lifetime.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Utopia.

* Editions not seen.

For the earliest Latin editions, see *pp.* 6, 7. Space does not permit detailing other Latin, or the French, German, Italian, and Spanish editions that have appeared.

ENGLISH EDITIONS.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

None.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

RALPH ROBINSON'S TRANSLATION.

I. *As a separate publication.*

1 1551. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Earliest translation:* see title at *p.* 11.

2 1556. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Second and revised translation:* see title at *p.* 17.

3 1597. London. 1 vol. 4to. A most pleasant fruitfull and wittie worke, . . of the best state of a publique weale, and of the new Yle called Utopia. And now this third edition, newly corrected and amended.

4 1624. London. 1 vol. 4to. Sir T. More's Utopia . . . Now after many Impressions, newly corrected and purged of all errors hapned in the former edition. Printed by BER. ALSOP: who dedicates it to *Cresacre More*, of *More place* in *North Mimes* in the countie of *Hertford*, Esquire; next in Bloud to Sir *Thomas More*; . . .

5 1639. London. 1 vol. 12mo. The Commonwealth of Utopia. . . . Another edition of No. 4.

14 1808. London. 1 vol. 4to. Utopia . . . With copious Notes, and a Biographical and Literary Introduction. By the Rev. T. F. DIBDIN, F.S.A. A reprint of the text of 1639, No. 5, which is itself a reprint of Alsop's of 1624: collated with Edition of 1551, No. 1.

18 1 Mar. 1869. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints:* see title at *p.* 1.

BP. GILBERT BURNET'S TRANSLATION.

I. *As a separate publication.*

6 1684. London. 1 vol. 8vo. Utopia . . . . translated into English.

7 1737. Dublin. 1 vol. 12mo. Utopia. . . . To this edition is added, a short account of Sir Thomas More's Life and his Trial.

8 1743. Glasgow. 1 vol. 8vo. Utopia or the Happy Republic; a Philosophical Romance, in two books.

9 1751. Oxford. 1 vol. 12mo. Utopia . . . . Revis'd, corrected and greatly improv'd by THOMAS WILLIAMSON.

10 1753. Oxford. 1 vol. 12mo. Utopia . . . The whole revis'd, corrected, and improv'd by A GENTLEMAN OF OXFORD. A reprint of No. 9.

12 *1808. London. 1 vol. 8vo. Utopia or the Best state of a Commonwealth, *Dibdin, clxxix of No.* 14.

16 *1849. London. 1 vol. 12mo. Utopia or the Happy Republic, *London Catalogue.*

17 1850. London. 1 vol. 12mo. *The Phœnix Library*, selected by JOHN MINTER MORGAN. Utopia, or The Happy Republic.

II. *With other works.*

11 1758. London. 1 vol. 8vo. Memoirs of the Life of Sir Thomas More . . . To which is added, his History of Utopia, ... with notes historical and explanatory by F. WARNER, LL.D.

15 1838. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *The Masterpieces of Prose Literature.* Vol. iv. Utopia: or the Happy Republic, with Lord Bacon's *New Atlantis.* With a preliminary discourse by J. A. ST. JOHN, Esqre.

ARTHUR CAYLEY'S (the younger) TRANSLATION.

II. *With other works.*

13 1808. London. 2 vols. 4to. Memoirs of Sir Thomas More, with a new translation of his *Utopia*, his History of King Richard III., and his Latin Poems. *Utopia* occupies ii. 1-145.

The

Life and Travels

of

RAPHAEL HYTHLODAYE.

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* Probable or approximate dates.

Based chiefly—besides the present work—on *Amerigo Vespucci, Son caractère, ses ecrits (même les moins authentiques), sa vie et ses navigations;* by F. A. de Varnhagen, Brazilian Minister to Peru, Chile, and Ecuador, &c. Lima, 1865, fol. See also *The Life and Voyages of Americus Vespucius*, by C. E. Lester and A. Foster. New York, 1846, 8vo.

The same Raphael Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is very well lerned in the Latine tongue: but profounde and excellent in the Greke tongue. . . . . His patrimonye that he was borne vnto, he lefte to his brethern (for he is a Portugal borne). *p.* 29. As concerning my frendes and kynsfolke (quod he) I passe not greatly for them. For I thinke I haue sufficiently doone my parte towardes them already. *p.* 33.

As concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation so wel as yat which I sawe, whiles I trauailed abroade aboute the worlde, vsed in Persia amonge the people that commenly be called the Polylerites [Polyleritæ], *p.* 47.

1494. April. The King of Spain throws open the trade and navigation of the Indies to all ships taking their departure from Cadiz.

*1495. 'There [*i.e.* in England] I taried for the space of. iiii. or .v monethes together, not longe after the insurrection, yat the Westerne Englishe men made agaynst their King.' *p.* 36.

He stays with Cardinal Morton. At *pp.* 37–54, he gives an account of a table-talk, one day while he was in his house.

1497. May 10. The Florentine Amerigo Vespucci [b. 9 Mar. 1451—d. 22 Feb. 1512], in the employ of the King of Spain, leaves Cadiz with 4 ships. This, his first voyage, was chiefly about the Gulf of Mexico. He returns to Cadiz 15 October 1498.

1498. Oct. 15.

1499. May. Vespucci—again in the service of Spain—leaves Cadiz. This voyage, in part with Alonzo de Hojeda and Juan de la Cosa, brought him to the mainland of South America.

Hythlodaye, 'for the desire that he had to see, and knowe the farre Countreyes of the worlde, he ioyned himselfe in company with Amerike Vespuce, and in the. iii. last voyages of those. iii. . . . he continued styl in his company.' *p.* 29.

1500. Sept.

1501. May 14. Vespucci—entering the service of the king of Portugal—leaves Lisbon on his *third* voyage; in which he continues his discoveries along the coast of Brazil. He returns to Lisbon.

1502. Sept. 7.

1503. May [June?] 10. Vespucci—still in the service of the king of Portugal—commands a ship in a squadron of 6 ships, under Gonçalo de Coelho.

Hythloday says, "When I was determyned to entre into my. iiii. voyage, I caste into the shippe in the steade of marchandise a prety fardel of bookes, bycause I intended to come againe rather neuer, than shortly."—*See list at p.* 119.

'Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus caried with him phisick bookes.' *p.* 119.

The squadron crossed the line, and on 10th Aug. saw distinctly on the horizon an island—which can be no other than Fernando de Noronha. The flag-ship, of 300 tons, was wrecked on a rock near the island, but happily the crew were

saved. Vespucci, then 4 leagues from the island, was ordered to find in it a harbour. He missed the island and lost sight of the other ships. After 8 days, however, he saw a sail on the horizon, which on joining proved to be one of them. Both vessels then returned to the island, and found the other three ships gone; anchored, took in wood, &c., and then set out for the appointed *rendezvous* in case of separation; Bahia, discovered in the previous voyage. There they arrived in 18 days; and
1503. Sept., waited for 2 months and 14 days. At length tired of the delay,
Oct. the two commanders determined to explore the coast ahead. Sailing southward, they at length stopped at a port, which,
1503. Nov. (according to Varnhagen), can be no other than Cape Frio. Here they found a quantity of dye-wood (brazil), with which
1504. Mar. they loaded their ships; during a stay of 5 months.

Before returning, they left a little factory of 24 armed men
1504. April 3. in a fortress armed with 12 guns. Then setting out, in 77 days
1504. June 18. reached Lisbon on 18 June 1503; bring the earliest tidings of either themselves or their missing consorts; which on 4 Sept. 1504, Vespucci believed to be all lost. [*Condensed from Varnhagen, pp.* 114, 115.]

Hythlodaye 'gotte the licence of mayster Americke (though it was sore agains this wyll) to be one of the. xxiiii whiche in the ende of the laste voyage were left in the countrye of Gulike.' *p.* 30.

After the departynge of Mayster Vespuce, when he had trauailed through and aboute many Countreyes with. v. of his companions Gulikanes [*i.e.* of the above 24: one of these five was the above named Tricius Apinatus, *p.* 119.] *p.* 30.

*1505-*1510. Yf you had bene with me in Utopia, and had presentlye sene theire fashions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche liued there. v. yeares, and moore, and wolde neuer haue commen thence, but onlye to make that newe lande knowen here. *p.* 69.

Amaurote . . . wherein I liued fiue whole yeares together. *p.* 77.

The ACHORIENS [Achorii], whiche be situate ouer agaynste the Iland of Utopia on the south easte side. *p.* 57.

The MACARIENS [Macarensii] whiche be not farre distaunt from Utopia. *p.* 62.

'The ANEMOLIANES [Anemolii] . . . dwell farre thence, and had verie litle a[c]quaintance with' the Utopians. *p.* 101.

The battell whiche the Utopians fought for the NEPHELOGETES [Nephelogetæ] against the ALAOPOLITANES [Alaopolitæ] a little before oure time . . . The Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them. *pp.* 132, 133.

The ZAPOLETES [Zapoletæ]. This people is. 500. myles from Utopia eastewarde. *p.* 136.

Hythlodaye marries the aunt of Anemolius, the Poet Laureate of Utopia. *p.* 167.

But because among vs foure (for no mo of vs was left aliue, two of our companye beyng dead) there was no priest, . . . at my departure. . . . *p.* 144.

At the last by merueylous chaunce he [Hythlodaye] arriued in Trapobane [Ceylon] from whence he went to Caliquit [Calicut], where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys Countreye shippes, wherein he retourned agayne to his Countreye, nothinge lesse then looked for. *p.* 30.

1515. *Nov. Sir T. More meeting Hythlodaye in the doorway of Antwerp Cathedral, describes him as 'A man well stricken in age, with a blacke sonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast homly about his shoulders, whome, by his fauoure and apparell furthwith I iudged to bee a mariner.' *p.* 29.

1516. Nov. 1. 'Very vncertain newes' (!) subsequently of Hythlodaye. *p.* 165

A fruteful/

and pleasaunt worke of the

beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Utopia: written in Latine by Syr Thomas More knyght, and translated into Englyshe by Raphe Robynson Citizein and Goldsmythe of London, at the procurement, and earnest re= quest of George Tadlowe Citezein and Haberdassher of the same Citie.

(.·.)

¶ Imprinted at London by Abraham Vele, dwelling in Pauls churcheyarde at the sygne of the Lambe. Anno,

1551.

To the right

honourable, and his verie sin guler good maister, maister William Cecylle esquiere, one of the twoo principall secretaries to the kyng his moste excellente maiestie, Raphe Robynson wissheth continuaunce of health, with dayly increase of vertue, and honoure.

Pon a tyme, when tidynges came too the citie of Corinthe that kyng Philippe father to Alexander ſurnamed ye Great, was comming thetherwarde with an armie royall to lay ſiege to the citie: The Corinthians being forth with ſtryken with greate feare, beganne buſilie, and earneſtly to looke aboute them, and to falle to worke of all handes. Some to ſkowre and trymme vp harneis, ſome to carry ſtones, ſome to amende and buylde hygher the walles, ſome to rampiere and fortyfie the bulwarkes, and fortreſſes, ſome one thynge, and ſome an other for the defendinge, and ſtrengthenynge of the citie. The whiche buſie labour, and toyle of theires when Diogenes the phyloſopher ſawe, hauing no profitable buſines whereupon to ſette himſelf on worke (neither any man required his labour, and helpe as expedient for the commen wealth in that neceſſitie) immediatly girded about him his phyloſophicall cloke, and began to rolle, and tumble vp and downe hether and thether vpon the hille ſyde, that lieth adioyninge to the citie, his great barrel or tunne, wherein he dwelled: for other dwellynge place wold

he haue none. This ſeing one of his frendes, and not a litell muſynge therat, came to hym: And I praye the Diogenes (quod he) whie doeſt thou thus, or what meaneſt thou hereby? Forſothe I am tumblyng my tubbe to (quod he) bycauſe it where no reaſon yat I only ſhould be ydell, where ſo many be working. In ſemblable maner, right honorable ſir, though I be, as I am in dede, of muche leſſe habilitie then Diogenes was to do any thinge, that ſhall or may be for the auauncement and commoditie of the publique wealth of my natiue countrey: yet I ſeing euery ſort, and kynde of people in theire vocation, and degree buſilie occupied about the common wealthes affaires: and eſpecially learned men dayly putting forth in writing newe inuentions, and deuiſes to the furtheraunce of the ſame: thought it my bounden duetie to God, and to my countrey ſo to tumble my tubbe, I meane ſo to occupie, and exerciſe meſelf in beſtowing ſuch ſpare houres, as I beinge at ye becke, and commaundement of others, cold conueniently winne to me ſelf: yat though no commoditie of that my labour, and trauaile to the publique weale ſhould ariſe, yet it myght by this appeare, yat myne endeuoire, and good wille hereunto was not lacking. To the accompliſhement therfore, and fulfyllyng of this my mynde, and purpoſe: I toke vpon me to tourne, and tranſlate oute of Latine into oure Engliſhe tonge the frutefull, and profitable boke, which ſir Thomas more knight compiled, and made of the new yle Utopia, conteining and ſetting forth ye beſt ſtate, and fourme of a publique weale: A worke (as it appeareth) written almoſt fourtie yeres ago by the ſaid ſir Thomas More ye authour therof. The whiche man, foraſmuche as he was a man of late tyme, yea almoſt of thies our dayes: and for ye excellent qualities, wherewith the great goodnes of God had plentyfully endowed him, and for ye high place, and rowme, wherunto his prince had moſt graciouſly called him, notably wel knowen, not only among vs his countremen, but alſo in forrein countreis and nations: therfore I

haue not much to ſpeake of him. This only I ſaye: yat it is much to be lamented of al, and not only of vs Engliſh men, yat a man of ſo incomparable witte, of ſo profounde knowlege, of ſo abſolute learning, and of ſo fine eloquence was yet neuertheleſſe ſo much blinded, rather with obſtinacie, then with ignoraunce yat he could not or rather would not ſee the ſhining light of godes holy truthe in certein principal pointes of Christian religion: but did rather cheuſe to perſeuer, and continue in his wilfull and ſtubbourne obſtinacie euen to ye very death. This I ſay is a thing much to be lamented. But letting this matter paſſe, I retourne again to Utopia. Which (as I ſaid befor) is a work not only for ye matter yat it conteineth fruteful and profitable, but alſo for ye writers eloquent latine ſtiele pleaſaunt and delectable. Which he yat readeth in latine, as ye authour himſelf wrote it, perfectly vnderſtanding ye ſame: doubtles he ſhal take great pleaſure, and delite both in ye ſweete eloquence of ye writer, and alſo in ye wittie inuencion, and fine conueiaunce, or diſpoſition of ye matter: but moſt of all in the good, and holſome leſſons, which be there in great plenty, and aboundaunce. But nowe I feare greatly yat in this my ſimple tranſlation through my rudenes and ignoraunce in our engliſh tonge all the grace and pleaſure of ye eloquence, wherwith ye matter in latine is finely ſet forth may ſeme to be vtterly excluded, and loſt: and therfore the frutefulnes of the matter it ſelfe muche peraduenture diminiſhed, and appayred. For who knoweth not whiche knoweth any thyng, that an eloquent ſtyele ſetteth forth and highly commendeth a meane matter? Where as on the other ſide rude, and vnlearned ſpeche defaceth and diſgraceth a very good matter. According as I harde ones a wiſe man ſay: A good tale euel tolde were better vntold, and an euell tale well tolde nedeth none other ſollicitour. This thing I well pondering and wayinge with me ſelf, and alſo knowing, and knowledging the barbarous rudenes of my tranſlation was fully determined neuer

to haue put it forth in printe, had it not bene for certein frendes of myne, and especially one, whom aboue al other I regarded, a man of sage, and discret witte and in wor[l]dly matters by long vse well experienced, whoes name is George Tadlowe: an honest citizein of London, and in the same citie well accepted, and of good reputation: at whoes request, and instaunce I first toke vpon my weake, and feble sholders ye heauie, and weightie bourdein of this great enterprice. This man with diuers other, but this man chiefely (for he was able to do more with me, then many other) after that I had ones rudely brought ye worke to an ende, ceassed not by al meanes possible continualy to assault me, vntil he had at ye laste, what by ye force of his pitthie argumentes and strong reasons, and what by hys authority so persuaded me, that he caused me to agree and consente to the impryntynge herof. He therfore, as the chiefe persuadour, must take vpon him the daunger, whyche vpon this bolde, and rashe enterpryse shall ensue. I, as I suppose, am herin clerely acquytte, and discharged of all blame. Yet, honorable Syr for the better auoyding of enuyous and malycyous tonges, I (knowynge you to be a man, not onlye profoundely learned, and well affected towardes all suche, as eyther canne, or wyll take paynes in ye well bestowing of that poore talente, whyche GOD hath endued them wyth: but also for youre godlye dysposytyon, and vertuous qualytyes not vnworthelye nowe placed in aucthorytye, and called to honoure) am the bolder humblye to offer and dedycate vnto youre good maystershyppe thys my symple woorke. Partly that vnder the sauffe conducte of your protection it may the better be defended from the obloquie of them, which can say well by nothing, that pleaseth not their fond, and corrupt iudgementes, though it be els both frutefull and godly: and partlye that by the meanes of this homely present I may the better renewe, and reuiue (which of late, as you know, I haue already begonne to do) yat old acquayntaunce, that was betwene you and me in

the time of our childhode, being then ſcolefellowes togethers. Not doubting that you for your natiue goodnes, and gentelnes will accept in good parte this poore gift, as an argument, or token, that mine old good wil, and hartye affection towardes you is not by reaſon of long tract of time, and ſeparation of our bodies any thinge at all quayled and diminiſhed, but rather (I aſſuer you) much augmented, and increaſed. This verely is ye chieffe cauſe, yat hath incouraged me to be ſo bolde with youre maiſterſhippe. Els truelye this my poore preſent is of ſuch ſimple and meane ſort, that it is neyther able to recompenſe the leaſt portion of your great gentelnes to me, of my part vndeſerued, both in the time of our olde acquayntance, and alſo now lately again bountifully ſhewed : neither yet fitte, and mete for the very baſenes of it to be offered to one ſo worthy, as you be. But almighty god (who therfore euer be thanked) hath auaunced you to ſuch fortune, and dignity, that you be of hability to accept thankefully aſwell a mans good will as his gift. The ſame god graunte you and all yours long, and ioyfully

to contynue in all godlynes
and proſperytye.

(.·.)

A frutefull

pleasaunt, and wittie worke,
of the beste state of a publique
weale, and of the newe yle, called Uto=
pia: written in Latine, by the right wor=
thie and famous Syr Thomas More
knyght, and translated into Englishe by
Raphe Robynson, sometime fellowe
of Corpus Christi College in Ox=
ford, and nowe by him at this se=
conde edition newlie peru=
sed and corrected, and
also with diuers no=
tes in the margent
augmented.

Imprinted at London, by
Abraham Uele, dwellinge in
Pauls churchyarde, at the signe
of the Lambe.

¶ The translator to the gentle reader.

THou ſhalte vnderſtande gentle reader that thoughe this worke of Utopia in Engliſh, come nowe the ſeconde tyme furth in Print, yet was it neuer my minde nor intente, that it ſhoulde euer haue bene Imprinted at all, as who for no ſuch purpoſe toke vpon me at the firſte the tranſlation thereof: but did it onelye at the requeſt of a frende, for his owne priuate vſe, vpon hope that he wolde haue kept it ſecrete to hym ſelf alone. Whom though I knew to be a man in dede, both very wittie, and alſo ſkilful, yet was I certen, that in the knowledge of the Latin tonge, he was not ſo well ſene, as to be hable to iudge of the finenes or courſenes of my tranſlation. Wherfore I wente the more ſleightlye through with it, propoundynge to my ſelfe therein, rather to pleaſe my ſayde frends iudgemente, then myne owne. To the meaneſſe of whoſe learninge I thoughte it my part to ſubmit, and attemper my ſtile. Lightlie therefore I ouer ran the whole worke, and in ſhort tyme, with more haſt, then good ſpede, I broughte it to an ende. But as the latin prouerbe ſayeth: The haſtye bitche bringeth furth blind whelpes. For when this my worke was finiſhed, the rudenes therof ſhewed it to be done in poſte haſte. How be it, rude and baſe though it were, yet fortune ſo ruled the matter that to Imprintinge it came, and that partly againſt my wyll. Howebeit not beinge hable in this behalfe to reſiſt the pitthie perſuaſions of my frendes, and perceauing therfore none other remedy, but that furth it ſhoulde: I comforted myſelfe for the tyme, only with this notable ſaying of Terence.

Ita vita eſt hominum, quaſi quum ludas teſſeris.
Si illud, quod eſt maxumè opus iactu non cadit:
Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte vt corrigas.

In which verſes the Poete likeneth or compareth the life of man to a diceplaiyng or a game at the tables: Meanynge therein, if that chaunce riſe not, whiche is

moſt for the plaiers aduauntage, that then the chaunce, which fortune hathe ſent, ought ſo connyngly to be played, as may be to the plaier leaſt dammage. By the which worthy ſimilitude ſurely the wittie Poete geueth vs to vnderſtande, that though in any of our actes and doynges, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen to faile and miſſe of our good pretenſed purpoſe, ſo that the ſucceſſe and our intente proue thinges farre odde: yet ſo we ought with wittie circumſpection to handle the matter, that no euyll or incommoditie, as farre furth as may be, and as in vs lieth, do therof enſue. According to the whiche counſell, though I am in dede in compariſon of an experte gameſter and a conning player, but a verye bungler, yet haue I in this by chaunce, that on my ſide vnwares hath fallen, ſo (I ſuppoſe) behaued myſelf, that, as doubtles it might haue bene of me much more conningly handled, had I forethought ſo much, or doubted any ſuch ſequele at the beginninge of my plaie: ſo I am ſuer it had bene much worſe then it is, if I had not in the ende loked ſomwhat earneſtlye to my game. For though this worke came not from me ſo fine, ſo perfecte, and ſo exact yat at firſt, as ſurely for my ſmale lerning, it ſhould haue done, yf I had then ment the publiſhing therof in print: yet I truſt I haue now in this ſeconde edition taken about it ſuch paines, yat verye fewe great faultes and notable errours are in it to be founde. Now therfore, moſt gentle reader, the meaneſſe of this ſimple tranſlation, and the faultes that be therin (as I feare muche there be ſome) I doubt not, but thou wilt, in iuſt conſideration of the premiſſes, gentlye and fauourablye winke at them. So doynge thou ſhalt miniſter vnto me good cauſe to thinke my labour and paynes herein not altogethers beſtowed in vaine.

VALE.

¶ Thomas More to Peter Giles, sendeth gretynge.

I Am almoſte aſhamed, righte welbeloued Peter Giles, to ſend vnto you this boke of ye Utopian commen wealth, welniegh after a yeres ſpace, whiche I am ſure you looked for within a moneth and a halfe. And no marueil. For you knewe well ynough, that I was alreadye diſbourdened of all the laboure and ſtudye belongynge to the inuention in this worke, and that I had no nede at al to trouble my braines about the diſpoſition, or conueiaunce of the matter: and therfore had herein nothing els to do, but only to rehearſe thoſe thinges, whiche you and I togethers hard maiſter Raphael tel and declare. Wherefore there was no cauſe why I ſhuld ſtudy to ſetforth the matter with eloquence: for aſmuch as his talke could not be fine and eloquent, beynge firſte not ſtudied for, but ſuddein and vnpremeditate, and then, as you know, of a man better ſene in the Greke language, then in the latin tonge. And my writynge, the niegher it ſhould approche to his homely plaine, and ſimple ſpeche, ſomuche the niegher ſhuld it go to the trueth: which is the onelye marke, wherunto I do and ought to directe all my trauail and ſtudy herin. I graunte and confeſſe, frende Peter, myſelfe diſcharged of ſo muche laboure, hauinge all theſe thinges ready done to my hande, that almooſte there was nothinge left for me to do. Elles either the inuention, or the diſpoſition of this matter myghte haue required of a witte neither baſe, neither at all vnlearned, both ſome time and leaſure, and alſo ſome ſtudie. But if it were requiſite, and neceſſarie, that the matter

Trueth loueth simplicitie and playnes.

ſhoulde alſo haue bene wrytten eloquentlie, and not alone truelye: of a ſueretie that thynge coulde I haue perfourmed by no tyme nor ſtudye. But now ſeynge all theſe cares, ſtayes, and lettes were taken awaye, wherin elles ſo muche laboure and ſtudye ſhoulde haue bene employed, and that there remayned no other thynge for me to do, but onelye to write playnelie the matter as I hard it ſpoken: that in deede was a thynge lighte and eaſye to be done. Howbeit to the diſpatchynge of thys ſo lytle buſyneſſe, my other cares and troubles did leaue almoſt leſſe, then no leaſure.

The authors bussines and lettes.

Whiles I doo dayelie beſtowe my time aboute lawe matters: ſome to pleade, ſome to heare, ſome as an arbitratoure with myne awarde to determine, ſome as an vmpier or a Iudge, with my ſentence finallye to diſcuſſe. Whiles I go one waye to ſee and viſite my frende: an other waye about myne owne priuat affaires. Whiles I ſpende almoſt al the day abrode emonges other, and the reſidue at home among mine owne; I leaue to my ſelf, I meane to my booke no time For when I am come home, I muſte commen with my wife, chatte with my children, and talke wyth my ſeruauntes. All the whiche thinges I recken and accompte amonge buſineſſe, foraſmuche as they muſte of neceſſitie be done: and done muſte they nedes be, oneleſſe a man wyll be ſtraunger in his owne houſe. And in any wyſe a man muſte ſo faſhyon and order hys conditions, and ſo appoint and diſpoſe him ſelfe, that he be merie, iocunde, and pleaſaunt amonge them, whom eyther nature hathe prouided, or chaunce hath made, or he hym ſelfe hath choſen to be the felowes, and companyons of hys life: ſo that with to muche gentle behauioure and familiaritie, he do not marre them, and by to muche ſufferaunce of his ſeruauntes, make them his mayſters. Emonge theſe thynges now rehearſed, ſtealeth awaye the daye, the moneth, the yeare. When do I write then? And all this while haue I ſpoken no worde of ſlepe, neyther yet of meate, which emong a great number doth waſt no leſſe tyme,

then doeth ſlepe, wherein almoſte halfe the life tyme of man crepeth awaye. I therefore do wynne and get onelye that tyme, whiche I ſteale from ſlepe and meate. Whiche tyme becauſe it is very litle, and yet ſomwhat it is, therfore haue I ones at the laſte, thoughe it be longe firſt, finiſhed Utopia; and haue ſent it to you, frende Peter, to reade and peruſe: to the intente that yf anye thynge haue eſcaped me, you might put me in remembraunce of it. For thoughe in this behalfe I do not greatlye miſtruſte my ſelfe (whiche woulde God I were ſomwhat in wit and learninge, as I am not all of the worſte and dulleſt memorye) yet haue I not ſo great truſte and confidence in it, that I thinke nothinge coulde fall out of my mynde. For Iohn Clement my boye, who as you know was there preſente with vs, whome I ſuffer to be awaye frome no talke, wherein maye be any profyte or goodnes (for oute of this yonge bladed and new ſhotte vp corne, whiche hathe alreadye begon to ſpring vp both in Latin and Greke learnyng, I loke for plentifull increaſe at length of goodly rype grayne) he I ſaye hathe broughte me into a greate doubte. For wheras Hythlodaye (oneleſſe my memorye ſayle me) ſayde that the bridge of Amaurote, whyche goethe ouer the riuer of Anyder is fyue hundreth paſeis, that is to ſaye, halfe a myle in lengthe: my Iohn ſayeth that two hundred of thoſe paſeis muſte be plucked away, for that the ryuer conteyneth there not aboue three hundreth paſeis in breadthe, I praye you hartelye call the matter to youre remembraunce. For yf you agree wyth hym, I alſo wyll ſaye as you ſaye, and confeſſe myſelfe deceaued. But if you cannot remember the thing, then ſurelye I wyll write as I haue done, and as myne owne remembraunce ſerueth me. For as I wyll take good hede, that there be in my booke nothing falſe, so yf there be anye thynge doubtefull, I wyll rather tell a lye, then make a lie: bycauſe I had rather be good, then wilie. Howebeit thys matter maye eaſelye be remedied.

Meate and slepe great wasters of time.

Iohn Clement.

A diuersitie betwene making a lye, and telling a lie.

yf you wyll ake the paynes to aſke the queſtion of Raphael him ſelfe by woorde of mouthe, if he be nowe with you, or elles by youre letters. Whiche you muſte nedes do for an other doubte alſo, that hathe chaunced, throughe whoſe faulte I cannot tel: whether through mine, or yours, or Raphaels. For neyther we remembred to enquire of him, nor he to tel vs in what part of the newe world Utopia is ſituate. The whiche thinge, I had rather haue ſpent no ſmall ſomme of money, then that it ſhould thus haue eſcaped vs: aſwell for that I am aſhamed to be ignoraunt in what ſea that ylande ſtandeth, wherof I write ſo long a treatiſe, as alſo becauſe there be with vs certen men, and eſpeciallie one vertuous and godly man, and a profeſſour of diuinitie, who is excedynge deſierous to go vnto Utopia: not for a vayne and curious deſyre to ſee newes, but to the intente he maye further and increaſe oure religion, whiche is there alreadye luckelye begonne. And that he maye the better accomplyſhe and perfourme this hys good intente, he is mynded to procure that he maye be ſente thether by the hieghe Byſhoppe: yea, and that he himſelfe may be made Biſhoppe of Utopia, beynge nothynge ſcrupulous herein, that he muſte obteyne this Byſhopricke with ſuete. For he counteth that a godly ſuete, which procedeth not of the deſire of honoure or lucre, but onelie of a godlie zeale. Wherfore I moſte earneſtly deſire you, frende Peter, to talke with Hythlodaye, yf you can, face to face, or els to wryte youre letters to hym, and ſo to woorke in thys matter, that in this my booke there maye neyther anye thinge be founde, whyche is vntrue, neyther any thinge be lacking, whiche is true. And I thynke verelye it ſhalbe well done, that you ſhewe vnto him the book it ſelfe. For yf I haue myſſed or fayled in anye poynte, or if anye faulte haue eſcaped me, no man can ſo well correcte and amende it, as he can: and yet that can he not do,

In what parte of the worlde Utopia standeth it is vnknowen.

It is thoughte of some that here is vnfainedly ment the late famous vicare of Croydon in Surrey.

A godly suete.

oneles he perufe, and reade ouer my booke written. Moreouer by this meanes fhall you perceaue, whether he be well wyllynge and content, that I fhoulde vndertake to put this woorke in writyng. For if he be mynded to publyfhe, and put forth his owne laboures, and trauayles himfelfe, perchaunce he woulde be lothe, and fo woulde I alfo, that in publifhynge the Utopiane weale publyque, I fhoulde preuent him, and take frome him the flower and grace of the noueltie of this his hiftorie. Howbeit, to faye the verye trueth, I am not yet fullye determined with my felfe, whether I will put furth my booke or no. For the natures of men be fo diuers, the phantafies of fome fo waywarde, their myndes fo vnkynde, their iudgementes fo corrupte, that they which leade a merie and a iocounde lyfe, folowynge theyr owne fenfuall pleafures and carnall luftes, maye feme to be in a muche better ftate or cafe, then they that vexe and vnquiete themfelues with cares and ftudie for the puttinge forthe and publifhynge of fome thynge, that maye be either profeit or pleafure to others: whiche others neuertheles will difdainfully, fcornefully, and vnkindly accepte the fame. The mooft part of al be vnlearned. And a greate number hathe learning in contempte. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing, but that which is verie barbarous in dede. If it be one that hath a little fmacke of learnynge, he reiecteth as homely geare and commen ware, whatfoeuer is not ftuffed full of olde moughteaten termes, and that be worne out of vfe. Some there be that haue pleafure onelye in olde ruftie antiquities. And fome onelie in their owne doynges. One is fo fowre, fo crabbed, and fo vnpleafaunte, that he can awaye with no myrthe nor fporte. An other is fo narrowe betwene ye fhulders, that he can beare no ieftes nor tauntes. Some feli poore foules be fo afearde that at euerye fnappifhe woorde their nofe fhall be bitten of, that they ftande in no leffe drede of euerye quicke and fharpe woorde, than he that is bitten of a madde dogge feareth water. Some be fo mutable and

The vnkynde iudgementes of men.

wauerynge, that euery houre they be in a newe mynde, ſayinge one thinge ſyttinge, and an other thynge ſtandynge. An other ſorte ſytteth vpon their allebencheis, and there amonge their cuppes they geue iudgement of the wittes of writers, and with greate authoritie they condempne euen as pleaſeth them, euerye writer accordynge to his writinge, in moſte ſpitefull maner mockynge, lowtinge, and flowtinge them; beyng them ſelues in the meane ſeaſon ſauffe, and as ſayeth the prouerbe, oute of all daunger of gonneſhotte. For why, they be ſo ſmugge and ſmothe, that they haue not ſo much as one hearre of an honeſte man, wherby one may take holde of them. There be moreouer ſome ſo vnkynde and vngentle, that thoughe they take great pleaſure, and delectation in the worke, yet for all that, they can not fynde in their hertes to loue the Author therof, nor to aforde him a good woorde: beynge much like vncourteous, vnthankfull, and chourliſh geſtes. Whiche when they haue with good and daintie meates well fylled theire bellyes, departe home, geuyng no thankes to the feaſte maker. Go your wayes now, and make a coſtlye feaſte at youre owne charges for geſtes ſo dayntie mouthed, ſo diuers in taſte, and beſides that of ſo vnkynde and vnthankfull natures. But neuertheles (frende Peter) doo, I pray you, with Hithloday, as I willed you before. And as for this matter I ſhall be at my libertie, afterwardes to take newe aduiſement. Howbeit, ſeeyng I haue taken great paynes and laboure in writyng the matter, if it may ſtande with his mynde and pleaſure, I wyll as touchyng the edition or publiſhyng of the booke, followe the counſell and aduiſe of my frendes, and ſpeciallye yours. Thus fare you well right hertely beloued frende Peter, with your gentle wife: and loue me as you haue euer done, for I loue you better then euer I dyd.

A fitte Similitude.

¶ The first

Booke of the communication of Raphael Mythloday, concernyng the best state of a commen welth.

THe moſte victorious and triumphant Kyng of Englande Henrye the eyght of that name, in al roial vertues, a Prince moſt pereleſſe, hadde of late in controuerſie with Charles, the right highe and mightye Kyng of Caſtell, weighty matters, and of great importaunce. For the debatement and final determination wherof, the kinges Maieſty ſent me Ambaſſadour into Flaunders, ioyned in Commiſſion with Cuthbert Tunſtall, a man doutleſſe out of compariſon, and whom the Kynges Maieſtie of late, to the great reioyſynge of all men, dyd preferre to the office of Maiſter of the Rolles.

Cuthbert Tunstall.

But of this mannes prayſes I wyll ſaye nothyng, not bicauſe I doo feare that ſmall credence ſhalbe geuen to the teſtimonye that cometh out of a frendes mouthe: but bicauſe his vertue and lernyng be greater, and of more excellency, then that I am able to praiſe them: and alſo in all places ſo famous and ſo perfectly well knowne, that they neede not, nor oughte not of me to bee prayſed, vnleſſe I woulde ſeeme to ſhew, and ſetſurth the brightnes of the ſonne with a candell, as the Prouerbe ſaieth. There mette vs at Bruges (for thus it was before agreed) thei whom their Prince hadde for that matter appoynted Commiſſioners: excellent men

all. The chiefe and the head of theym was the Maregraue (as thei call him) of Bruges, a right honorable man: but the wiſeſt and the beſt ſpoken of them was George Temſice, prouoſt of Caſſelſes, a man, not only by lernyng, but alſo by nature of ſingular eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned: but in reaſonynge, and debatyng of matters what by his naturall witte, and what by daily exerciſe, ſurely he hadde few fellowes. After that we had once or twiſe mette, and vpon certayne poyntes or articles coulde not fully and throughly agree, they for a certayne ſpace tooke their leaue of vs, and departed to Bruxelle, there to know their Princes pleaſure. I in the meane time (for ſo my buſines laye) wente ſtreighte thence to Antwerpe. Whiles I was there abidynge, often times amonge other, but whiche to me was more welcome then annye other, dyd viſite me one Peter Giles, a Citiſen of Antwerpe, a man there in his countrey of honeſt reputation, and alſo preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the hygheſt. For it is hard to ſay, whether the yong man be in learnyng, or in honeſtye more excellent. For he is bothe of wonderfull vertuous conditions, and alſo ſingularly wel learned, and towardes all ſortes of people excedyng gentyll: But towardes his frendes ſo kynde herted, ſo louyng, ſo faithfull, ſo truſtye, and of ſo earneſt affection, that it were verye harde in any place to fynde a man, that with him in all poyntes of frendſhippe maye be compared. No man can be more lowlye or courteous. No man vſeth leſſe ſimulation or diſſimulation, in no man is more prudent ſimplicitie. Beſides this, he is in his talke and communication ſo merye and pleaſaunte, yea and that withoute harme, that throughe his gentyll intertaynement, and his ſweete and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated, and diminiſhed the feruente deſyre, that I had to ſee my natiue countrey, my wyfe and my chyldren, whom then I dyd muche longe and couete to ſee, becauſe that at that time I had been more then. iiii. Monethes from them. Vpon a certayne daye when I

Peter Gyles.

hadde herde the diuine ſeruice in our Ladies Churche, which is the fayreſt, the moſt gorgeous and curious Churche of buyldyng in all the Citie, and alſo moſt frequented of people, and the ſeruice beynge doone, was readye to go home to my lodgynge, I chaunced to espye this foreſayde Peter talkynge with a certayne Straunger, a man well ſtricken in age, with a blacke ſonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke caſt homly about his ſhoulders, whome, by his fauoure and apparell ſurthwith I iudged to bee a mariner. But the ſayde Peter ſeyng me, came vnto me, and ſaluted me.

And as I was aboute to anſwere him: ſee you this man, ſayth he (and therewith he poynted to the man, that I ſawe hym talkynge with before) I was mynded, quod he, to brynge him ſtrayghte home to you.

He ſhould haue ben very welcome to me, ſayd I, for your ſake.

Nay (quod he) for his owne ſake, if you knewe him: for there is no man thys day liuyng, that can tell you of ſo manye ſtraunge and vnknowen peoples, and Countreyes, as this man can. And I know wel that you be very deſirous to heare of ſuche newes.

Then I coniectured not farre a miſſe (quod I) for euen at the firſt ſyght, I iudged him to be a mariner.

Naye (quod he) there ye were greatly deceyued: he hath ſailed in deede, not as the mariner Palinure, but as the experte and prudent prince Vliſſes: Yea, rather as the auncient and ſage Philoſopher Plato. For this ſame Raphaell Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is very well lerned in the Latine tongue: but profounde and excellent in the Greke language. Wherin he euer beſtowed more ſtudye then in the Latine, bycauſe he had geuen himſelfe wholy to the ſtudy of Philoſophy. Wherof he knew that ther is nothyng extante in Latine, that is to anye purpoſe, ſauynge a fewe of Senecaes, and Ciceroes dooynges. His patrimonye that he was borne vnto, he lefte to his brethern (for he is a Portugall borne) and for the deſire that he had to ſee, and knowe the farre Countreyes of the worlde, he ioyned

Raphaell Hithlodaye

himſelfe in company with Amerike Veſpuce, and in the. iii. laſt voyages of thoſe. iiii. that be nowe in printe, and abrode in euery mannes handes, he continued ſtyll in his company, ſauyng that in the laſt voyage he came not home agayne with him. For he made ſuche meanes and ſhift, what by intretaunce, and what by importune ſute, that he gotte licence of mayſter Americke (though it were ſore againſt his wyll) to be one of the. xxiiii whiche in the ende of the laſt voyage were left in the countrey of Gulike. He was therefore lefte behynde for hys mynde ſake, as one that tooke more thoughte and care for trauailyng, then dyenge: hauyng cuſtomably in his mouth theſe ſaiynges. He that hathe no graue, is couered with the ſkye: and, the way to heauen out of all places is of like length and diſtaunce. Which fantaſy of his. (if God had not ben his better frende) he had ſurely bought full deare. But after the departynge of Mayſter Veſpuce, when he had trauailed thorough and aboute many Countreyes with. v. of his companions Gulikianes, at the laſt by merueylous chaunce he arriued in Taprobane, from whence he went to Caliquit, where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys Countreye ſhippes, wherein he retourned agayne into his Countreye, nothynge leſſe then looked for.

All this when Peter hadde tolde me: I thanked him for his gentle kindneſſe, that he had vouchſafed to brynge me to the ſpeache of that man, whoſe communication: he thoughte ſhoulde be to me pleaſaunte, and acceptable. And therewith I tourned me to Raphaell. And when wee hadde haylſed eche other: and had ſpoken theſe commune woordes, that bee cuſtomablye ſpoken at the firſt meting, and acquaintaunce of ſtraungers, we went thence to my houſe, and there in my gardaine vpon a bench couered with greene torues, we ſatte downe talkyng together. There he tolde vs, how that after the departyng of Veſpuce, he and his fellowes that taried behynde in Gulicke, began by litle and litle, throughe fayre and gentle ſpeache, to wynne the loue and fauoure of the people of that countreye, inſomuche

that within ſhorte ſpace, they dyd dwell amonges them, not only harmleſſe, but alſo occupiyng with them verye familiarly. He tolde vs alſo, that they were in high reputation and fauour with a certayne great man (whoſe name and Countreye is nowe quite out of my remembraunce) which of his mere liberalitie dyd beare the coſtes and charges of him and his fyue companions. And beſides that gaue theim a truſtye guyde to conducte them in their iourney (which by water was in botes, and by land in wagons) and to brynge theim to other Princes with verye frendlye commendations. Thus after manye dayes iourneys, he ſayd, they founde townes, and Cities, and weale publiques, full of people, gouerned by good and holſome lawes. For vnder the line equinoctiall, and on bothe ſydes of the ſame, as farre as the Sonne doth extende his courſe, lyeth (quod he) great, and wyde deſertes and wilderneſſes, parched, burned, and dryed vp with continuall and intollerable heate. All thynges bee hideous, terrible, lotheſome, and vnpleaſaunt to beholde: All thynges out of faſſyon, and comelineſſe, inhabited withe wylde Beaſtes, and Serpentes, or at the leaſte wyſe, with people, that be no leſſe ſauage, wylde, and noyſome, then the verye beaſtes theim ſelues be. But a little farther beyonde that, all thynges beginne by litle and lytle to waxe pleaſaunte. The ayre ſofte, temperate and, gentle. The grounde couered with grene graſſe. Leſſe wildneſſe in the beaſtes. At the laſt ſhall ye come agayne to people, cities and townes wherein is continuall entercourſe and occupiyng of merchaundiſe and chaffare, not only among themſelues, and with theire Borderers, but alſo with Merchauntes of farre Countreyes, bothe by lande and water. There I had occaſion (ſayd he) to go to many countreyes on euery ſyde. For there was no ſhippe ready to any voyage or iourney, but I and my fellowes were into it very gladly receyued. Shippes of straunge fassions The ſhippes that thei founde firſt were made playn, flatte, and broade in the botome, trough wiſe. The ſayles were made of great ruſſhes, or of

wickers, and in ſome places of lether. Afterwarde thei founde ſhippes with ridged kyeles: and ſayles of canuaſſe, yea, and ſhortly after hauyng all thynges lyke oures. The ſhipmen alſo very experte and cunnynge, bothe in the ſea, and in the wether. But he ſaide, that he founde great fauoure and frendſhip amonge them, for teachynge them the feate and the vſe of the lode ſtone. Whiche to them before that time was vnknowne. And therfore they were wonte to be verye timerous and fearfull vpon the ſea: Nor to venter vpon it, but only in the ſomer time. But nowe they haue ſuche a confidence in that ſtone, that they feare not ſtormy winter: in ſo dooynge farther from care then daunger, In ſo muche, that it is greatly to be doubted, leſt that thyng, throughe their owne foliſh hardineſſe, ſhall tourne them to euyll and harme, which at the firſt was ſuppoſed ſhoulde be to them good and commodious.

The lode stone.

But what he tolde vs that he ſawe in euerye countreye where he came, it were very longe to declare. Neither it is my purpoſe at this time to make reherſall therof. But peraduenture in an other place I wyll ſpeake of it, chiefly ſuche thynges as ſhall be profitable too bee knowen, as in ſpeciall be thoſe decrees and ordinaunces, that he marked to be well and wittely prouided and enacted amonge ſuche peoples, as do liue together in a ciuile policye, and good ordre. For of ſuche thynges dyd wee buſelye enquire, and demaunde of him, and he likewiſe very willingly tolde vs of the ſame. But as for monſters, bycauſe they be no newes, of them we were nothyng inquiſitiue. For nothyng is more eaſye to bee founde. then bee barkynge Scyllaes, rauenyng Celenes, and Leſtrigones deuourers of people, and ſuche lyke great, and incredible monſters. But to fynde Citiſens ruled by good and holſome lawes, that is an exceding rare, and harde thyng. But as he marked many fonde, and foliſſhe lawes in thoſe newe founde landes, ſo he reherſed diuers actes, and conſtitutions, whereby theſe oure Cities, Nations, Countreis,

and Kyngdomes may take example to amende their faultes, enormities and errours. Wherof in another place (as I ſayde) I wyll intreate.

Now at this time I am determined to reherſe onely that he tolde vs of the maners, cuſtomes, lawes, and ordinaunces of the Utopians. But firſt I wyll repete oure former communication by th[e] occaſion, and (as I might ſaye) the drifte wherof, he was brought into the mention of that weale publique.

For, when Raphael had very prudentlye touched diuers thynges, that be amiſſe, ſome here, and ſome there, yea, very many on bothe partes, and againe had ſpoken of ſuche wiſe lawes, and prudente decrees, as be eſtabliſhed, and vſed, bothe here amonge vs, and alſo there amonge theym, as a man ſo perfecte, and experte in the lawes, and cuſtomes of euery ſeuerall Countrey, as though into what place ſoeuer he came geaſtwiſe, there he had ledde al his life: then Peter muche meruailynge at the man: Surely maiſter Raphael (quod he) I wondre greatly, why you gette you not into ſome kinges courte. For I am ſure, there is no Prince liuyng, that wold not be very glad of you, as a man not only hable highly to delite him with your profounde learnyng, and this your knowlege of countreis, and peoples, but alſo mete to inſtructe him with examples, and helpe him with counſell. And thus doyng, you ſhall bryng your ſelfe in a verye good caſe, and alſo be of habilitie to helpe all your frendes and kinffolke.

As concernyng my frendes and kynffolke (quod he) I paſſe not greatly for them. For I thinke I haue ſufficiently doone my parte towardes them already. For theſe thynges, that other men doo not departe from, vntyl they be olde and ſycke, yea, whiche they be then verye lothe to leaue, when they canne no longer keepe, thoſe very ſame thynges dyd I beyng not only luſtye, and in good helth, but alſo in the floure of my youth, diuide among my frendes and kynffolkes. Which I thynke with this my liberalitie ought to holde them contented, and not to requite nor to ioke that beſydes this, I ſhoulde

for their ſakes geue myſelfe in bondage vnto Kinges.

Nay, God forbyd that (quod Peter) it is notte my mynde that you ſhoulde be in bondage to Kynges, but as a retainour to them at your pleaſure. Whiche ſurely I thinke is the nigheſt waye that you can deuiſe howe to beſtowe your time frutefully, not onlye for the priuate commoditie of your frendes, and for the generall profite of all ſortes of people, but alſo for th[e] aduauncement of your ſelf to a much welthier ſtate, and condition, then you be nowe in.

To a welthier condition (quod Raphael) by that meanes, that my mynde ſtandeth cleane agaynſt? Now I lyue at libertie after myne owne mynde and pleaſure, whiche I thynke verye fewe of theſe great ſtates, and pieres of realmes can ſaye. Yea, and there be ynow of them that ſue for great mens frendeſhippes: and therfore thinke it no great hurte, if they haue not me, nor. iii. or. iiii. ſuche other as I am.

Well, I perceiue playnly frende Raphael (quod I) that you be deſirous neither of richeſſe, nor of power. And truly I haue in no leſſe reuerence and eſtimation a man of your mynde, then anye of theim all that bee ſo high in power and authoritie. But you ſhall doo as it becometh you: yea, and accordyng to this wiſdome, to this high and free courage of yours, if you can finde in your herte ſo to appoynt and diſpoſe your ſelfe, that you mai applye your witte and diligence to the profite of the weale publique, thoughe it be ſomewhat to youre owne payne and hyndraunce. And this ſhall you neuer ſo wel doe, nor wyth ſo greate proffitte perfourme, as yf you be of ſome greate princes counſel, and put into his heade (as I doubte not but you wyl) honeſte opinions, and vertuous perſuaſions. For from the prince, as from a perpetual wel ſprynge, commethe amonge the people the floode of al that is good or euell. But in you is ſo perfitte lernynge, that wythoute anye experience, and agayne ſo greate experience, that wythoute anye lernynge you maye well be any kinges counſellour.

You be twyſe deceaued maiſter More (quod he) fyrſte in me, and agayne in the thinge it ſelfe. For neither is in

me the habilitye that you force vpon me, and yf it wer neuer ſo much, yet in diſquieting myne owne quietnes I ſhould nothing further the weale publique. For firſt of all, the moſte parte of all princes haue more delyte in warlike matters, and feates of chiualrie (ye knowlege wherof I neither haue nor deſire) than in the good feates of peace: and employe muche more ſtudy, how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, than howe wel, and peaceablie to rule, and gouerne that they haue alredie. Moreouer, they that be counſellours to kinges, euery one of them eyther is of him ſelfe ſo wiſe in dede, that he nedeth not, or elles he thinketh himſelf ſo wiſe, yat he wil not allowe an other mans counſel, ſauing that they do ſhamefully, and flatteringly geue aſſent to the fond and foliſhe ſayinges of certeyn great men. Whoſe fauours, bicauſe they be in high authoritie with their prince, by aſſentation and flatterie they labour to obteyne. And verily it is naturally geuen to all men to eſteme their owne inuentions beſt. So both the Rauen and the Ape thincke their owne yonge ones faireſt. Than if a man in ſuch a company, where ſome diſdayne and haue deſpite at other mens inuentions, and ſome counte their owne beſt, if among ſuche menne (I ſay) a man ſhould bringe furth any thinge, that he hath redde done in tymes paſte, or that he hath ſene done in other places: there the hearers, fare as though the whole exiſtimation of their wiſdome were in ieoperdye to be ouerthrowen, and that euer after thei ſhoulde be counted for verye diſerdes, vnles they could in other mens inuentions pycke out matter to reprehend, and find fault at.

Triptakers.

If all other poore helpes fayle: then this is their extreame refuge. Theſe thinges (ſay they) pleaſed our forefathers and aunceſtours: wolde God we coulde be ſo wiſe as thei were: and as though thei had wittely concluded the matter, and with this anſwere ſtopped euery mans mouth, thei ſitte downe againe. As who ſhould ſai, it were a very daungerous matter, if a man in any pointe ſhould be founde wiſer, then his forefathers were. And yet bee we content to ſuffre the

beſt and wittieſt of their decrees to lye vnexecuted: but if in any thing a better ordre might haue ben taken, then by them was, there we take faſt hold, findyng therin many faultes. Manye tymes haue I chaunced vpon ſuch proude, leude, ouerthwarte, and wayward eiudgementes, yea, and once in England:

Parcial iudgementes.

I prai you Syr (quod I) haue you ben in our countrey?

Yea forſoth (quod he) and there I taried for the ſpace of. iiii. or. v. monethes together, not longe after the inſurrection, yat the Weſterne Engliſh men made agaynſt their Kyng, which by their owne miſerable and pitiful ſlaughter was ſuppreſſed and ended. In the meane ſeaſon I was muche bounde and beholdynge to the righte reuerende father, Ihon Morton, Archebiſhop and Cardinal of Canterbury, and at that time alſo lorde Chauncelloure of Englande: a man Mayſter Peter (for Mayſter More knoweth already that I wyll ſaye) not more honorable for his authoritie, then for his prudence and vertue. He was of a meane ſtature, and though ſtricken in age, yet bare he his bodye vpright. In his face did ſhine ſuch an amiable reuerence, as was pleaſaunte to beholde, Gentill in communication, yet earneſt, and ſage. He had great delite manye times with roughe ſpeache to his ſewters, to proue, but withoute harme, what prompte witte, and what bolde ſpirite were in euery man. In the which as in a vertue much agreinge with his nature, ſo that therewith were not ioyned impudency, he toke greate delectatyon. And the ſame perſon, as apte and mete to haue an adminiſtratyon in the weale publique, he dyd louingly embrace. In his ſpeche he was fyne, eloquent, and pytthye. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge, in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellente. Theſe qualityes, which in hym were by nature ſingular, he by learnynge and vſe had made perfecte. The Kynge put muche truſte in his counſel, the weale publyque alſo in a maner leaned vnto hym, when I was there. For euen in the chieſe of his youth he was taken from ſchole into the Courte, and there paſſed

Cardinall Morton.

all his tyme in much trouble and bufines, beyng continually tumbled and toffed in the waues of dyuers mysfortunes and aduerfities. And fo by many and greate daungers he lerned the experience of the worlde, whiche fo beinge learned can not eafely be forgotten. It chaunced on a certayne daye, when I fate at his table, there was alfo a certayne laye man cunnynge in the lawes of youre Realme. Who, I can not tell wherof takynge occafion, began diligently and earneftly to prayfe that ftrayte and rygorous iuftice, which at that tyme was there executed vpon fellones, who as he fayde, were for the moft parte. xx. hanged together vpon one gallowes. And, feyng fo fewe efcaped punyfhement, he fayde he coulde not chufe, but greatly wonder and maruel, howe and by what euil lucke it fhold fo come to paffe, that theues neuertheles were in euery place fo ryffe and fo rancke. Naye Syr quod I (for I durft boldely fpeake my minde before the Cardinal) maruel nothinge here at: for this punyfhment of theues paffeth the limites of Iuftice, and is alfo very hurtefull to the weale publique. For it is to extreame and cruel a punifhment for thefte, and yet not fufficient to refrayne and withhold men from thefte. For fimple thefte is not fo great an offenfe, that it owght to be punifhed with death Neither ther is any punifhment fo horrible, that it can kepe them from ftealynge, which haue no other craft, wherby to get their liuing. Therfore in this poynte, not you onlye, but alfo the moft part of the world, be like euyll fcholemaifters, which be readyer to beate, then to teache, their fcholers. For great and horrible punifhmentes be appointed for theues. whereas much rather prouifion fhould haue ben made, that there were fome meanes, whereby they myght get their liuyng, fo that no man fhoulde be dryuen to this extreme necesfitie. firfte to fteale, and then to dye. Yes (quod he) this matter is wel ynough prouided for already. There be handy craftes, there is hufbandrye to gette their liuynge by, if they would not willingly be nought.

Of lawes not made according to equitie.

By what meanes ther might be fewer theues and robbers.

Nay, quod I, you ſhall not ſkape ſo: for firſt of all, I wyll ſpeake nothynge of them, that come home oute of the warres, maymed and lame, as not longe a go, oute of Blacke heath fielde, and a litell before that, out of the warres in Fraunce: ſuche, I ſaye, as put their liues in ieoperdye for the weale publiques or the kynges ſake, and by reaſon of weakeneſſe and lameneſſe be not hable to occupye their olde craftes, and be to aged to 'erne new: of them I wyll ſpeake nothing, foraſmuch as warres haue their ordinarie recourſe. But let vs conſidre thoſe thinges that chaunce daily before our eyes. Firſt there is a great numbre of gentlemen, which can not be content to liue idle themſelfes, lyke dorres, of yat whiche other haue laboured for: their tenauntes I meane, whom they polle and ſhaue to the quicke, by reiſyng their rentes (for this onlye poynte of frugalitie do they vſe, men els through their lauaſſe and prodigall ſpendynge, hable to brynge theymſelfes to verye beggerye) theſe gentlemen, I ſay, do not only liue in idleneſſe themſelfes, but alſo carrye about with them at their tailes a great flocke or traine of idle and loyterynge ſeruyngmen, which neuer learned any craft wherby to gette their liuynges. Theſe men as ſone as their mayſter is dead, or be ſicke themſelfes, be incontinent thruſt out of dores. For gentlemen hadde rather keepe idle perſones, then ſicke men, and many times the dead mans heyre is not hable to mainteine ſo great a houſe, and kepe ſo many ſeruing men as his father dyd. Then in the meane ſeaſon they that be thus deſtitute of ſeruice, either ſtarue for honger, or manfullye playe the theues. For what would you haue them to do? When they haue wandred abrode ſo longe, vntyl they haue worne threde bare their apparell, and alſo appaired their helth, then gentlemen becauſe of their pale and ſickely faces, and patched cotes, wil not take them into ſeruice. And huſbandmen dare not ſet them a worke: Knowynge wel ynoughe that he is nothing mete to doe trewe and

Idlenesse the mother of theues.

Landlordes by the wai checked for Rent-raisyng.

Of Idle seruyng men come theues.

ſaythful ſeruice to a poore man wyth a ſpade and a mattoke for ſmall wages and hard fare, whyche beynge deyntely and tenderly pampered vp in ydilnes and pleaſure, was wont with a ſworde and a buckler by hys ſyde to iette through the ſtrete with a bragginge loke, and to thynke hym ſelfe to good to be anye mans mate. Naye by ſaynt Mary ſir (quod the lawier) not ſo. For this kinde of men muſte we make moſte of. For in them as men of ſtowter ſtomackes, bolder ſpirites, and manlyer courages then handycraftes men and plowemen be, doth conſiſte the whole powre, ſtrength, and puiſſaunce of oure army, when we muſte fight in battayle. Forſothe ſir aſwell you myghte ſaye (quod I) yat for warres ſake you muſte cheryſhe theues. For ſuerly you ſhall neuer lacke theues, whyles you haue them. No nor theues be not the moſt falſe and ſaynt harted ſoldiers, nor ſouldiours be not the cowardleſte theues: ſo wel thees. ii. craftes agree together. But this faulte, though it be much vſed amonge you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but commen alſo almoſte to all nations. Yet Fraunce beſides this is troubled and infected with a much ſorer plage. The whole royalme is fylled and beſieged with hiered ſouldiours in peace tyme (yf that bee peace) whyche be brought in vnder the ſame colour and pretenſe, that hath perſuaded you to kepe theſe ydell ſeruynge men. For thies wyſefooles and verye archedoltes thought the wealthe of the whole countrey herin to conſiſt, if there were euer in a redineſſe a ſtronge and ſure garriſon, ſpecially of old practiſed ſouldiours, for they put no truſt at all in men vnexerciſed. And therfore they muſt be forced to ſeke for warre, to the ende thei may euer haue practiſed ſouldiours, and cunnyng manſleiers, leſt that (as it is pretely ſayde of Saluſt) their handes and their mindes through idlenes or lacke of exerciſe, ſhould waxe dul. But howe pernitious and peſtilenet a thyng it is to maintayne ſuche beaſtes, the Frenche men, by their owne harmes haue learned, and the examples of the Romaynes, Carthaginiens, Syriens, and of man-

Betwene soldiers and theues smal diversitie.

ye other countreyes doo manifeſtly declare. For not onlye the Empire, but alſo the fieldes and Cities of all theſe, by diuers occaſions haue been ouerrunned and deſtroyed of their owne armies before hande had in a redineſſe. Now how vnneceſſary a thinge this is, hereby it maye appeare: that the Frenche ſouldiours, which from their youth haue ben practiſed and inured in feates of armes, do not cracke nor aduaunce themſelfes to haue very often gotte the vpper hand and maiſtry of your new made and vnpractiſed ſouldiours. But in this poynte I wyll not vſe many woordes, leſte perchaunce I maye ſeeme to flatter you. No nor thoſe ſame handy crafte men of yours in Cities, nor yet the rude and vplandiſh plowmen of the countreye, are not ſuppoſed to be greatly affrayde of your gentlemens idle ſeruyngmen, vnleſſe it be ſuche as be not of body or ſtature correſpondent to their ſtrength and courage, orels whoſe bolde ſtomakes be diſcouraged throughe pouertie. Thus you may ſee, that it is not to be feared leſt they ſhoulde be effeminated, if thei were brought vp in good craftes and labourſome woorkes, whereby to gette their liuynges, whoſe ſtoute and ſturdye bodyes (for gentlemen vouchſafe to corrupte and ſpill none but picked and choſen men) now either by reaſon of reſt and idleneſſe be brought to weakeneſſe: orels by eaſy and womanly exerciſes be made feble, and vnhable to endure hardneſſe. Truly howe ſo euer the caſe ſtandeth, thys me thinketh is nothing auayeable to the weale publique, for warre ſake, which you neuer haue, but when you wyl your ſelfes, to keepe and mainteyn an vnnumerable flocke of that ſort of men, that be ſo troubleſome and noyous in peace. Wherof you ought to haue a thowſand times more regarde, then of warre. But yet this is not only the neceſſary cauſe of ſtealing. There is an other, whych, as I ſuppoſe, is p[ro]per and peculiar to you Engliſhmen alone. What is that, quod the Cardinal? forſoth my lorde (quod I) your ſhepe that were wont to be ſo meke and tame, and

What inconueniences cometh by continuall garisons of souldiours.

ſo ſmal eaters, now, as I heare ſaye, be become ſo great deuowerers and ſo wylde, that they eate vp, and ſwallow downe the very men them ſelfes. They conſume, deſtroye, and deuoure whole fieldes, howſes, and cities. For looke in what partes of the realme doth growe the fyneſt, and therfore deareſt woll, there noble men, and gentlemen: yea and certeyn Abbottes, holy men no doubt, not contenting them ſelfes with the yearely reuenues and profytes, that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predeceſſours of their landes, nor beynge content that they liue in reſt and pleaſure nothinge profiting, yea much noyinge the weale publique: leaue no grounde for tillage, thei incloſe al into paſtures: thei throw doune houſes: they plucke downe townes, and leaue nothing ſtandynge, but only the churche to be made a ſhepehowſe. And as thoughe you loſte no ſmall quantity of grounde by foreſtes, chaſes, laundes, and parkes, thoſe good holy men turne all dwellinge places and all glebeland into deſolation and wildernes. Therfore that on couetous and vnſatiable cormaraunte and very plage of his natyue contrey maye compaſſe aboute and incloſe many thouſand akers of grounde to gether within one pale or hedge, the huſbandmen be thruſt owte of their owne, or els either by coueyne and fraude, or by violent oppreſſion they be put beſydes it, or by wronges and iniuries thei be ſo weried, that they be compelled to ſell all: by one meanes therfore or by other, either by hooke or crooke they muſte needes departe awaye, poore, ſelye, wretched ſoules, men, women, huſbands, wiues, fatherleſſe children, widowes, wofull mothers, with their yonge babes, and their whole houſhold ſmal in ſubſtance, and muche in numbre, as huſbandrye requireth manye handes. Awaye thei trudge, I ſay, out of their knowen and accuſtomed houſes, fyndynge no place to reſte in. All their houſholdeſtuffe, whiche is verye litle woorthe, thoughe it myght well abide the ſale: yet beeynge ſodainely thruſte oute, they be con-

English shepe deuourers of men.

Shepe maisters decayers of husbandrye.

The decaye of husbandry causeth beggery, which is the mother of vagaboundes and theues.

ſtrayned to ſell it for a thing of nought. And when they haue wandered abrode tyll that be ſpent, what can they then els doo but ſteale, and then iuſtly pardy be hanged, or els go about a beggyng. And yet then alſo they be caſte in priſon as vagaboundes, becauſe they go aboute and worke not: whom no man wyl ſet a worke, though thei neuer ſo willyngly profre themſelues therto. For one Shephearde or Heardman is ynoughe to eate vp that grounde with cattel, to the occupiyng wherof aboute huſbandrye manye handes were requiſite. And this is alſo the cauſe why victualles be now in many places dearer. Yea, beſides this the price of wolle is ſo ryſen, that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, and make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all. And by thys meanes verye manye be forced to forſake worke, and to geue themſelues to idelneſſe. For after that ſo much grounde was incloſed for paſture, an infinite multitude of ſhepe dyed of the rotte, ſuche vengeaunce God toke of their inordinate and vnſaciable couetouſnes, ſendinge amonge the ſhepe that peſtiferous morrein, whiche much more iuſtely ſhoulde haue fallen on the ſhepemaſters owne heades. And though the number of ſhepe increaſe neuer ſo faſte, yet the price falleth not one myte, becauſe there be ſo fewe ſellers. For they be almooſte all comen into a fewe riche mennes handes, whome no neade forceth to ſell before they luſt, and they luſte not before they maye ſell as deare as they luſte. Now the ſame cauſe bringeth in like dearth of the other kindes of cattell, yea and that ſo much ye more, bicauſe that after fermes plucked downe, and huſbandry decaied, there is no man that paſſethe for the breadynge of younge ſtoore. For theſe riche men brynge not vp the yonge ones of greate cattel as they do lambes. But firſt they bie them abrode verie chepe, and afterward when they be fatted in their pas-

The cause of dearth of victuales.

What inconuenience commeth of dearth of wolle.

The cause of dearth of wol.

Dearth of cattel with the cause therof.

tures, they ſell them agayne excedynge deare. And therefore (as I ſuppoſe) the whole incommoditie hereof is not yet felte. For yet they make dearth onely in thoſe places, where they ſell. But when they ſhall fetche them away from thence wheare they be bredde faſter then they can be broughte vp: then ſhall there alſo be felte greate dearth, ſtoore beginning there to faile, where the ware is boughte. Thus the vnreaſonable couetouſnes of a few hath turned yat thing to the vtter vndoing of your ylande, in the whiche thynge the cheife felicitie of your realme did conſiſt. For this greate dearth of victualles cauſeth men to kepe as litle houſes, and as ſmale hoſpitalitie as they poſſible maye, and to put away their ſeruauntes: whether, I pray you, but a beggynge: or elles (whyche theſe gentell bloudes, and ſtoute ſtomackes, wyll ſooner ſet their myndes vnto) a ſtealing? Nowe to amende the matter, to this wretched beggerye, and miſerable pouertie is ioyned greate wantonnes, importunate ſuperfluitie, and exceſſiue riote. For not only gentle mennes ſeruauntes, but alſo handicrafe men: yea and almooſte the ploughmen of the countrey, with al other ſortes of people, vſe muche ſtraunge and proude newefanglenes in their apparell, and to muche prodigall riotte, and ſumptuous fare at their table. Nowe bawdes, queines, whoores, harlottes, ſtrumpettes, brothelhouſes, ſtewes, and yet an other ſtewes wynetauernes, ale houſes, and tiplinge houſes, with ſo manye noughtie, lewde, and vnlawfull games, as dyce, cardes, tables, tennis, boules, coytes, do not all theſe ſende the haunters of them ſtreyghte a ſtealynge when theyr money is gone? Caſte oute theſe pernicyous abhominations, make a lawe, that they, whiche plucked downe fermes, and townes of huſbandrie, ſhal reedifie them, or els yelde, and vprender the poſſeſſion therof to ſuche, as wil go to the coſt of buylding them anewe. Suffer not theſe riche men

Dearth of victuales is the decay of house keping; whereof ensueth beggery and thefte.

Excesse in apparell and diet a mainteiner of beggery and thefte.

Baudes, whores, winetauernes, alehouses, and vnlawfull games be very mothers of theues.

to bie vp al, to ingroſſe, and forſtalle, and with their monopolie to kepe the market alone as pleaſe them. Let not ſo many be brought vp in idelnes, let huſbandry and tillage be reſtored, let clotheworkinge be renewed, that ther may be honeſt labours for this idell ſort to paſſe their tyme in profitablye, whiche hitherto either pouertie hath cauſed to be theues, or elles nowe be either vagabondes, or idel ſeruing men, and ſhortelye wilbe theues. Doubtles onles you finde a remedy for theſe enormities, you ſhall in vaine aduaunce your ſelues of executing iuſtice vpon fellons. For this iuſtice is more beautiful in apperaunce, and more floriſhynge to the ſhewe, then either iuſte or profitable. For by ſuffring your youthe wantonlie, and viciouſly to be brought vp, and to be infected, euen frome theyr tender age, by litle and litle with vice: then a goddes name to be puniſhed, when they commit the ſame faultes after being come to mans ſtate, which from their youthe they were euer like to do: In this pointe, I praye you, what other thing do you, then make theues, and then puniſh them? Now as I was thus ſpeakinge, the Lawier began to make hym ſelfe readie to anſwere, and was determined with him ſelfe to vſe the common faſhion, and trade of diſputers, whiche be more diligent in reherſinge, then anſwering, as thinking the memorie worthy of the chief praiſe. In dede ſir, quod he, you haue ſaid wel, being but a ſtraunger, and one that myghte rather heare ſome thing of theſe matters, then haue any exacte or perfecte knowledge of the ſame, as I wil incontinent by open proffe make manifeſt and plaine. For firſte I will reherſe in order all that you haue ſayde: then I wyll declare wherein you be deceaued, through lacke of knowledge, in all oure faſhions, maners and customes: and laſt of all I will aunſwere youre argumentes, and confute them euery one. Firſte therefore I wyll begynne where I promyſed. Foure thynges you ſemed to me. Holde youre peace, quod the Car-

Rich men ingrossers and forestallers.

The corrupte education of youth a mother of theuery.

dinall: for it appeareth that you will make no ſhorte aunſwere, which make ſuche a beginnynge. Wherefore at this time you ſhall not take the paynes to make youre aun[ſ]were, but kepe it to youre nexte meatynge, which I woulde be righte glad, that it might be euen to morrowe next, onles either you or mayſter Raphael haue any earneſt let. But nowe mayſter Raphael, I woulde verye gladlye heare of you, why you thinke thefte not worthye to be puniſhed with deathe, or what other puniſhemente you can deuiſe more expedient to the weale publique. For I am ſure you are not of that minde, that you woulde haue thefte eſcape vnpuniſhed. For yf nowe the extreme puniſhemente of deathe can not cauſe them to leaue ſtealinge, then yf ruffians and robbers ſhoulde be ſuer of their lyues: what violence, what feare were hable to holde their handes from robbinge, whiche woulde take the mitigation of the puniſhmente, as a a verye prouocation to the miſchiefe? Suerlye my lorde, quod I, I thinke it not ryght nor iuſtice, that ye loſſe of money ſhould cauſe the loſſe of mans life. For myne opinion is, that all the goodes in the worlde are not hable to counteruayle mans life. But if they would thus ſay: that the breakynge of iuſtice, and the tranſgreſſion of the lawes is recompenſed with this puniſhment, and not the loſſe of the money, then why maye not this extreme and rigorous iuſtice wel be called plaine iniurie? For ſo cruell gouernaunce, ſo ſtreite rules, and vnmercyful lawes be not allowable, that if a ſmall offenſe be committed, by and by the ſword ſhould be drawen: Nor ſo ſtoical ordinaunces are to be borne withall, as to counte al offenſes of ſuche equalitie, that the killing of a man, or the takyng of his money from him were both a matter and the one no more heinous offenſe then the other: betwene the whyche two, yf we haue anye reſpecte to equitie, no ſimilitude or equalitie conſiſteth. God commaundeth vs that we ſhall not kill. And be we

He is worthelie put to silence that is to full of wordes.

That thefte ought not to be punished by death.

Straite lawes not allowable.

then ſo haſtie to kill a man for takinge a litle money? And if any man woulde vnderſtande killing by this commaundement of God, to be forbidden after no larger wiſe, then mans conſtitutions define killynge to be lawfull, then whye maye it not lykewiſe by mans conſtitutions be determined after what ſort whordome, fornication, and periurie may be lawfull? For where as by the permiſſion of God, no man hath power to kil neither himſelf, nor yet anye other man: then yf a lawe made by the conſent of men, concerninge ſlaughter of men: oughte to be of ſuche ſtrengthe, force, and vertue, that they which contrarie to the commaundement of God haue killed thoſe, whom this conſtitution of man commaunded to be killed, be cleane quite and exempte out of the bondes and daunger to Gods commaundement: ſhall it not then by this reaſon follow, that the power of Gods commaundemente ſhall extende no further, then mans lawe doeth define, and permitte? And ſo ſhall it come to paſſe, that in like maner mans conſtitutions in al thinges ſhal determine how farre the obſeruation of all Gods commaundementes ſhall extende. To be ſhorte Moyſes law, though it were vngentle and ſharpe, as a law that was geuen to bondmen, yea; and them very obſtinate, ſtubborne, and ſtyfnecked: yet it puniſhed theſte by the purſe, and not wyth death. And let vs not thinke that God in the newe law of clemencie and mercye, vnder the whiche he ruleth vs with fatherlie gentlenes, as his deare children hathe geuen vs greater ſcoupe and licence to the execution of cruelte, one vpon another. Nowe ye haue heard the reaſons whereby, I am perſuaded that this puniſhement is vnlawful. Furthermore I thinke ther is no body that knoweth not, how vnreaſonable, yea: how pernitious a thinge it is to the weale publike, that a theſe and an homicide or murderer, ſhoulde ſuffer equall and like puniſhment. For the theſe ſeynge that

That mans law ought not to be preiudicial to gods law.

Theſte in the olde lawe not punished by death.

What inconuenience ensueth of punishynge theft with death.

man, that is condempned for thefte in no leſſe ieoperdie, nor iudged to no leſſe puniſhment, then him that is conuicte of manſlaughter: throughe this cogitation onelye he is ſtrongly and forciblye prouoked, and in a maner conſtreined to kill him, whome els he woulde haue but robbed. For the murder beynge ones done, he is in leſſe feare, and in more hoope that the deede ſhall not be bewrayed or knowen, ſeynge the partye is nowe deade, and rydde oute of the waye, which onelye mighte haue vttered and diſcloſed it. But if he chaunce to be taken and diſcriued: yet he is in no more daunger and ieoperdie, then if he had committed but ſingle fellonye. Therfore whiles we go about with ſuche crueltie to make theues aferd, we prouoke them to kil good men. Now as touchinge this queſtion, what puniſhemente were more commodious and better: that truelye in my iudgemente is eaſier to be founde, then what puniſhment might be wurſe. For why ſhould we doubt that to be a good and a profytable waye for the puniſhemente of offendours, whiche we knowe did in tymes paſte ſo longe pleaſe the Romaines, men in the adminiſtration of a weale publique mooſte experte, politique, and cunnynge? Suche as amonge them were conuicte of great and heynous treſpaces, them they condempned into ſtone quarries, and into mienes to digge mettalle, there to be kepte in cheynes all the dayes of their life. But as concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation ſo wel as yat which I ſawe, whiles I trauailed abroade aboute the worlde, vſed in Perſia amonge the people that commenly be called the Polylerites. Whoſe land is both large and ample, and alſo well and wittelye gouerned: and the people in all conditions free and ruled by their owne lawes, ſauinge that they paye a yearelye tribute to the great king of Perſia. But bicauſe they be farre from the ſea, compaſſed and incloſed, almoſte rounde aboute with hyghe moun-

Punishing of theft by deathe causeth the thefe to be a murtherer.

What lawfull punishment may be deuised for theft.

Howe the Romayns punished thefte.

A worthy and commendable punishment of theues in the weale publique of the Polylerites in Persia.

taines, and do content them ſelues with the fruites of their owne lande, whiche is of it ſelfe verye fertile and frutfull: for this cauſe neither they go to other countreis, nor other come to them. And accordynge to the olde cuſtome of the land, they deſire not to enlarge the boundes of their dominions: and thoſe that they haue by reaſon of the highe hilles be eaſely defended: and the tribute whiche they paye to their chiefe lord and kinge, ſetteth them quite and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather then gallante, and may better be called happie: or welthy, then notable or famous. For they be not knowen aſmuch, as by name, I ſuppoſe ſauing only to theyr next neighbours and borderes. They that in this lande be atteinted and conuict of felony, make reſtitution of that which they ſtole, to the righte owner: and not (as they do in other landes) to the kinge: whome they thinke to haue no more righte to the thiefeſtolen thinge, then the thiefe him ſelfe hathe. But if the thing be loſte or made away, then the value of it is paide of the gooddes of ſuch offenders, which els remaineth all whole to their wiues, and children. And they them ſelues be condempned to be common laborers, and, oneles the thefte be verie heinous, they be neyther locked in priſon, nor fettered in giues, but be vntied and go at large, laboring in the common workes. They that refuſe labour, or go ſlowly and ſlacklye to their worke, be not onelye tied in cheynes, but alſo pricked forward with ſtripes. But beinge diligente aboute theyr worke they liue without checke or rebuke. Euery night they be called in by name: and be locked in theyr chambers. Beſide their dayly labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious. Their fare is indifferent good, borne at the charges of the weale publike, bicauſe they be commen ſeruauntes to the commen wealth. But their charges in all places of the lande is not borne alike. For in ſome partes that which is beſtowed vpon them is gathered in almes. And thoughe that waye be vncertein, yet

A priuie nippe for them that do otherwise.

Theues condempned to be commen labourers.

the people be ſo ful of mercy and pitie, that none is found more profitable or plentifull. In ſome places certein landes be appointed hereunto: of the reuenewes whereof they be mainteined. And in ſome places euerye man geueth a certein tribute for ye ſame vſe and purpoſe. Againe in ſome partes of the land theſe ſeruing men (for ſo be theſe dampned perſons called) do no common worke, but as euerye priuate man nedeth laborours, so he commeth into the markette place, and there hierethe ſome of them for meate and drinke, and a certeine limitted waiges by the daye, ſumwhat cheper then he ſhoulde hire a free man. It is alſo lawefull for them to chaſtice the ſlouthe of theſe ſeruinge men with ſtripes. By this meanes they neuer lacke worke, and beſides the gayninge of their meate and drinke, euerye one of them bringeth dailie ſome thing into the common treaſourie. All and euery one of them be apparailed in one coloure. Their heades be not polled or ſhauen, but rounded a lytle aboue the eares. And the typpe of the one eare is cut of. Euery one of them maye take meate and drinke of their frendes, and alſo a coate of their owne colloure: but to receiue money is deathe, aſwell to the geuer, as to the receiuoure. And no leſſe ieoperdie it is for a free man to receiue moneye of a ſeruynge manne for anye maner of cauſe: and lykewiſe for ſeruinge men to touche weapons. The ſeruinge men of euerye ſeuerall ſhire be diſtincte and knowen frome other by their ſeuerall and diſtincte badges: whiche to caſte awaye is death: as it is alſo to be ſene oute of the precincte of their owne ſhire, or to talke with a ſeruinge man of another ſhyre. And it is leſſe daunger to them, for to intende to runne awaye, then to do it in dede. Yea and to conceal ſuche an enterpries in a ſeruinge man it is deathe, in a free man ſeruitude. Of the contrarie parte, to him that openeth and vttereth ſuche counſelles, be decreed large giftes: to a free man a great ſome of money, to a ſeruing man freedome:

Seruing men.

An euell intent estemed as the dede.

and to them bothe forgeuenes and pardone of that they were of counſell in that pretence. So that it can neuer be ſo good for them to go forewarde in their euyll purpoſe, as by repentaunce to tourne backe. This is the lawe and order in this behalfe, as I haue ſhewed you. Wherein what humanitie is vſed, howe farre it is frome crueltie, and howe commodyous it is, you do playnelye perceaue: For aſmuche as the ende of their wrath and punyſhemente intendeth nothynge elles, but the deſtruction of vices, and ſauynge of menne: wyth ſo vſynge, and ordering them, that they can not chuſe but be good, and what harme ſo euer they did before, in the reſidewe of theyr life to make a mendes for the ſame. Moreouer it is ſo litle feared, that they ſhoulde tourne againe to their vicious conditions, that wayefaringe men wyl for their ſauegarde chuſe them to theyr guydes before any other, in euery ſheir chaunging and taking new. For if they would committe robbery, they haue nothinge aboute them meate for that purpoſe. They may touch no weapons: money founde aboute them ſhoulde betraie the robbery. They ſhoulde be no ſooner taken with the maner, but furthwith they ſhoulde be puniſhed. Neither they can haue any hope at all to ſkape awaye by flienge. For howe ſhould a man, that in no parte of his apparell is like other men, flye preuelie and vnknowen, onles he woulde runne awaye naked? Howebeit ſo alſo flyinge he ſhoulde be diſcriued by the roundyng of his heade, and his eare marke. But it is a thinge to be doubted, that they will laye theyr heddes together, and conſpire againſte the weale publique. No no I warrante you. For the ſeruyng men of one ſheire alone coulde neuer hoope to bringe to paſſe ſuche an enterpriſe, without ſollicitinge, entyſinge, and allurynge the ſeruinge men of manye other ſhieres to take their partes. Whiche thinge is to them ſo impoſſible, that they maye not aſmuch as ſpeake or talke togethers, or ſalute one an other. No it is not to be thoughte that they woulde

The right end and intent of punishement.

make theyr owne countreymen and companions of their counſell in ſuche a matter, whiche they knowe well ſhould be ieopardie to the concelour thereof, and great commoditie and goodnes to the opener and detectour of the ſame. Whereas on the other parte, there is none of them all hopeles or in diſpaire to recouer againe his former eſtate of fredome, by humble obedience, by paciente ſuffringe, and by geuing good tokens and likelyhoode of himſelfe, that he wyll euer after that, lyue like a trewe, and an honeſt man. For euerye yeare diuers of them be reſtored to their freedome: throughe the commendation of their patience. Whan I had thus ſpoken, ſayinge moreouer that I coulde ſee no cauſe why this ordre might not be had in Englande with muche more profyte, then the Iuſtice whiche the lawyer ſo heighly prayſed: Naye, quod the lawier, this coulde neuer be ſo ſtablyſhed in Englande, but that it muſt nedes bringe the weale publike into great ieoperdie and haſarde. And as he was thus ſayinge, he ſhaked his heade, and made a wrie mouthe, and ſo he helde his peace. And all that were there preſent, with one aſſent agreed to his ſayinge. Well, quod the Cardinall, yet it were harde to iudge withoute a proffe, whether this order would do wel here or no. But when the ſentence of death is geuen, if than the kinge ſhoulde commaunde execution to be defferred and ſpared, and would proue this order and faſſion: takinge awaye the priuiliges of all ſaintuaries: if then the profe ſhoulde declare the thinge to be good and profitable, than it were wel done that it were ſtabliſhed: Els the condempned and repriued perſons may aſwel and as iuſtly be put to death after this profe, as when they were firſt caſt. Neither any ieoperdie can in the meane ſpace growe herof. Yea, and me thynketh that theſe vagaboundes may very wel be ordered after the ſame faſhion, againſt whom we haue hitherto made ſo many lawes, and ſo litle preuailed. When the Cardinall had thus ſaide, than euery man gaue greate praiſe

Vagaboundes.

to my ſayinges, whiche a litle before they had disallowed. But mooſt of al was eſtemed that which was ſpoken of vagaboundes, bicauſe it was the cardinalles owne addition. I can not tell whether it were beſt to reherſe the communication that ſolowed, for it was not very ſad. But yet you ſhall heare it, for there was no euil in it, and partlye it parteined to the matter before ſaide. There chaunced to ſtand by a certein ieſting paraſite, or ſcoffer, which wold ſeme to reſemble and counterfeit ye foole. But he did in ſuche wiſe counterfeit, that he was almoſt ye verye ſame in dede that he labored to repreſent: he ſo ſtudied with wordes and ſayinges brought furth ſo out of time and place to make ſporte and moue laughter, that he himſelfe was oftener laughed at then his ieſtes were. Yet the fooliſhe fellowe brought out now and then ſuch indifferent and reaſonable ſtuffe, that he made the prouerbe true, which ſaieth: he that ſhoteth oft, at the laſt ſhal hit the mark. So that when one of the company ſayd, that throughe my communication a good order was founde for theues, and that the Cardinal alſo had wel prouided for vagaboundes, ſo that only remained ſome good prouiſion to be made for them that through ſicknes and age were fallen into pouertie, and were become ſo impotent and vnweldie, that they were not hable to worke for their liuinge: Tuſhe (quod he) let me alone with them: you ſhall ſe me do well ynough with them. For I had rather then any good, that this kinde of people were driuen ſumwher oute of my ſight, they haue ſo ſore troubled me manye times and ofte, when they haue wyth their lamentable teares begged money of me: and yet they coulde neuer to my mynde ſo tune their ſonge, that thereby they euer got of me one farthinge. For euer more the one of theſe two chaunced: either that I would not, or els that I could not, bicauſe I had it not. Therfore now they be waxed wiſe. For when they ſee me go by, bicauſe they will not leeſe theyr labour, they let me paſſe and ſaye not one worde

The wauering iudgementes of flatterers.

Sicke, aged, impotent persons and beggers.

to me. So they loke for nothinge of me, no in good ſothe no more, then yf I were a prieſt, or a monke. But I will make a lawe, that all theſe beggers ſhall be diſtributed, and beſtowed into houſes of religion. The men ſhalbe made laye brethren, as they call them, and the women nunnes. Hereat the Cardinal ſmiled, and allowed it in ieſt, yea and all the reſidue in good earneſt. But a certeine freare graduate in diuinitie, toke ſuche pleaſure and delite in this ieſte of prieſtes and monkes, that he alſo beynge elles a man of griſlie and ſterne grauitie, began merilie and wantonlye to ieſte and taunt. Naye, quod he, you ſhall not ſo be ridde and diſpatched of beggers, oneles you make ſome prouiſion alſo for vs frears. Why, quod the ieſter, that is done alreadie, for my lord him ſelfe ſet a verye good order for you, when he decreed that vagaboundes ſhould be kept ſtraite, and ſet to worke: for you be the greateſt and verieſt vagaboundes that be. This ieſt alſo, when they ſawe the Cardinall not diſproue it, every man toke it gladly, ſauyng onelye the Frear. For he (and that no marueile) beynge thus touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule, ſo fret, ſo fumed, and chafed at it, and was in ſuch a rage, that he could not refraine himſelfe from chidinge, ſkolding, railing, and reuiling. He called the fellow ribbalde, villaine, iauel, backbiter, ſclaunderer, and the childe of perdition: citinge therwith terrible threateninges out of holie Scripture. Then the ieſtynge ſcoffer beganne to playe the ſcoffer in dede, and verely he was good at yt, for he could play a part in that play no man better. Patient youre ſelfe good maiſter Freare, quod he, and be not angrie, for ſcripture ſaieth: in youre patience you ſhall ſaue your ſoules. Then the Freare (for I will rehearſe his own very woordes) No gallous wretche, I am not angrie (quod he) or at the leaſte wiſe, I do not ſinne: for the Pſalmiſte ſaith, be you angrie, and ſinne not. Then the Cardinal ſpake gently to the freare, and deſired him to quiete him-

A commen prouerbe amonge beggers.

A mery talke betwene a Frere and a foole.

Talke qualified according to the person that speaketh.

ſelfe. No my lord, quod he, I ſpeak not but of a good zeale as I oughte: for holye men had a good zeale. Wherefore it is ſayd: the zeale of thy houſe hath eaten me. And it is ſonge in the church The ſkorners of Helizeus, whiles he went vp into the houſe of God, felte the zeale of the bald, as peraduenture this ſkorning villaine ribaulde shall feele. You do it (quod the Cardinall) perchaunce of a good mynde and affection: but me thinketh you ſhould do, I can not tell whether more holilie, certes more wiſely, yf you woulde not ſet youre witte to a fooles witte, and with a foole take in hande a fooliſhe contention. No forſoeth my lorde (quod he) I ſhoulde not do more wyſelye. For Salomon the wyſe ſaieth: Anſwere a foole accordinge to his folye, like as I do nowe, and do ſhew him the pit that he ſhall fall into, yf he take not hede. For if many ſkorners of Helizeus, whiche was but one bald man, felte the zeale of the balde, how muche more ſhall one ſkorner of many frears feele, amonge whom be manye balde men? And we haue alſo the popes bulles, whereby all that mocke and ſkorne vs be excommunicate, ſuſpended, and acurſed. The cardinal, ſeing that none ende would be made, ſent awaie the ieſter by a preuy becke, and turned the communication to an other matter. Shortly after, when he was riſen from the table, he went to heare his ſueters, and ſo dimiſſed vs. Looke maiſter More wyth how longe and tedious a tale I haue kept you, which ſurely I woulde haue bene aſhamed to haue done, but that you ſo earneſtly deſired me, and did after ſuch a ſorte geue eare vnto it, as though you would not that any parcel of that communication ſhould be left out. Whiche thoughe I haue done ſumwhat briefely, yet could I not chuſe but rehearſe it, for the iudgemente of them, whyche when they had improued and diſallowed my ſayinges, yet incontinent hearynge the Cardinall allowe them, dyd themſelues alſo approue the ſame: ſo impudently flattering him, that they wer nothing aſhamed to admitte, yea almoſte in good earneſt, his ieſters foliſh inuentions: bicauſe that he him ſelfe by

ſmiling at them did ſeme not to diſproue them. So that hereby you may right wel perceaue how litle the courtiers woulde regarde and eſteme me and my ſayinges.

I enſure you maiſter Raphael, quod I, I toke greate delectacion in hearing you: all thinges that you ſaide were ſpoken ſo wittilye and ſo pleaſauntly. And me thought me ſelfe to be in the meane time, not onelye at home in my countrei, but alſo through the pleaſaunt remembraunce of the Cardinal, in whoſe houſe I was broughte vp of a childe, to waxe a child againe. And frend Raphael, though I did beare verye greate loue towardes you before, yet ſeynge you do ſo earneſtlye fauoure this man, you wyll not beleue howe muche my loue towardes you is nowe increaſed. But yet, all this notwithſtandinge, I can by no meanes chaunge my mind, but that I muſt nedes beleue, that you, if you be diſpoſed, and can ſynde in youre hearte to follow ſome Princes courte, ſhall with your good counſelles greatlye helpe and further the commen wealthe. Wherfore there is nothynge more apperteining to youre dewty, that is to ſaye, to the dewtie of a good man. For where as your Plato iudgeth that weale publiques ſhall by this meanes atteyne perfecte felicitie, eyther if philoſophers be kynges, or elles yf kynges geue themſelues to the ſtudie of Philoſophie, how farre I praye you, ſhall commen wealthes then be frome thys felicitie, yf Philoſophers wyll vouchefaufe to enſtruct kinges with their good counſell?

They be not ſo vnkinde (quod he) but they woulde gladlye do it, yea, manye haue done it alreadye in bookes that they haue putfurthe, if kynges and princes would be willynge and readye to folowe good counſell. But Plato doubtleſſe dyd well foreſee, oneleſſe kynges themſelues woulde applye their mindes to the ſtudye of Philoſophie, that elles they woulde neuer thoroughlye allowe the counſell of Philoſophers, beynge themſelues before euen from their tender age infected, and corrupt with peruerſe, and euill opinions. Whiche thynge Plato hymſelfe proued trewe in kinge Dionyſe. If I ſhoulde propoſe to any kyng

wholſome decrees, doynge my endeuoure to plucke out of hys mynde the pernicious originall cauſes of vice and noughtines, thinke you not that I ſhoulde furthewith either be driuen away, or elles made a laughyng ſtocke? Well ſuppoſe I were with the Frenche kynge, and there ſyttinge in his counſell, whiles in that mooſte ſecrete conſultation, the kynge him ſelfe there beynge preſente in hys owne perſonne they beate their braynes, and ſerche the verye bottomes of their wittes to diſcuſſe by what crafte and meanes the kynge maye ſtyl kepe Myllayne, and drawe to him againe fugitiue Naples, And then howe to conquere the Venetians, and how to bringe vnder his iuriſdiction all Italie, then howe to win the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant, and of all Burgundie: with diuers other landes, whoſe kingdomes he hath longe a go in mind and purpoſe inuaded. Here whiles one counſelleth to conclude a legue of peace with the Venetians, ſo longe to endure, as ſhall be thought mete and expedient for their purpoſe, and to make them alſo of their counſell, yea, and beſides that to geue them part of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when they haue brought theyr purpoſe about after their owne myndes, they maye require and clayme againe. An other thinketh beſt to hiere the Germaynes. An other woulde haue the fauoure of the Swychers wonne with money. An others aduyſe is to appeaſe the puiſſaunte power of the Emperoures maieſtie wyth golde, as with a moſte pleaſaunte, and acceptable ſacrifice. Whiles an other gyueth counſell to make peace wyth the kynge of Arragone, and to reſtoore vnto him hys owne kyngedome of Nauarra, as a full aſſuraunce of peace. An other commeth in with his fiue egges, and aduiſeth to hooke in the kynge of Caſtell with ſome hope of affinitie or allyaunce, and to bringe to their parte certeine Pieers of his courte for greate penſions. Whiles they all ſtaye at the chiefeſte doubte of all, what to do in the meane time with Englande, and yet agree all in this to make peace with the

The Frenchemen priu lie he counseled from the desire of Italie.

Launce knightes.

Engliſhmen, and with mooſte ſuer and ſtronge bandes to bynde that weake and feable frendeſhippe, so that they muſte be called frendes, and hadde in ſuſpicion as enemyes. And that therfore the Skottes muſte be hadde in a readines, as it were in a ſtandynge, readie at all occaſions, in aunters the Engliſhmen ſhoulde ſturre neuer ſo lytle, incontinent to ſet vpon them. And moreouer preuilie and ſecretlye (for openlie it maye not be done by the truce that is taken) priuelie therefore I ſaye to make muche of ſome Piere of Englande, that is banniſhed hys countrey, whiche muſte cleime title to the crowne of the realme, and affirme hym ſelfe iuſte inherytoure thereof, that by this ſubtill meanes they maye holde to them the kinge, in whome elles they haue but small truſte and affiaunce. Here I ſaye, where ſo great and heyghe matters be in conſultation, where ſo manye noble and wyſe menne counſell theyr kynge onelie to warre, here yf I ſelie man ſhoulde riſe vp and will them to tourne ouer the leafe, and learne a newe leſſon, ſayinge that my counſell is not to medle with Italy, but to tarye ſtyll at home, and that the kyngedome of Fraunce alone is almooſte greater, then that it maye well be gouerned of one man: ſo that the kynge ſhoulde not nede to ſtudye howe to gette more: And then ſhoulde propoſe vnto them the decrees of the people that be called the Achoriens, whiche be ſituate ouer agaynſte the Ilande of Utopia on the ſoutheaſte ſide. Theſe Achoriens ones made warre in their kinges quarrell for to gette him another kingdome, whiche he laide claime vnto, and auaunced hymſelfe ryghte inheritoure to the crowne thereof, by the tytle of an olde aliaunce. At the laſt when they had gotten it, an[d] ſawe that they hadde euen as muche vexation and trouble in kepynge it, as they had in gettynge it, and that either their newe conquered subiectes by ſundrye occaſions were makynge daylye inſurrections to rebell againſte them, or els that other countreis were continuallie with diuers inrodes and forragynges inuadynge them: ſo that they were

A notable example, and worthy to be folowed.

euer fighting either for them, or agaynſte them, and neuer coulde breake vp theyr campes: Seynge them ſelues in the meane ſeaſon pylled and impouerifhed: their money caried out of the realme: their own men killed to maintaine the glorye of an other nation: when they had no warre, peace nothynge better then warre, by reaſon that their people in war had ſo inured themſelues to corrupte and wicked maners: that they had taken a delite and pleaſure in robbinge and ſtealing: that through manſlaughter they had gathered boldnes to miſchiefe: that their lawes were had in contempte, and nothing ſet by or regarded: that their king beynge troubled with the charge and gouernaunce of two kingdomes, could not nor was not hable perfectlie to discharge his office towardes them both: ſeing againe that all theſe euelles and troubles were endles: at the laſte layde their heades together, and like faithfull and louinge ſubiectes gaue to their kynge free choiſe and libertie to kepe ſtyll the one of theſe two kingdomes whether he would: alleginge that he was not hable to kepe both, and that they were mo then might well be gouerned of halfe a king: foraſmuche as no man woulde be content to take him for his mulettour, that kepeth an other mans moyles beſydes his. So this good prince was conſtreyned to be content with his olde kyngedome, and to geue ouer the newe to one of his frendes. Who ſhortelye after was violentlie driuen out. Furthermore if I ſhoulde declare vnto them, that all this buſie preparaunce to warre, wherby ſo many nations for his ſake ſhould be broughte into a troubleſome hurlei-burley when all his coffers were emptied, his treaſures waſted, and his people deſtroied, ſhould at the length through ſome miſchance be in vaine and to none effect: and that therfore it were beſt for him to content him ſelfe with his owne kingedome of fraunce, as his forfathers and predeceſſours did before him: to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flouriſſhing as he could, to endeuoure him ſelfe to loue his ſubiectes, and againe to be beloued of them, willingly

to liue with them, peaceably to gouerne them, and with other kyngdomes not to medle, ſeinge that whiche he hath all reddy is euen ynoughe for him, yea and more then he can wel turne hym to: this myne aduyſe maiſter More, how thinke you it would be harde and taken?

So God helpe me not very thankefully, quod I,.

Wel let vs procede then, quod he. Suppoſe that ſome kyng and his counſel were together whettinge their wittes and deuiſinge, what ſubtell craſte they myght inuente to enryche the kinge with great treaſures of money. Firſt one counſelleth to rayſe and enhaunce the valuation of money when the kinge muſt paye anye: and agayne to calle downe the value of coyne to leſſe them it is worthe, when he muſte receiue or gather any. For thus great ſommes ſhalbe payde wyth a lytyl money, and where lytle is due muche ſhalbe receaued. An other counſelleth to fayne warre, that when vnder this coloure and pretence the kyng hath gathered greate aboundaunce of money, he maye, when it ſhall pleaſe him, make peace with greate ſolempnitie and holye ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communaltie, as taking pitie and compaſſion forſothe vpon mans bloude, lyke a louing and a mercifull prince. An other putteth the kynge in remembraunce of certeine olde and moughteeaten lawes, that of longe tyme haue not bene put in execution, whych becauſe no man can remembre that they were made, euerie man hath tranſgreſſed. The fynes of theſe lawes he counſelleth the kynge to require: for there is no waye ſo proffitable, nor more honorable, as the whyche hathe a ſhewe and coloure of iuſtice. An other aduyſeth him to forbidde manye thinges vnder greate penalties and fines, ſpecially ſuche thinges as is for the peoples profit not be vſed, and afterwarde to diſpence for money with them, whyche by this prohibition ſubſteyne loſſe and dammage. For by this meanes the fauour of the people is wonne, and profite riſeth two wayes. Firſt by tak-

Enhauncynge and imbasyng of coynes.

Counterfayte warres.

The renewing of olde lawes.

Restrayntes.

inge forſaytes of them whome couetouſnes of gaynes hath brought in daunger of this ſtatute, and alſo by ſellinge priuileges and licences, whyche the better that the prince is forſothe, the deerer he ſelleth them: as one that is lothe to graunte to any priuate perſone anye thinge that is againſte the proffite of his people. And therefore maye ſel none but at an exceding dere pryce. An other giueth the kynge counſel to endaunger vnto his grace the iudges of the Realme, that he maye haue them euer on his ſide, and that they maye in euerye matter deſpute and reaſon for the kynges right. Yea and further to call them into his palace and to require them there to argue and diſcuſſe his matters in his owne preſence. So there ſhalbe no matter of his ſo openlye wronge and vniuſte, wherein one or other of them, either becauſe he wyl haue ſumthinge to allege and obiecte or that he is aſhamed to ſaye that whiche is ſayde alreadye, or els to pike a thanke with his prince, wil not fynde ſome hole open to ſet a ſnare in, wherewith to take the contrarie parte in a trippe. Thus whiles the iudges cannot agree amonges them ſelfes, reaſoninge and arguing of that which is playne enough, and bringinge the manifeſt trewthe in dowte: in the meane ſeaſon the Kinge maye take a fyt occaſion to vnderſtand the lawe as ſhal moſte make for his aduauntage, wherevnto all other for ſhame, or for feare wil agree. Then the Iudges may be bolde to pronounce on the kynges ſide. For he that geueth ſentence for the king, cannot be without a good excuſe. For it ſhalbe ſufficient for him to haue equitie on his part, or the bare wordes of the lawe, or a wrythen and wreſted vnderſtandinge of the ſame (or els, whiche with good and iuſt Iudges is of greater force then all lawes be) the Kynges indiſputable prerogative. To conclude, al the counſellours agre and conſent together with the ryche Craſſus, that no abundance of gold can be ſufficient for a prince, which muſte kepe and maynteyne an armie: furthermore that a kynge, thoughe he would, can do nothinge

Sellyng of licences.

The saiyng of riche Crassus.

vniuſtlye. For all that all men haue, yea alſo the men them ſelfes be all his. And that euery man hath ſo much of his owne, as ye kynges gentilnes hath not taken from hym. And that it ſhalbe moſte for the kinges aduantage, that his ſubiectes haue very lytle or nothinge in their poſſeſſion, as whoſe ſauegarde doth herein conſiſte, that his people doe not waxe wanton and wealthie through riches and libertie, becauſe where theſe thinges be, there men be not wonte patiently to obeye harde, vniuſte, and vnlawefull commaundementes. Where as on the other part neade and pouertie doth holde downe and kepe under ſtowte courages, and maketh them patient perforce, takynge from them bolde and rebellynge ſtomakes. Here agayne if I ſhoulde ryſe vp, and boldelye affirme that all theſe counſelles be to the kinge diſhonoure and reproche, whoſe honoure and ſafetye is more and rather ſupported and vpholden by the wealth and ryches of his people, then by hys owne treaſures: and if I ſhould declare that the comminaltie chueſeth their king for their owne ſake, and not for his ſake: to the intent, that through his laboure and ſtudie they might al liue wealthily ſauffe from wronges and iniuries: and that therfore the kynge ought to take more care for the wealthe of his people, then for his owne wealthe, euen as the office and dewtie of a ſhepehearde is in that he is a ſhepherde, to feede his ſhepe rather then himſelfe. For as towchinge this, that they thinke the defence and mayntenaunce of peace to conſiſte in the pouertie of the people, the thing it ſelfe ſheweth that they be farre out of the waye. For where ſhal a man finde more wrangling, quarrelling, brawling, and chiding, then among beggers? Who be more deſierous of newe mutations and alterations, then they that be not content with the preſent ſtate of their lyfe? Or finallye who be bolder ſtomaked to bringe all in a hurlieburlye (therby truſtinge to get ſome windfal) then they that haue nowe nothinge to leeſe? And yf any Kyng were ſo ſmally regarded, and ſo lightly eſtemed, yea ſo behated of his ſubiectes, that

Pouertye the mother of debate and decai of realmes.

other wayes he could not kepe them in awe, but onlye by open wronges, by pollinge and ſhauinge, and by bringinge them to beggerie, ſewerly it were better for him to forſake his kingedome, then to holde it by this meanes: whereby though the name of a king be kepte, yet the maieſtie is loſt. For it is againſte the dignitie of a kynge to haue rule ouer beggers, but rather ouer ryche and welthie men, Of this mynde was the hardie and couragius Fabrice, when he ſayde, that he had rather be a ruler of riche men, then be ryche himſelfe. And verelye one man to liue in pleaſure and wealth, whyles all other wepe and ſmarte for it, that is the parte, not of a kynge, but of a iayler. To be ſhorte as he is a folyſhe phiſition, that cannot cure his patientes diſeaſe, onles he caſte him in an other ſyckenes, ſo he that cannot amend the liues of his ſubiectes, but be taking from them the wealthe and commoditie of lyfe, he muſte nedes graunte that, he knoweth not the feate how to gouerne men. But let him rather amende his owne lyfe, renounce vnhoneſt pleaſures, and forſake pride. For theſe be the chiefe vices that cauſe hym to runne in the contempte or hatred of his people. Let him lyue of hys owne, hurtinge no man. Let him doe coſt not aboue his power. Let hym reſtreyne wyckednes. Let him preuente vices, and take awaye the occaſions of offenſes by well orderynge hys ſubiectes, and not by ſufferynge wickednes to increaſe afterward to be punyſhed. Let hym not be to haſtie in callynge agayne lawes, whyche a cuſtome hathe abrogated: ſpecially ſuche as haue bene longe forgotten, and neuer lacked nor neaded. And let hym neuer vnder the cloke and pretence of tranſgreſſion take ſuche fynes and forfaytes, as no Iudge wyll ſuffre a priuate perſone to take, as vniuſte and ful of gile.

A worthy saiing of Fabrice.

Here if I ſhould brynge forth before them the lawe of the Macariens, whiche be not farre diſtaunt from Utopia: whoſe Kynge the daye of hys coronation is bounde by a ſolempne othe, that he ſhall neuer at anye time haue

A fleasinge and notable lawe of the Macariens.

in hys treaſure aboue a thouſande pounde of golde or ſyluer. They ſaye a verye good kynge, whiche toke more care for the wealthe and commoditye of his countrey, then for th[e] enriching of him ſelfe, made this lawe to be a ſtop and a barre to kinges from heaping and hording vp ſo muche money as might impoueryſhe their people. For he forſawe that this ſom of treaſure woulde ſuffice to ſupporte the kynge in battaile againſt his owne people, if they ſhoulde chaunce to rebell: and alſo to maintein his warres againſte the inuaſions of his forreyn enemies. Againe he perceiued the ſame ſtocke of money to be to litle and vnſufficient to encourage and enhable him wrongfullye to take away other mens goodes: whyche was the chiefe cauſe whie the lawe was made. An other cauſe was this. He thought that by this prouiſion his people ſhoulde not lacke money, wherewith to mayneteyne their dayly occupieng and chaffayre. And ſeynge the kynge could not chewſe but laye out and beſtowe al that came in aboue the preſcript ſome of his ſtocke, he thought he woulde ſeke no occaſions to doe his ſubiectes iniurie. Suche a kynge ſhalbe feared of euel men, and loued of good men. Theſe, and ſuche other informations, yf I ſhoulde vſe among men wholye inclined and geuen to the contrarye part, how deaffe hearers thinke you ſhoulde I haue?

Deaffe hearers douteles (quod I) And in good faith no marueyle. And to be plaine with you, truelye I can not allowe that ſuche communication ſhalbe vſed, or ſuche counſell geuen, as you be ſuere ſhall neuer be regarded nor receaued. For howe can ſo ſtraunge informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their headdes, whoſe myndes be allredye preuented: with cleane contrarye perſuaſions? This ſchole philoſophie is not vnpleaſaunte amonge frendes in familiare communication, but in the counſelles of kinges, where greate matters be debated and reaſoned with greate authoritye, theſe thinges haue no place.

Schole philosophye in the consultations of Princes hath no place.

That is it whiche I mente (quod he) when I ſayde philoſophye hadde no place amonge kinges.

In dede (quod I) this ſchole philoſophie hath not: whiche thinketh all thinges mete for euery place. But there is an other philoſophye more ciuile, whyche knoweth, as ye wolde ſay, her owne ſtage, and thereafter orderynge and behauinge hereſelfe in the playe that ſhe hathe in hande, playethe her parte accordingelye with comlyenes, vtteringe nothinge oute of dewe ordre and faſſyon. And this is the philoſophye that you muſte vſe. Or els whyles a commodye of Plautus is playinge, and the vyle bondemen ſkoffynge and tryffelinge amonge them ſelfes, yf you ſhoulde ſodenlye come vpon the ſtage in a Philoſophers apparrell, and reherſe oute of Octauia the place wherein Seneca diſputeth with Nero: had it not bene better for you to haue played the domme perſone, then by reherſynge that, whych ſerued neither for the tyme nor place to haue made ſuche a tragycall comedye or gallymalfreye? For by bryngynge in other ſtuffe that nothinge apperteynethe to the preſente matter, you muſte nedes marre and peruert the play that is in hand, thoughe the ſtuffe that you bringe be muche better. What part ſoeuer you haue taken vpon you, playe that aſwell as you can and make the beſt of it: And doe not therefore diſturbe and brynge oute of ordre the whole matter, byeauſe that an other, whyche is meryer and better cumrnethe to your remembraunce. So the caſe ſtandeth in a common wealthe, and ſo it is in the conſultations of Kynges and prynces. Yf euel opinions and noughty perſuaſions can not be vtterly and quyte plucked out of their hartes, if you can not euen as you wolde remedy vices, which vſe and cuſtome hath confirmed: yet for this cauſe you muſt not leaue and forſake the common wealthe: you muſte not forſake the ſhippe in a tempeſte, becauſe you can not rule and kepe downe the wyndes. No nor you muſte not laboure to dryue into their heades newe and ſtraunge informations, whyche you knowe wel ſhalbe nothinge regarded wyth them that be of cleane contrary

A fine and a fitte similitude.

A dumme plaier.

mindes. But you muſt with a crafty wile and a ſubtell trayne ſtudye and endeuoure youre ſelfe, aſmuche as in you lyethe, to handle the matter wyttelye and handeſomelye for the purpoſe, and that whyche you can not turne to good, ſo to order it that it be not uerye badde. For it is not poſſible for al thinges to be well, onles all men were good. Whych I thinke wil not be yet thies good many yeares.

By this meanes (quod he) nothinge elles wyl be brought to paſſe, but whyles that I goe aboute to remedye the madnes of others, I ſhoulde be euen as madde as they. For if I wolde ſpeake ſuche thinges that be trewe I muſt neades ſpeake ſuche thinges: but as for to ſpeake falſe thinges, whether that be a philoſophers parte or no I can not tel, truelye it is not my part. Howebeit this communication of mine, thoughe peraduenture it maye ſeme vnpleſaunte to them, yet can I not ſee why it ſhoulde ſeme ſtraunge, or foliſhelye newfangled. If ſo be that I ſhould ſpeake thoſe thinges that Plato faynethe in his weale publique: or that the Utopians doe in theires, theſe thinges thoughe they were (as they be in dede) better, yet they myghte ſeme ſpoken oute of place. Foraſmuche as here amonges vs, euerye man hathe his poſſeſſions ſeuerall to him ſelfe, and there all thinges be common. But what was in my communication conteyned, that mighte not, and oughte not in anye place to be ſpoken? Sauynge that to them whyche haue throughlye decreed and determined with them ſelfes to runne hedlonges the contrary waye it can not be acceptable and pleaſaunt, becauſe it calleth them backe, and ſheweth them the ieopardies, Verilye yf all thynges that euel and vitiouſe maners haue cauſed to ſeme inconueniente and noughte ſhould be refuſed, as thinges vnmete and reprochefull, then we muſt among Chriſten people wynke at the moſte parte of al thoſe thinges, whych Chriſt taught vs, and ſo ſtreitly forbad them to be winked at, yat thoſe thinges alſo whiche he whiſpered in ye eares of his diſciples he

The Utopia weale publique.

commaunded to be proclaimed in open houſes. And yet ye moſt parte of them is more diſſident from the maners of the worlde nowe a dayes, then my communication was. But preachers ſlie and wilie men followynge youre counſel (as I ſuppoſe) bicauſe they ſaw men euel willing to frame theyr manners to Chriſtes rule, they haue wreſted and wriede his doctryne, and like a rule of leade haue applyed it to mennes manners: that by ſome meanes at the leaſte waye, they myghte agree together. Whereby I can not ſee what good they haue done: but that men may more ſickerlye be euell. And I truelye ſhoulde preuaile euen as litle in kinges counſelles. For either I muſte ſaye otherwayes then they ſaye, and then I were as good to ſaye nothinge, or els I muſte ſaye the ſame that they ſaye, and (as Mitio ſaieth in Terence) helpe to further their madnes. For that craftye wyle, and ſubtil traine of yours, I can not perceaue to what purpoſe it ſerueth, wherewith you wolde haue me to ſtudy and endeuoure my ſelfe, yf all thinges can not be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handſomely for the purpoſe, yat as farre forth as is poſſible they, may not be very euel. For there is no place to diſſemble in, nor to wincke in. Noughtye counſelles muſte be openlye allowed and verye peſtilent decrees muſte be approued. He ſhalbe counted worſe then a ſpye, yea almoſte as euel as a traytour, that with a faynte harte doth prayſe euel and noyeſome decrees. Moreouer a man canne haue no occaſion to doe good, chaunſinge into the companye of them, whych wyl ſoner peruerte a good man, then be made good them ſelfes: through whoſe euel company he ſhalbe marred, or els if he remayne good and innocent, yet the wickednes and follye of others ſhalbe imputed to hym, and layde in his necke. So that it is impoſſible with that craftye wyele, and ſubtel trayne to turne anye thinge to better. Wherefore Plato by a goodlye ſimilitude declareth, why wiſe men refraine to medle in the common wealthe. For when they ſee the people ſwarme into the ſtretes, and daily wet to the ſkinne with rayne, and yet can

not perſuade them to goe out of the rayne, and to take their houſes, knowynge wel, that if they ſhoulde goe out to them, they ſhould nothinge preuayle, nor wynne ought by it, but with them be wette alſo in the raine, they do kepe them ſelfes within their houſes, being content that they be ſaffe them ſelues, ſeinge they cannot remedye the follye of the people. Howe be it doubtleſſe maiſter More (to ſpeke truelye as my mynde geueth me) where poſſeſſions be priuate, where money bearethe all the ſtroke, it is harde and almoſte impoſſible that there the weale publique maye iuſtelye be gouerned, and proſperouſlye floryſhe. Onles you thinke thus: that Iuſtyce is there executed, where all thinges come into the handes of euell men, or that proſperitye there floryſſhethe, where all is diuided amonge a fewe: whyche fewe neuertheleſſe doe not leade theire liues very wealthely, and the reſydewe lyue myſerablye, wretchedlye, and beggerlye. Wherefore when I conſyder with my ſelfe and weye in my mynde the wyſe, and godlye ordinaunces of the Utopians, amonge whome with verye fewe lawes all thinges be ſo wel and wealthelye ordered, that vertue is had in pryce and eſtimation, and yet all thinges beinge there common, euerye man hath aboundaunce of euerye thinge. Againe on the other part, when I compare with them ſo manye nations euer makinge newe lawes, yet none of them all well and ſufficientlye, furnyſſhed with lawes: where euerye man calleth that he hathe gotten, his owne proper and priuate goodes, where ſo many newe lawes daylye made be not ſufficiente for euerye man to enioye, defend, and knowe from an other mans that whych he calleth his owne: which thinge the infinite controuerſies in the lawe, dayle ryſynge, neuer to be ended, playnly declare to be trewe. Theſe thinges (I ſay) when I conſider with me ſelfe, I holde wel with Plato, and doe nothinge marueille, that he woulde make no lawes for them, that refuſed thoſe lawes, whereby all men ſhoulde haue and enioye equall portions of welthes and commodities.

Plato wylled al things in a common wealth to be commen,

For the wiſe man did eaſely foreſee, this to bee the one and onlye waye to the wealthe of a communaltye, yf equalitye of all thinges ſhould be broughte in and ſtablyſhed. Whyche I thinke is not poſſible to be obſerued, where euerye mans gooddes be proper and peculiare to him ſelfe. For where euerye man vnder certeyne tytles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himſelfe aſmuch as he can, ſo that a fewe deuide among them ſelfes all the whole riches, be there neuer ſo muche abundaunce and ſtoore, there to the reſidewe is lefte lacke and pouertye. And for the moſte parte it chaunceth, that this latter ſorte is more worthye to enioye that ſtate of wealth, then the other be: bycauſe the ryche men be couetous, craftye, and vnprofitable. On the other parte the poore be lowly, ſimple, and by theire daylye laboure more profitable to the common welthe then to them ſelfes. Thus I doe fullye perſuade me ſelfe, that no equall and iuſte diſtribution of thinges can be made, nor that perfecte wealthe ſhall euer be among men, onles this propriety be exiled and banniſhed. But ſo long as it ſhal continew, ſo long ſhal remaine among the moſt and beſt part of men the heuy, and ineuitable burden of pouerty and wretchednes. Whiche, as I graunte that it maye be ſumwhat eaſed, ſo I vtterly denye that it can wholy be taken away. For if there were a ſtatute made, that no man ſhould poſſeſſe aboue a certeine meaſure of grounde, and that no man ſhoulde haue in his ſtocke aboue a preſcripte and appointed ſome of money: if it were by certein lawes decreed, that neither the Kinge ſhoulde be of to greate power, neither the people to haute and wealthy, and that offices ſhoulde not be obteined by inordinate ſuite, or by brybes and gyftes: that they ſhoulde neither be bought nor ſold, nor that it ſhoulde be nedeful for the officers, to be at any coſt or charge in their offices: for ſo occaſion is geuen to theym by fraude and rauin to gather vp their money againe, and by reaſon of giftes and bribes the offices be geuen to rich men, which ſhoulde rather haue bene

executed of wiſe men: by ſuch lawes I ſay, like as ſicke bodies that be deſperat and paſt cure, be wont with continual good cheriſſing to be kept and botched vp for a time: ſo theſe euels alſo might be lightened and mitigated. But yat thei may be perfectly cured, and brought to a good and vpryght ſtate, it is not to be hoped for, whiles euery man is maiſter of his owne to him ſelfe. Yea and whyles you goe aboute to doe youre cure of one parte, you ſhall make bygger the ſore of an other parte, ſo the healpe of one cauſeth anothers harme: forasmuche as nothinge can be geuen to annye one, onles it be taken from an other.

But I am of a contrary opinion (quod I) for me thinketh that men ſhal neuer there liue wealthelye, where all thinges be commen. For howe can there be abundaunce of gooddes, or of any thing, where euery man withdraweth his hande from labour? Whome the regard of his owne gaines driueth not to worke, but the hope that he hath in other mens trauayles maketh him ſlowthfull. Then when they be pricked with pouertye, and yet no man can by any lawe or right defend that for his owne, which he hathe gotten with the laboure of his owne handes, ſhal not there of neceſſitie be continual ſedition and blodeſhed? Speciallye the authoritye and reuerence of magiſtrates beinge taken awaye, whiche, what place it maye haue with ſuch men amonge whome is no difference, I cannot deuiſe.

I maruel not (quod he) that you be of this opinion. For you conceaue in youre minde either none at al, or els a verye falſe Image and ſimilitude of this thing. But yf you had bene with me in Utopia, and had preſentelye ſene theire faſſhions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche liued there. v. yeares, and moore, and wolde neuer haue commen thence, but onlye to make that newe lande knowen here: Then doubtles you wolde graunt, that you neuer ſawe people wel ordered, but onlye there.

Surely (quod maiſter Peter) it ſhalbe harde for you to make me beleue, that there is better order in that

newe lande, then is here in thefe countryes, that wee knowe. For good wittes be afwel here as there: and I thinke oure commen wealthes be auncienter than theires: wherin long vfe and experience hath found out many thinges commodious for mannes lyfe, befides that manye thinges heare amonge vs haue bene founde by chaunce, which no wytte colde euer haue deuyfed.

As touchinge the auncientnes (quod he) of common wealthes, than you might better iudge, if you had red the hiftories and cronicles of that land, which if we may beleue, cities were there, before men were here. Nowe what thinge foeuer hetherto by witte hath bene deuifed, or found by chaunce, that myght be afwel there as here. But I thinke verily, though it were fo that we did paffe them in witte: yet in ftudy, in trauaile, and in labourfome endeuoure they farre paffe vs. For (as theire Chronicles teftifie) before our arriual there, they neuer hard any thing of vs, whome they cal the vltraequinoctialles: fauing that ones about. M.CC. [twelve hundred] yeares ago, a certeine fhyppe was loft by the Ile of Utopia whiche was driuen thether by tempeft. Certeine Romaines and Egyptians were caft on lande. Whyche after that neuer wente thence. Marke nowe what profite they tooke of this one occafion through delygence and earnefte trauaile. There was no crafte nor fcyence within the impire of Rome wherof any proffite could rife, but they either lerned it of thefe ftraungers, or els of them taking occafion to fearche for it, founde it oute. So greate proffite was it to them that euer anye wente thyther from hence. But yf annye like chaunce before this hath brought anye man from thence hether, that is as quyte out of remembraunce, as this alfo perchaunce in time to come fhalbe forgotten, that euer I was there. And like as they quickelye, almofte at the firft meting, made theire owne, what foeuer is amonge vs wealthelye deuifed: fo I fuppofe it wolde be long before we wolde receaue anythinge, that amonge them is better inftituted then amonge vs.

And this I ſuppoſe is the chiefe cauſe whie their common wealthes be wyſelyer gouerned, and doe flowriſh in more wealthe, then ours, though we neither in wytte nor riches be their inferiours.

Therefore gentle Maiſter Raphael (quod I) I praye you and beſeche you deſcribe vnto vs the Ilande. And ſtudy not to be ſhorte: but declare largely in order their groundes, their riuers, their cities, theire people, theire manners, their ordinaunces, their lawes, and to be ſhort al thinges, that you ſhal thinke vs deſierous to knowe. And you ſhal thinke vs deſierous to know what ſoeuer we knowe not yet.

There is nothing (quod he) that I wil doe gladlier. For all theſe thinges I haue freſhe in mind. But ye matter requireth leaſure.

Let vs go in therfore (quod I) to dinner, afterward we wil beſtowe the time at our pleaſure.

Content (quod he) be it.

So we went in and dyned. When dinner was done, we came into the ſame place again, and ſate vs downe vpon the ſame benche, commaunding oure ſeruauntes that no man ſhould trouble vs. Then I and Maiſter Peter Giles deſiered maiſter Raphael to performe his promiſe. He therefore ſeing vs deſirous and willing to hearken to him, when he had ſit ſtil and pauſed a litle while, muſing and bethinkinge himſelfe, thus he began to ſpeake.

The end of the Firste boke.

The seconde

boke of the communication of Raphael Hythlodaye, concerninge the best state of a common wealthe: conteyninge the discription of Utopia, with a large declaration of the politike gouernemente, and of all the good lawes and orders of the same Ilande.

The sice and fashion of the newe ylande Utopia.

THe Iland of Utopia, conteynethe in breadthe in the middel parte of it (for there it is brodeſt) CC. [two hundred] miles. Which bredthe continueth throughe the moſte parte of the lande Sauing that by litle and litle it commeth in, and waxeth narrower towardes both the endes. Which fetching about a circuite or compaſſe of V.C. [five hundred] Miles, do faſſion ye whole Iland like to ye new mone. Betwene theſe two corners the ſea runneth in, diuidyng them a ſonder by the diſtaunce. of. xi miles or there aboutes, and there ſurmountethe into a large and wyde ſea, which by reaſon that the land on euery ſide compaſſethe it about, and ſhiltreth it from the windes, is not roughe, nor mounteth not with great waues, but almoſt floweth quietlye, not muche vnlike a greate ſtandinge powle: and maketh welnieghe all the ſpace within the bellye of the lande in maner of a hauen: and to the greate commoditie of the inhabitauntes receaueth in

ſhyppes towardes euerye parte of the lande. The forefrontes or frontiers of the. ii. corners, what with fordes and ſhelues, and what with rockes be verye ieoperdous and daungerous. In the middle distaunce betwene them bothe ſtandeth vp aboue the water a greate rocke, which therfore is nothing perillous bycauſe it is in ſight. Vpon the top of this rocke is a faire and a ſtrong tower builded, which they holde with a garriſon of men. Other rockes there be lyinge hidde vnder the water, which therfore be daungerous. The channelles be knowen onely to themſelfes. And therfore it ſeldome chaunceth that anye ſtraunger oneles he be guided by an Utopian can come in to this hauen. In ſo muche that they themſelfes could ſkaſelye entre withoute ieoperdie, but that theire way is directed and ruled by certaine lande markes ſtandinge on the ſhore. By turninge, tranſlatinge, and remouinge thies markes into other places they maye deſtroye theire enemies nauies, be they neuer ſo many. The out ſide or vtter circuite of ye land is alſo ful of hauens, but the landing is ſo ſuerly fenced, what by nature, and what by workemanſhyp of mans hand, that a fewe defenders maye dryue backe many armies. Howbeit as they ſaye, and as the faſſion of the place it ſelfe dothe partely ſhewe, it was not euer compaſſed about with the ſea. But kyng Utopus, whoſe name, as conquerour the Iland beareth (For before his tyme it was called Abraxa) which alſo broughte the rude and wild people to that excellent perfection in al good faſſions, humanitye, and ciuile gentilnes, wherin they nowe goe beyond al ye people of the world: euen at his firſte arriuinge and enteringe vpon the lande, furthwith obteynynge the victory, cauſed. xv. [fifteen] myles ſpace of vplandyſhe grounde, where the ſea had no paſſage, to be cut and dygged vp.

A place naturally fenced nedethe but one garrison.

A politique deuise in the chaunging of land markes.

The Ilande of Utopia so named of king Utopus.

And ſo brought the ſea rounde aboute the lande. He ſet to this worke not only the inhabitauntes of the

Ilande (becauſe they ſhould not thinke it done in contumelye and deſpyte) but alſo all his owne ſoldiours. Thus the worke beyng diuided into ſo greate a numbre of workemen, was with excedinge maruelous ſpede dyſpatched. In ſo muche that the borderers, whiche at the firſte began to mocke, and to ieſte at this vaine enterpryſe, then turned theire deriſion to marueyle at the ſucceſſe, and to feare.

Many handes make light worke.

There be in the Ilande. liiii. [fifty four] large and faire cities, or ſhiere townes, agreyng all together in one tonge, in lyke maners, inſtitucions, and lawes. They be all ſet and ſituate a lyke, and in al poyntes faſhioned alyke, as farforthe as the place or plotte ſufferethe.

Cities in Utopia.

Similitude causeth concorde.

Of theſe cities they that be nigheſte togetherbe, xxiiii. [twenty four] myles aſonder. Againe there is none of them diſtaunte from the nexte aboue one dayes iorneyeye a fote. There com yearly to Amaurote out of euery cytie. iii old men wyſe and well experienced, there to entreate and debate, of the common matters of the land. For this citie (becauſe it ſtandeth iuſte in the middes of the Ilande, and is therefore moſte mete for the ambaſſadours of all partes of the realme) is taken for the chiefe and heade citye. The precinctes and boundes of the ſhieres be ſo commodiouſlye appoynted oute, and ſet fourthe for the cities, that none of them all hathe of anye ſyde leſſe then xx. [twenty] myles of grounde, and of ſome ſyde alſo muche more, as of that part where the cities be of farther diſtaunce aſonder. None of the cities deſire to enlarge the boundes and limites of theire ſhieres. For they counte them ſelfes rather the good huſbandes, then the owners of theire landes. They haue in the countrey in all partes of the ſhiere houſes or fermes builded, wel appointed and furnyſhed with all ſortes of inſtrumentes and tooles belongynge to huſbandrye. Theſe houſes be inhabited of the citezens, whyche come

A meane distaunce betwene citie and citie.

The distribution of landes.

But this now adaies is the grounde of all mischeife.

Husbandrie and tillage cheifly and principally regarded and aduaunced.

thether to dwelle by courſe. No howſholde or ferme in the countrey hath fewer then. xl. [forty] perſones men and women, beſydes two bondmen, whyche be all vnder the rule and order of the good man, and the good wyfe of the houſe, beinge bothe verye ſage, diſcrete, and aunciente perſones. And euery. xxx. [thirty] fermes or families haue one heade ruler, whyche is called a Philarche, being as it were a head baylyffe. Out of euery one of theſe families or fermes commeth euerye yeare into the citie. xx. [twenty] perſones whiche haue continewed. ij. yeres before in the countreye. In theire place ſo manye freſhe be ſent thether oute of the citie, whoe, of them that haue bene there a yeare all readye, and be therefore expert and conninge in huſbandry, ſhalbe inſtructed and taughte. And they the nexte yeare ſhall teache other. This order is vſed for feare that either ſkarſenes of victualles, or ſome other like incommoditie ſhould chaunce, throughe lacke of knowledge: yf they ſhould be altogether newe, and freſhe, and vnexperte in husbandrie. This maner and faſſion of yearelye chaunginge and renewinge the occupiers of huſbandrye, though it be ſolempne and cuſtomablye vſed, to th[e] intent that no man ſhall be conſtrayned againſte his wil to contynewe longe in that harde and ſharpe kynde of lyfe, yet manye of them haue ſuche a pleaſure and delyte in huſbandrye, that they obteyne a longer ſpace of yeares. Theſe huſbandmen plowe and til the ground, and breede vp cattel, and prouide and make ready woode, whyche they carrye to the citie either by lande, or by water, as they maye moſte conuenyently. They brynge vp a greate multitude of pulleyne, and that by a meruaylouſe policye. For the hennes dooe not ſytte vpon the egges: but by keepynge theym in a certayne equall heate they brynge lyfe into them, and hatche theym. The chykens, aſſone as they be come oute of the ſhel, follow men and women in ſteade of the hennes. They brynge vp verye fewe horſes: nor none, but very fearce ones: and that for none other vſe or purpoſe, but onlye to

The dueties of men of husbandrye.

A straunge fassion in hatchinge and bringing vp of pulleyne.

The vse of horses.

exercyſe theire youthe in rydynge and feates of armes.

The vse of Oxen.

For oxen be put to all the laboure of plowyng and drawinge. Whiche they graunte to be not ſo good as horſes at a ſodeyne brunte, and (as we ſaye) at a deade lifte, but yet they holde opinion, that oxen wil abide and ſuffre muche more laboure, payne and hardnes, then horſes wil. And they thinke that oxen be not in daunger and ſubiect vnto ſo many diſeaſes, and that they be kepte and mainteined with muche leſſe coſte and charge: and finallye that they be good for meate, when they be paſt laboure. They ſowe

Bread and drink.

corne onelye for breade. For their drinke is eyther wyne made of grapes, or els of apples, or peares, or els it is cleare water. And many times meathe made of honey or licoureſſe ſodde[n] in water, for thereof they haue great ſtore. And though they knowe certeynlie (for they knowe it perfectly in dede) how muche vitailes the citie wyth the whole countreye or ſhiere rounde aboute it doeth

A great discretion in sowing of corne.

ſpende: Yet they ſowe muche more corne, and bryed vp muche more cattell, then ſerueth for their owne vſe, partynge the ouer plus among their borderers. What ſoeuer neceſſarie thinges be lacking in the countrey, all ſuche ſtuffe they fetch out of the citie: where without any exchaunge they eaſelye obteyne it of the magiſtrates of the citie. For euery moneth manie of them go into the citie on the holye daye. When theyr harueſt day draweth neare, and is at hande, then the Philarches, which be the head officers and bailifes of huſbandrie, ſend

Mutual helpe quickely dispatcheth.

worde to the magiſtrates of the citie what numbre of harueſt men is nedefull to be ſent to them oute of the citie. The whiche companye of harueſt men beynge readye at the daye appoynted, almoſt in one ſayre daye diſpacheth all the harueſt woorke.

Of the cities and namely of Amaurote.

AS for their cities, who ſo knoweth one of them, knoweth them all: they be al ſo like one to an other, as farfurthe as the nature of the place permitteth. I will deſcribe therefore to you one or other of them, for it ſkilleth not greatly which: but which rather then Amaurote? Of them all this is the worthieſt and of moſt dignitie. For the reſideu knowledge it for the head citie, because there is the counſell houſe. Nor to me anye of them all is better beloued, as wherein I liued fiue whole yeares together. The citie of Amaurote ſtandeth vpon the ſide of a lowe hill in faſhyon almoſt foure ſquare. For the breadth of it beginneth a litle beneth the toppe of the hill, and ſtill continueth by ye ſpace of two miles, vntill it come to the ryuer of Anyder. The length of it, which lieth by the ryuers ſyde, is ſumwhat more. The riuer of Anyder riſeth four and twentie myles aboue Amaurote out of a little ſpringe. But beynge increaſed by other ſmale riuers and broukes that runne into it, and amonge other two ſumwhat bygge ons, before the citie it is half a mile broade, and farther broader. And fortie myles beyond the citie it falleth into the Ocean ſea. By all that ſpace that liethe betwene the ſea and the citie, and certen myles alſo aboue the citie the water ebbeth and floweth ſixe houres together with a ſwift tide. Whan the ſea floweth in, for the length of thirtie miles it filleth all the Anyder with ſalte water, and driueth backe the freſhe water of the ryuer. And ſumwhat further it chaungeth the ſwetenes of the freſhe water with ſaltnes. But a litle beyonde that the riuer waxeth ſwete, and

The deſcription of Amaurote the chiefe Citie in Utopia.

The deſcription of the riuer of Anyder.

The verie like in England in the riuer of Thamys.

runneth foreby the citie freſhe and pleaſaunt. And when the ſea ebbeth, and goeth backe againe, the freſhe water foloweth it almooſte euen to the verie ſal into the ſea. Ther goeth a bridge ouer the riuer made not of piles or of timber, but of ſtonewarke with gorgious and ſubſtancial arches at that part of the citie that is farthest from the ſea: to the intent that ſhippes maye paſſe alonge forbie all the ſide of the citie without let. They haue alſo an other riuer which in dede is not verie great. But it runneth gentely and pleaſauntly. For it riſeth euen oute of the ſame hill that the citie ſtandeth vpon, and runneth downe a ſlope through the middes of the citie into Anyder. And becauſe it riſeth a litle withoute the citie, the Amaurotians haue incloſed the head ſpringe of it, with ſtronge fences and bulwarkes, and ſo haue ioyned it to the citie. This is done to the intente that the water ſhoulde not be ſtopped nor turned away, or poyſoned, if their enemies ſhould chaunce to come vpon them. From thence the water is deriued and conueied downe in cannels of bricke diuers wayes into the lower partes of the citie. Where that cannot be done, by reaſon that the place wyll not ſuffer it, there they gather ye raine water in great ciſternes, whiche doeth them as good ſeruice. The citie is compaſſed aboute with a heighe and thicke ſtone walle full of turrettes and bulwarkes. A drie diche, but deape, and brode, and ouergrowen with buſhes, briers, and thornes, goeth aboute thre ſides or quarters of the city. To the fourth ſide the riuer it ſelfe ſerueth for a ditche. The ſtretes be appointed and ſet furth very commodious and handſome, both for carriage, and alſo againſte the windes. The houſes be of faire and gorgious building, and on the ſtrete ſide they ſtande ioyned together in a long rowe through the whole ſtreate without any partition or ſeparation. The ſtretes be twentie foote brode. On the backe ſide of

Herein also doeth London agre with Amaurote.

The vse of freshe water.

The defence of towne walles.

Stretes.

Buildinges and houses.

the houſes through the whole length of the ſtreete, lye large gardens incloſed rounde aboute wyth the backe part of the ſtreetes. Euerye houſe hathe two doores, one into the ſtreete, and a poſterne doore on the backſyde into the garden. Theſe doores be made with two leaues, neuer locked nor bolted, ſo eaſie to be opened, that they wil followe the leaſt drawing of a fynger, and ſhutte againe alone. Whoſo will, may go in, for there is nothinge within the houſes that is priuate, or anie mans owne. And euery tenth yeare they chaunge their houſes by lot. They ſet great ſtore by their gardeins. In them they haue vineyardes, all maner of fruite, herbes, and flowres, ſo pleaſaunt, ſo well furniſhed, and ſo fynely kepte, that I neuer ſawe thynge more frutefull, nor better trimmed in anye place. Their ſtudie and deligence herein commeth not onely of pleaſure, but alſo of a certen ſtrife and contention that is betwene ſtrete and ſtrete, concerning the trimming, huſbanding, and furniſſhing of their gardens: euerye man for his owne parte. And verelye you ſhall not lightelye finde in all the citie anye thinge, that is more commodious, eyther for the profite of the Citizens, or for pleaſure. And therfore it maye ſeme that the firſt founder of the citie mynded nothing ſo much, as theſe gardens. For they ſaye that kinge Utopus him ſelfe, euen at the firſt beginning appointed, and drewe furth the platte fourme of the citie into this faſhion and figure that it hath nowe, but the gallant garniſhinge, and the beautifull ſettinge furth of it, wherunto he ſawe that one mannes age would not ſuffice: that he left to his poſteritie. For their cronicles, whiche they kepe written with all deligente circumſpection, conteinynge the hiſtorie of. M. vii. C. lx. [one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty] yeares, euen from the firſte conqueſt of the Ilande, recorde and witneſſe that the houſes in the beginning were very low, and like homely cotages or poore ſheppard houſes, made at all aduen-

To euery dwelling house a garden platte adioyninge.

This geere smelleth of Plato his communitie.

The commoditie of gardens is commended also of Vergile.

tures of euerye rude pece of tymber, that came firſte to hande; with mudde walles, and ridged rooffes, thatched ouer with ſtrawe. But nowe the houſes be curiouſlye buylded after a gorgious and gallante ſorte, with three ſtoryes one ouer another. The outſides of the walles be made either of harde flynte, or of plaſter, or els of bricke, and the inner ſydes be well ſtrengthened with tymber work. The rooſes be plaine and flat, couered with a certen kinde of plaſter that is of no coſte, and yet ſo tempered that no fyre can hurt or periſhe it, and withſtandeth the violence of the wether better then any leade. They kepe the winde oute of their windowes with glaſſe, for it is ther much vſed, and ſomhere alſo with fine linnen cloth dipped in oyle or ambre, and that for two commodities. For by thys meanes more lighte commeth in, and the winde is better kepte oute.

Glazed or canuased windowes.

¶ Of the magistrates.

Euerye thirtie families or fermes, chueſe them yerely an officer, which in their olde language is called the Syphograunte, and by a newer name the Philarche. Euery ten Syphograuntes, with al their thirtie families be vnder an officer which was ones called the Tranibore, nowe the chiefe Philarche. Moreouer as concerninge the election of the Prince, all the Syphograuntes, which be in number. 200. firſt be ſworne to chueſe, him whom they thinke mooſte mete and expediente. Then by a ſecrete election, they name prince one of thoſe. iiij. whome the people before named vnto them. For oute of the. iiij. quarters of the citie there be. iiij choſen, oute of

A tranibore in the Utopiane tonge signifieth a head or chief peere.

A maruelous straunge fassion in chusinge magistrates.

euery quarter one, to ſtande for the election : Whiche be put vp to the counſell. The princes office continueth all his life tyme, oneles he be depoſed or put downe for ſuſpition of tirannie. They chueſe the Tranibores yearly, but lightlie they chaunge them not. All the other officers be but for one yeare. The Tranibores euerye thyrde daye, and ſumtimes, yf nede be, oftener come into the counſell houſe with the prince. Their counſell is concerninge the common wealthe. If there be any controuerſies amonge the commoners, whiche be verye fewe, they diſpatch and ende them by and by. They take euer. ij. Siphograuntes to them in counſel, and eueri dai a new coupel. And it is prouided, that nothinge touchinge the common wealthe ſhalbe confirmed and ratified, onleſſe it haue bene reaſoned of and debated thre daies in the counſell, before it be decreed. It is deathe to haue anye conſultation for the common wealthe oute of the counſell, or the place of the common election. This ſtatute, they ſaye, was made to the entente, that the prince and Tranibores might not eaſilye conſpire together to oppreſſe the people by tyrannie, and to chaunge the ſtate of the weale publik. Therfore matters of great weight and importance be broughte to the election houſe of the Siphograuntes, which open the matter to their families. And afterwarde, when they haue conſulted amonge themſelues, they ſhew their deuiſe to the counſell. Somtime the matter is broughte before the counſel of the whole Ilande. Furthermore this cuſtome alſo the counſel vſeth, to diſpute or reaſon of no matter the ſame daye that it is firſte propoſed or put furthe, but to defferre it to the nexte ſyttinge of the counſell. Becauſe that no man when he hath raſhely there ſpoken that commeth to his tonges ende, ſhall then afterwarde rather ſtudye for

Tyranny in a wel ordered weale publique vtterlie to be abhorred.

Sutes and con trouersies betwene partie and partie furthwith to be ended which now a daies of a set purpose be vnreasonably delaied.

Against hastie and rash decries or statutes.

A custome worthye to be vsed these daies in our counsels and parliamentes.

reaſons wherewith to defende and mainteine his firſt foliſh ſentence, than for the commoditie of ye common wealth: as one rather willing the harme or hindraunce of the weale publike then any loſſe or diminution of his owne exiſtimation. And as one that would be aſhamed (which is a very foliſhe ſhame) to be counted anye thing at the firſte ouerſene in the matter. Who at the firſt ought to haue
ſpoken rather wyſelye,
then haſtely, or
raſhlye.

¶ Of Sciences, Craftes and Ocupations.

Husbandrie or tillage practised of all estates, which now a dayes is reiect vnto a fewe of the basest sort.

HVſbandrie is a Science common to them all ingenerall, bothe men and women, wherein they be all experte and cunning. In this they be all inſtructe euen from their youth: partelie in their ſcholes with traditions and preceptes, and partlie in the countrey nighe the citie, brought vp as it were in playinge, not onely beholding the vſe of it, but by occaſion of exerciſing their bodies practiſing it alſo. Beſides huſbandrie, whiche (as I ſaide) is common to them all, euerye one of them learneth one or other ſeueral and particular ſcience, as his owne proper crafte. That is moſt commonly either clothworking in wol or flaxe, or maſonrie, or the ſmithes craft, or the carpenters ſcience. For there is none other occupation that any number to ſpeake of doth vſe there. For their garmentes, which throughoute all the Ilande be of one faſhion, (ſauynge that there is a difference betwene the mans garmente and the womans, betwene the maried and the vnmaried) and this one continueth for

Siences or occupations should be learned for necessities sake, and not for the mayntenaunce of riotous excesse and wanton pleasure.

Similitude in apparrell.

euermore vnchaunged, ſemely and comelie to the eye, no lette to the mouynge and weldynge of the bodye, alſo fytte both for wynter and ſummer: as for theſe garmentes (I ſaye) euery familie maketh their owne. But of the other foreſaide craftes euerye man learneth one. And not onely the men, but alſo the women. But the women, as the weaker ſort, be put to the eaſier craftes: as to worke wolle and flaxe. The more laborſome ſciences be committed to the men. For the mooſte part euery man is broughte vp in his fathers crafte. For moſte commonlye they be naturallie therto bente and inclined. But yf a mans minde ſtande to anye other, he is by adoption put into a familye of that occupation, which he doth moſt fantaſy. Whome not onely his father, but alſo the magiſtrates do diligently loke to, that he be put to a diſcrete and an honeſt houſeholder. Yea, and if anye perſon, when he hath learned one crafte, be deſierous to learne alſo another, he is likewyſe ſuffred and permitted.

No citizein without a science.

To what ocupation euery-one is naturallie inclined that let him learne.

When he hathe learned bothe, he occupieth whether he wyll: oneleſſe the citie haue more neade of the one, then of the other. The chiefe and almooſte the onelye offyce of the Syphograunte is, to ſee and take hede, that no manne ſit idle: but that euerye one applye hys owne craft with earneſt diligence. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from earlie in the morninge, to late in the euenninge, with continuall worke, like labouringe and toylinge beaſtes.

Idel persones to be driuen out of the weale publique.

For this is worſe then the miſerable and wretched condition of bondemen. Whiche neuertheles is almooſte euerye where the lyfe of workemen and artificers, ſauing in Utopia. For they diuidynge the daye and the nyghte into xxiiii. iuſte houres, appointe and aſſigne onelye ſixe of thoſe houres to woorke before noone, vpon the whiche they go ſtreighte to diner: and after diner, when they haue reſted two houres,

A moderation in the laboure and toyle of artificers.

then they worke iii. houres and vpon that they go to ſupper. Aboute eyghte of the cloke in the eueninge (countinge one of the clocke at the firſte houre after noone) they go to bedde: eyght houres they geue to ſlepe. All the voide time, that is betwene the houres of worke, ſlepe, and meate, that they be ſuffered to beſtowe, euery man as he liketh beſt him ſelfe. Not to th[e] intent that they ſhold miſpend this time in riote or ſlouthfulnes: but beynge then licenſed from the laboure of their owne occupations, to beſtow the time well and thriftelye vpon ſome other ſcience, as ſhall pleaſe them. For it is a ſolempne cuſtome there, to haue lectures daylye early in the morning, where to be preſente they onely be conſtrained that be namelye choſen and appoynted to learninge. Howbeit a greate multitude of euery ſort of people, both men and women go to heare lectures, ſome one and ſome an other, as euerye mans nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithſtanding, if any man had rather beſtowe this time vpon his owne occupation, (as it chaunceth in manye, whoſe mindes riſe not in the contemplation of any ſcience liberall) he is not letted, nor prohibited, but is alſo prayſed and commended, as profitable to the common wealthe. After ſupper they beſtow one houre in playe: in ſummer in their gardens: in winter in their commen halles: where they dine and ſuppe. There they exerciſe themſelues in muſike, or els in honeſt and wholſome communication. Diceplaye, and ſuche other foliſhe and pernicious games they know not. But they vſe ij. games not much vnlike the cheſſe. The one is the battell of numbers, wherein one numbre ſtealethe awaye another. The other is wherin vices fyghte with vertues, as it were in battel array, or a ſet fyld. In the which game is verye properlye ſhewed, both the ſtriffe and diſcorde that vices haue amonge themſelfes, and agayne theire vnitye and concorde againſte vertues: And alſo what vices be repugnaunt to what vertues:

The studie of good literature.

Playing after supper.

But now adaies diceplay is the pastime of princes.

Plaies or games also profitable.

with what powre and ſtrength they aſſaile them openlye: by what wieles and ſubtelty they aſſaulte them ſecretelye: with what helpe and aide the vertues reſiſte, and ouercome the puiſſaunce of the vices: by what craft they fruſtrate their purpoſes: and finally by what ſleight or meanes the one getteth the victory. But here leaſt you be deceaued, one thinge you muſte looke more narrowly vpon. For ſeinge they beſtowe but. vi. houres in woorke, perchaunce you maye thinke that the lacke of ſome neceſſarye thinges hereof maye enſewe. But this is nothinge ſo. For that ſmal time is not only enough but alſo to muche for the ſtoore and abundaunce of all thinges, that be requiſite, either for the neceſſitie, or commoditie of life. The which thinge you alſo ſhall perceaue, if you weye and conſider with your ſelfes how great a parte of the people in other contreis lyueth ydle. Firſt almoſt all women, whyche be the halfe of the whole numbre: or els if the women be ſomewhere occupied, there moſt commonlye in their ſteade the men be ydle. Beſydes this how greate, and how ydle a companye is there of preyſtes, and relygious men, as they cal them? put thereto al ryche men, ſpeciallye all landed men, which comonlye be called gentilmen, and noble men. Take into this numbre alſo theire ſeruauntes: I meane all that flocke of ſtoute bragging ruſſhe bucklers. Ioyne to them alſo ſturdy and valiaunte beggers, clokinge their idle lyfe vnder the coloure of ſome diſeaſe or ſickenes. And trulye you ſhal find them much fewer then you thought, by whoſe labour all theſe thinges are wrought, that in mens affaires are now daylye vſed and frequented. Nowe conſyder with youre ſelfe, of theſe fewe that doe woorke, how fewe be occupied, in neceſſarye woorkes. For where money beareth all the ſwinge, there many vayne and ſuperfluous occupations muſt nedes be vſed, to ſerue only for ryotous ſuperfluite, and vnhoneſt

The kyndes and sortes of ydel people.

Women.

Priestes and religious men. Riche men and landed men.

Seruyngmen.

Sturdy and valiaunt beggers.

Wonderfull wittely spoken.

pleaſure. For the ſame multitude that now is occupied in woork, if they were deuided into ſo fewe occupations as the neceſſarye vſe of nature requyreth: in ſo greate plentye of thinges as then of neceſſity woulde enſue, doubtles the prices wolde be to lytle for the artifycers to maynteyne theire liuinges. But yf all theſe that be nowe buſied about vnprofitable occupations, with all the whole flocke of them that lyue ydellye and ſlouthfullye, whyche conſume and waſte euerye one of them more of theſe thinges that come by other mens laboure, then. ij. of the workemen themſelfes doo: yf all theſe (I ſaye) were ſette to profytable occupatyons: you eaſelye perceaue howe lytle tyme would be enoughe, yea and to muche to ſtoore vs with all thinges that maye be requiſite either for neceſſitie, or for commoditye, yea or for pleaſure, ſo that the ſame pleaſure be trewe and natural. And this in Utopia the thinge it ſelfe makethe manifeſte and playne. For there in all the citye, with the whole contreye, or ſhiere adioyning to it ſcaſelye. 500. perſons of al ye whole numbre of men and women, that be neither to olde, nor to weake to worke, be licenſed and diſcharged from laboure. Amonge them be the Siphograuntes (whoe thoughe they be by the lawes exempte and priuileged from labour) yet they exempte not themſelfes: to the intent that they may the rather by their example prouoke other to worke. The ſame vacation from labour do they alſo enioye, to whome the people perſuaded by the commendation of the prieſtes, and ſecrete election of the Siphograuntes, haue geuen a perpetual licence from laboure to learninge. But if any one of them proue not accordinge to the expectation and hoope of him conceaued, he is forthwith plucked backe to the company of artificers. And contrarye wiſe, often it chaunceth that a handicraftes man doth ſo earneſtly beſtowe his vacaunte and ſpare houres in learninge, and throughe diligence ſo profyteth therin, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Oute of this

Not asmuche as the magistrates liue idelly.

ordre of the learned be chofen ambafiadours, prieftes, Tranibores, and finallye the prince him felfe. Whome they in theire olde tonge cal Barzanes, and by a newer name, Adamus. The refidewe of the people being neither ydle, nor yet occupied about vnprofitable exercifes, it may be eafely iudged in how fewe houres how muche good woorke by them may be doone and difpatched, towardes thofe thinges yat I haue fpoken of. This commodity they haue alfo aboue other, yat in the moft part of neceffarye occupations they neade not fo much work, as other nations doe. For firft of all ye buildinge or repayringe of houfes afketh euerye where fo manye mens continual labour, bicaufe yat the vnthrifty heire fuffereth ye houfes that his father buylded in contyneuaunce of tyme to fall in decay. So that which he myghte haue vpholden wyth lytle cofte, hys fucceffoure is conftreyned to buylde it agayne a newe, to his great charge. Yea manye tymes alfo the howfe that ftoode one man in muche moneye, another is of fo nyce and foo delycate a mynde, that he fettethe nothinge by it. And it beynge neglected, and therefore fhortelye fallynge into ruyne, he buyldethe vppe another in an other place with no leffe cofte and chardge. But amonge the Utopians, where all thinges be fett in a good ordre, and the common wealthe in a good ftaye, it very feldom chaunceth, that they cheufe a newe plotte to buyld an houfe vpon. And they doo not only finde fpedy and quicke remedies for prefent faultes: but alfo preuente them that be like to fall. And by this meanes their houfes continewe and lafte very longe with litle labour and fmal reparations: in fo much that this kind of woorkmen fomtimes haue almoft nothinge to doo. But that they be commaunded to hewe timbre at home, and to fquare and trimme vp ftones, to the intente that if anye woorke chaunce, it may the fpedelier rife. Now Syr in theire apparell, marke (I praye you) howe few woorkmen they neade. Fyrfte of al, whyles they be at

Onely learned men called to offices.

How to auoyd excessiue cost in building.

How to lessen the charge in apparel.

woorke, they be couered homely with leather or ſkinnes, that will laſt. vii. yeares. When they go furthe abrode they caſte vpon them a cloke, whych hydeth the other homelye apparel. Theſe clookes through out the whole Iland be all of one coloure, and that is the natural coloure of the wul. They therefore do not only ſpend much leſſe wullen clothe then is ſpente in other contreis, but alſo the ſame ſtandeth them in muche leſſe coſte. But lynen clothe is made with leſſe laboure, and is therefore hadde more in vſe. But in lynen cloth onlye whyteneſſe, in wullen only clenlynes is regarded. As for the ſmalneſſe or fineneſſe of ye threde, that is no thinge paſſed for. And this is the cauſe wherfore in other places. iiii. or v clothe gownes of dyuers coloures, and as manye ſilke cootes be not enoughe for one man. Yea and yf he be of the delicate and nyſe ſorte. x. [ten] be to fewe: whereas there one garmente wyl ſerue a man mooſte commenlye. ij. yeares. For whie ſhoulde he deſyre moo? ſeinge yf he had them, he ſhould not be the better hapte or couered from colde, neither in his apparel anye whitte the comlyer. Wherefore, ſeinge they be all exercyſed in profitable occupations, and that fewe artificers in the ſame craftes be ſufficiente, this is the cauſe that plentye of all thinges beinge among them, they doo ſometymes bringe forthe an innumerable companye of people to amend the hyghe wayes, yf anye be broken. Many times alſo, when they haue no ſuche woorke to be occupied aboute, an open proclamation is made, that they ſhall beſtowe fewer houres in worke. For the magiſtrates doe not exerciſe theire citizens againſte theire willes in vnneadefull laboures. For whie in the inſtitution of that weale publique, this ende is onelye and chiefely pretended and mynded, that what time maye poſſibly be ſpared from the neceſſarye occupacions and affayres of the commen wealth, all yat the citizeins ſhoulde withdrawe from the bodely ſeruice to the free libertye of the minde, and garniſſhinge of the ſame. For herein

they ſuppoſe the felicitye of
this liffe to conſiſte.

¶ Of theire liuinge and mutual conuersation together.

BVt nowe wil I declare how the citizens vſe them ſelfes one towardes another: what familiar occupieng and enterteynement, there is amonge the people, and what faſſion they vſe in the diſtribution of euery thing. Firſte the city conſiſteth of familles, the families moſt commonlye be made of kinredes. For the women, when they be maryed at a lawefull age, they goo into theire huſbandes houſes. But the male children, with al the whole male offpringe continewe ſtill in their owne family and be gouerned of the eldeſt and auncienteſt father, onles he dote for age: for then the next to him in age, is placed in his rowme. But to th[e]intent ye preſcript number of the citezens ſhoulde neither decreaſe, nor aboue meaſure increaſe, it is ordeined that no familie which in euery citie be. vi. thouſand in the whole, beſydes them of the contrey, ſhall at ones haue fewer children of the age of. xiiii. yeares or there about then. x. or mo then. xvi. for of children vnder this age no numbre can be preſcribed or appointed. This meaſure or numbre is eaſely obſerued and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be aboue the number into families of ſmaller increaſe. But if chaunce be that in ye whole citie the ſtoore increaſe aboue the iuſt number, therewith they fil vp ye lacke of other cities. But if ſo be yat the multitude throughout the whole Ilande paſſe and excede the dewe number, then they chueſe out of euery citie certein citezens, and build vp a towne vnder their owne lawes in the next land where the inhabitauntes haue muche waſte and vnoccupied ground, receauing alſo of the ſame countrey people to them, if they wil ioyne and dwel with them. They thus ioyning

The numbre of citizens.

and dwelling together do eaſelye agre in one faſſion of liuing, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they ſo bringe the matter about by theire lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is nowe ſufficiente and fruteful enoughe for them both. But if the inhabitauntes of that lande wyl not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes, then they dryue them out of thoſe boundes which they haue limited, and apointed out for them ſelues. And if they reſiſte and rebel, then they make warre agaynſt them. For they counte this the moſte iuſte cauſe of warre, when anye people holdethe a piece of grounde voyde and vacaunt to no good nor profitable vſe, kepyng other from the vſe and poſſeſſion of it, whiche notwithſtandyng by the lawe of nature ought thereof to be nouryſhed and relieued. If anye chaunce do ſo muche diminiſhe the number of any of theire cities, that it cannot be fylled vp agayne, without the diminiſhynge of the iuſt numbre of the other cyties (whiche they ſay chaunced but twyſe ſynce the beginnyng of the lande throughe a greate peſtilente plage) then they fulfyll and make vp the numbre with cytezens fetched out of theire owne forreyne townes, for they had rather ſuffer theire forreyne townes to decaye and peryſhe, then any cytie of theire owne Ilande to be diminiſhed. But nowe agayne to the conuerſation of the cytezens amonge themſelfes. The eldeſte (as I ſayde) rulethe the familye. The wyfes bee miniſters to theire huſbandes, the children to theire parentes, and to bee ſhorte the yonger to theire elders. Euery Cytie is deuided into foure equall partes or quarters. In the myddes of euery quarter there is a market place of all maner of thinges. Thether the workes of euery familie be brought into certeyne houſes. And euerye kynde of thing is layde vp ſeuerall in bernes or ſtore houſes. From hence the father of euerye familye, or euery houſholder fetchethe whatſoeuer he and his haue neade of, and carieth it away with him without money,

So might we well be discharged and eased of the ydle company of seruyngmen.

without exchaunge, without any gage, pawne, or pledge. For whye ſhoulde any thing be denyed vnto him? ſeynge there is abundaunce of all thinges, and that it is not to bee feared, leſte anye man wyll aſke more then he neadeth. For whie ſhould it be thoughte that that man woulde aſke more then anough, which is ſewer neuer to lacke? Certeynely in all kyndes of lyuinge creatures either feare of lacke dothe cauſe couetouſnes and rauyne, or in man only pryde, which counteth it a glorious thinge to paſſe and excel other in the ſuperfluous and vayne oſtentation of thinges. The whyche kynde of vice amonge the Utopians can haue no place. Nexte to the market places that I ſpake of, ſtande meate markettes: whether be brought not only all ſortes of herbes, and the fruites of trees, with breade, but alſo fiſhe, and all maner of. iiii. footed beaſtes, and wilde foule that be mans meate. But firſt the ſylthynes and ordure therof is clene waſhed awaye in the renninge ryuer without the cytie in places appoynted mete for the ſame purpoſe. From thence the beaſtes be brought in kylled, and cleane waſſhed by the handes of theire bondemen For they permitte not their frie citezens to accuſtome them ſelfes to the killing of beaſtes, through the vſe whereof they thinke, clemencye the genteleſte affection of oure nature by lytle and lytle to decaye and peryſhe. Neither they ſuffer anye thinge that is ſylthye, lotheſom, or vnclenlye, to be broughte into the cytie, leaſt the ayre by the ſtenche therof infected and corrupte, ſhoulde cauſe peſtilente diſeaſes. Moreouer euerye ſtrete hath certeyne great large halles ſett in equal diſtaunce one from another, euerye one knowen by a ſeuerall name. In theſe halles dwell the Syphograuntes. And to euerye one of the ſame halles be apoynted. xxx. [thirty] families, on either ſide. xv [fifteen] The ſtewardes of euerye halle at a certayne houre come in to the meate markettes, where they receyue meate accordinge to the number of their halles.

The cause of coueteus and extortion.

Of the slaughter of beastes we haue learned manslaughter.

Fylth and ordure bring the infection of pestilence into Cyties.

Care, diligence and attendance about the sicke.

But firſt and chieflie of all reſpect is had to the ſycke, that be cured in the hoſpitalles. For in the circuite of the citie, a litle without ye walles, they haue. iiii. hoſpitalles, ſo bigge ſo wyde, ſo ample, and ſo large, that they may ſeme. iiii. litle townes, which were deuiſed of yat bignes partely to th[e] intent the ſycke, be they neuer ſo many in numbre, ſhuld not lye to thronge or ſtrayte, and therfore vneaſely, and incommodiouſly: and partely that they which were taken and holden with contagious diſeaſes, ſuche as be wonte by infection to crepe from one to an other, myght be layde apart farre from the company of ye reſidue Theſe hoſpitalles be ſo wel appointed, and with al thinges neceſſary to health ſo furniſhed, and more ouer ſo diligent attendaunce through the continual preſence of cunning phiſitians is geuen, that though no man be ſent thether againſt his will, yet notwithſtandinge there is no ſicke perſone in al the citie, that had not rather lye there, then at home in his owne houſe. When the ſtewarde of the ſicke hath receiued ſuche meates as the phiſitians haue preſcribed, then the beſte is equallye deuided among the halles, according to the company of euery one, ſauing that there is had a reſpect to the prince, the byſhop, the tranibours, and to ambaſſadours and all ſtraungers, if there be any, which be verye fewe and ſeldome. But they alſo when they be there, haue certeyne ſeuerall houſes apointed and prepared for them. To theſe halles at ye ſet houres of dinner and ſupper commeth all the whole Siphograuntie or warde, warned by ye noyſe of a braſen trumpet: except ſuche as be ſicke in ye hoſpitalles, or

Euery man is at his libertie so that nothing is done by compulsion.

els in their owne houſes. Howbeit no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halles be ſerued, to fetch home meate out of ye market to his own houſe, For they knowe that no man wyl doe it without a cauſe reaſonable. For thoughe no man be prohibited to dyne at home, yet no man doth it willyngly: becauſe it is counted a pointe of ſmal honeſtie. And alſo it were a follye to

take the payne to dreſſe a badde diner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fyne fare ſo neighe hande at the hall. In this hal al vile ſeruice, all ſlauery, and drudgerie, with all labourſome toyle, and baſe buſines is done by bondemen. But the women of euery family by courſe haue the office and charge of cookerie for ſethinge and dreſſinge the meate, and orderinge all thinges therto belongyng. They ſit at three tables or moe, accordinge to the numbre of their company. The men ſitte vpon the bench next the wall, and the women againſte them on the other ſide of the table, that yf anye ſodeyne euyll ſhould chaunce to them, as many tymes happeneth to women with chylde, they maye riſe wythoute trouble or diſturbaunce of anye bodie, and go thence into the nurcerie. The nurceis ſitte ſeuerall alone with theyr younge ſuckelinges in a certaine parloure appointed and deputed to the ſame purpoſe, neuer withoute fire and cleane water, nor yet without cradels, that when they wyll they maye laye downe the younge infantes, and at theyr pleaſure take them oute of their ſwathynge clothes, and holde them to the fire, and refreſhe them with playe. Euery mother is nource to her owne childe, onles either death, or ſycknes be the let. When that chaunceth, the wiues of the Syphograuntes quyckelye prouyde a nource. And that is not harde to be done. For they that can doo it, profer themſelues to no ſeruice ſo gladlye as to that. Becauſe that there thys kinde of pitie is muche prayſed : and the chylde that is nouriſhed, euer after taketh his nource for his owne naturall mother. Alſo amonge the nourceis, ſytte all the children that be vnder the age of v. yeares. All the other chyldren of bothe kyndes, aſwell boyes as girles, that be vnder the age of maryage, do eyther ſerue at the tables, or els if they be to yonge therto, yet they ſtand by with maruailous ſilence. That whiche is geuen to them from the table they eate, and other ſeueral

Women bothe dresse and serue the meate.

Nourceis.

Nothing soner prouoketh men to well doyng then praise and commendation.

The education of yonge children.

dynner tyme they haue none. The Siphograunte and his wife ſitte in the myddes of the high table, foraſmuch as that is counted the honorableſt place, and becauſe from thence all the whole companie is in their ſight. For that table ſtandeth ouer wharte the ouer ende of the hall To them be ioyned two of the auncienteſt and eldeſt. For at euerye table they ſit foure at a meeſſe. But yf there be a church ſtanding in yat Syphograuntie or warde, then the prieſt and his wife ſitteth with the Siphograunt, as chiefe in the company. On both ſydes of them ſit yonge men, and nexte vnto them againe olde men. And thus through out all the houſe equall of age be ſette together, and yet be mixt and matched with vnequal ages. This, they ſay, was ordeyned, to the intent that the ſage grauitie and reuerence of the elders ſhould kepe the yongers from wanton licence of wordes and behauioure. Foraſmuch as nothynge can be ſo ſecretlye ſpoken or done at the table, but either they that ſit on the one ſide or on the other muſte nedes perceaue it. The diſhes be not ſet down in order from the firſt place but all the olde men (whoſe places be marked with ſome ſpeciall token to be knowen) be firſt ſerued of their meate, and then the reſidue equally. The olde men deuide their, deinties as they think beſt to the yonger on eche ſyde of them.

The yong mixed with their elders.

Olde men regarded and reuerenced.

Thus the elders be not defrauded of their dewe honoure, and neuertheleſſe equall commoditie commeth to euery one. They begin euerye dinner and ſupper of redinge ſumthing yat perteneth to good maners and vertue. But it is ſhorte, becauſe no man ſhalbe greued therwith. Hereof th[e] elders take occaſion of honeſt communication, but neither ſadde nor vnpleaſaunt. Howbeit they do not ſpende all the whole dinertime themſelues with longe and tedious talkes: but they gladly heare alſo the yonge men: yea, and purpoſelye prouoke them to talke, to th[e] intent that they may haue

This nowe a daies is obserued in oure vniuersities.

Talke at the table.

a profe of euery mans wit, and towardnes, or diſpoſition to vertue, which commonlie in the libertie of feaſting doth ſhew and vtter it ſelf. Their diners be verie ſhort: but their ſuppers be ſumwhat longer, becauſe that after dyner foloweth laboure, after ſupper ſlepe and natural reſte, whiche they thinke to be of more ſtrength and efficacie to wholſome and healthfull digeſtion. No ſupper is paſſed without muſicke. Nor their bankettes lacke no conceytes nor ionketes. They burne ſwete gummes and ſpices or perfumes, and pleaſaunt ſmelles, and ſprinckle aboute ſwete oyntementes and waters, yea, they leaue nothing vndone that maketh for the cheringe of the companye. For they be muche enclined to this opinion: to thinke no kinde of pleaſure forbydden, whereof commeth no harme. Thus therfore and after this ſort they liue togethers in the citie, but in the countrey they that dwell alone farre from any neighboures, do dyne and ſuppe at home in their owne houſes. For no familie there lacketh any kinde of victualles, as from whom commeth all that the citezens eate and lyue by.

This is repugnaunt to the opinion of our phisitions.

Musick at the table.

Pleasure without harme not discommendable.

¶ Of their iourneyng or trauayling abrode, with diuers other matters cunninglye reasoned, and wyttilye discussed.

BVt if any be desierous to visite either theyr frendes dwelling in an other citie, or to see the place it selfe: they easelie obteyne licence of their Siphograuntes and Tranibores, onlesse there be some profitable let. No man goeth out alone but a companie is sente furth together with their princes letters, which do testifie that they haue licence to go that iourney, and prescribeth also the day of their retourne. They haue a wageyn geuen them, with a common bondman, which driueth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But onles they haue women in their companie, they sende home the wageyn againe, as an impediment and a let. And thoughe they carye nothynge furth with them, yet in all their iorney they lack nothing. For wherfoeuer they come, they be at home. If they tary in a place longer then one daye, than there euery one of them falleth to his owne occupation, and be very gentilly enterteined of the workemen and companies of the same craftes. If any man of his owne heade and without leaue, walke out of his precint and boundes, taken without the princes letters, he is broughte againe for a fugitiue or a runaway with great shame and rebuke, and is sharpely punished. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is punished with bondage. If anye be desirous to walke abrode into the feldes, or into the countrey yat belongeth to the same citie that he dwelleth in, obteininge the good wil of his father, and the consente of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of ye contrei soeuer he commeth he hath no

meat geuen him vntil he haue wrought out his forenones taſke, or diſpatched ſo muche work, as there is wont to be wrought before ſupper. Obſeruing this law and condition, he may go whether he wil within the boundes of his own citie. For he ſhalbe no les profitable to ye citie, then if he were within it. Now you ſe how litle liberte they haue to loiter: howe they can haue no cloke or pretence to ydlenes. There be neither winetauernes, nor ale houſes, nor ſtewes, nor anye occaſion of vice or wickednes, no lurkinge corners, no places of wycked counſels or vnlawfull aſſembles. But they be in the preſente ſighte, and vnder the eies of euery man. So that of neceſſitie they muſt either apply their accuſtomed labours, or els recreate themſelues with honeſt and laudable paſtimes.

O holy common wealth, and of Christians to be folowed.

This faſhion and trade of life, being vſed amonge the people, it cannot be choſen, but that they muſte of neceſſitie haue ſtore and plentie of all thinges. And ſeyng they be all therof parteners equallie, therefore can no man there be poore or nedie. In the counſell of Amaurot, whether, as I ſaid, euery citie ſendeth three men a pece yearly, aſſone as it is perfectly knowen of what thinges there is in euery place plentie, and againe what thinges be ſkant in any place: incontinent the lacke of the one is perfourmed and filled vp with the aboundaunce of the other. And this they do frely without anye benefite, taking nothing againe of them, to whom ye thinges is giuen, but thoſe cities that haue geuen of their ſtore to any other citie that lacketh, requiring nothing againe of ye ſame citie, do take ſuche thinges as they lacke of an other citie, to the which they gaue nothinge. So the whole ylande is as it were one familie, or houſholde. But when they haue made ſufficient prouiſion of ſtore for themſelues (which they thinke not done, vntil they haue prouided for two yeres folowinge, becauſe of the vncertentie of the next yeares

Equalitie is the cause that euery man hath enoughe.

A common wealthe is nothing elles but a great household.

proffe) then of thoſe thinges, wherof they haue abundaunce, they carie furth into other countreis great plentie: as grayne, honnie, wulle, flaxe, woode, madder, purple died felles, waxe, tallowe, lether, and lyuinge beaſtes. And the ſeuenth parte of all theſe thynges they geue franckelye and frelie to the pore of that countrey. The reſidewe they ſell at a reaſonable and meane price. By this trade of traffique or marchaundiſe, they bring into their own contrey, not only great plenty of golde and ſiluer, but alſo all ſuche thynges as they lacke at home, whiche is almoſte nothinge but Iron. And by reaſon they haue longe vſed this trade, nowe they haue more aboundaunce of theſe thinges, then anye man wyll beleue. Nowe therfore they care not whether they ſell for readye money, or els vpon truſte to be payed at a daye, and to haue the mooſte parte in debtes. But in ſo doynge they neuer followe the credence of priuat men: but the aſſuraunce or warrauntiſe of the whole citie, by inſtrumentes and writinges made in that behalfe accordingly. When the daye of paiement is come and expired, the citie gathereth vp the debte of the priuate debtoures, and putteth it into the common boxe, and ſo longe hathe the vſe and profite of it, vntill the Vtopians their creditours demaunde it. The mooſte parte of it they neuer aſke. For that thynge whiche is to them no profite to take it from other, to whom it is profitable: they thinke it no righte nor conſcience. But if the caſe ſo ſtand, that they muſt lende part of that money to an other people, then they require theyr debte: or when they haue warre. For the whiche purpoſe onelye they kepe at home all the treaſure, whiche they haue, to be holpen and ſocoured by it either in extreame ieopardyes, or in ſuddeine daungers. But eſpeciallye and chiefelie to hiere therewith, and that for vnreaſonable greate wayges, ſtraunge ſoldiours. For they hadde rather put ſtraungers in

The traffique and marchaundise of the Utopians.

In all thinges and aboue all thinges to their communitie thei haue an eye.

By what pollicie money may be in lesse estimation.

ieopardie, then theyr owne countreyemen: knowynge that for money ynoughe, their enemyes themſelues many times may be boughte or ſolde, or elles throughe treaſon be ſette togethers by the eares amonge themſelues. For this cauſe they kepe an ineſtimable treaſure. But yet not as a treaſure: but ſo they haue it, and vſe it, as in good faythe I am aſhamed to ſhewe: fearinge that my woordes ſhall not be beleued. And this I haue more cauſe to feare, for that I knowe howe difficultlie and hardelye I meſelfe would haue beleued an other man tellinge the ſame, if I hadde not preſentlye ſene it with mine owne eyes.

It is better either with money or by pollicie to avoyde warre, then with muche losse of mans bloud to fight.

O fine wytte.

For it muſte neades be, that howe farre a thynge is diſſonaunt and diſagreing from the guiſe and trade of the hearers, ſo farre ſhall it be out of their beleſe. Howebeit, a wiſe and indifferent eſtimer of thynges, will not greatlye marueill perchaunce, ſeynge all theyr other lawes and cuſtomes do ſo muche differre from oures, yf the vſe alſo of gold and ſyluer amonge them be applied, rather to their owne faſhyons, than to oures. I meane in that they occupie not money themſelues, but kepe it for that chaunce, whiche as it maye happen, ſo it maye be, that it ſhall neuer come to paſſe. In the meane time golde and ſyluer, whereof money is made, they do ſo vſe, as none of them doethe more eſteme it, then the verye nature of the thing deſerueth. And then who doeth not playnelye ſe howe farre it is vnder Iron: as without the whiche men can no better lyue then without fiere and water. Whereas to golde and ſiluer nature hath geuen no vſe, that we may not well lacke: if that the follye of men hadde not ſette it in higher eſtimation for the rareneſſe ſake. But of the contrarie parte, nature as a mooſte tender and louynge mother, hathe placed the beſte and mooſte neceſſarie thinges open abroade: as the ayere, the water, and the yearth it ſelfe. And hathe remoued and hyd far-

Golde worse then yron as touchynge the necessarie vse therof.

theſt from vs vayne and vnprofitable thinges. Therefore if theſe metalles amonge them ſhoulde be faſte locked vp in ſome tower, it might be ſuſpected, that the prince and the counſell (as the people is euer fooliſhelie ymagininge) intended by ſome ſubtiltie to deceaue the commons, and to take ſome profite of it to themſelues. Furthermore if they ſhold make therof plate and ſuch other finelie and cunninglie wroughte ſtuffe: if at anye time they ſhould haue occaſion to breake it: and melte it againe, therewith to paye their ſouldiers wages, they ſee and perceaue verye well, that men woulde be lothe to parte from thoſe thinges, that they ones begonne to haue pleaſure and delite in. To remedie all this they haue founde oute a meanes, whiche, as it is agreable to all their other lawes and customes, ſo it is from ours, where golde is ſo much ſet by, and ſo diligently kept, very farre diſcripant and repugnaunt: and therfore vncredible, but onelye to them that be wiſe. For where as they eate and drinke in earthen and glaſſe veſſelles, whiche in dede be curiouſlye and properlie made, and yet be of very ſmall value: of golde and ſyluer they make commonly chaumber pottes, and other veſſelles, that ſerue for moſte vile vſes, not onely in their common halles, but in euery mans priuate houſe. Furthermore of the ſame mettalles they make greate chaines, fetters, and gieues wherin the[y] tie their bondmen. Finally whoſoeuer for anye offenſe be infamed, by their eares hange rynges of golde: vpon their fyngers they weare rynges of golde, and aboute their neckes chaines of golde: and in concluſion their heades be tied aboute with gold. Thus by al meanes poſſible thei procure to haue golde and ſiluer among them in reproche and infamie. And theſe mettalles, which other nations do as greuouſly and ſorowefullye forgo, as in a manner their owne liues: if they ſhould altogethers at ones be taken from the Utopians, no man there would thinke that he had loſt the worth of one farthing. They ga-

O wonderfull contumelie of golde.

Golde the reprochful badge of infamed persons.

ther alſo pearles by the ſea ſide, and Diamondes and carbuncles vpon certen rockes, and yet they ſeke not for them: but by chaunce finding them, they cut and poliſh them. And therwith thei deck their yonge infauntes. Whiche like as in the firſt yeres of their childhod, they make muche and be fonde and proude of ſuch ornamentes, ſo when they be a litle more growen in yeares and diſcretion, perceiuing that none but children do weare ſuch toies and trifels: they lay them awaye euen of their owne ſhamefaſteneſſe, wythoute anye byddynge of their parentes: euen as oure chyldren, when they waxe bygge, doo caſte awaye nuttes, brouches, and puppettes. Therfore theſe lawes and cuſtomes, whiche be ſo farre differente from al other nations, howe diuers fantaſies alſo and myndes they doo cauſe, dydde I neuer ſo playnelie perceaue, as in the Ambaſſadours of the Anemolians.

Gemmes and precious stones, toyes for yonge children to playe withall.

Theſe Ambaſſadoures came to Amaurote whiles I was there. And becauſe they came to entreate of great and weightie matters, thoſe three citizens a pece oute of euerie citie were comen thether before them. But all the Ambaſſadours of the nexte countreis, whiche had bene there before, and knewe the faſhions and maners of the Utopians, amonge whom they perceaued no honoure geuen to ſumptuous apparell, ſilkes to be contemned, golde alſo to be infamed and reprochful, were wont to come thether in verie homelye and ſimple araie. But the Anemolianes becauſe they dwell farre thence, and had very litle a[c]quaintaunce with them: hearinge that they were all apparelled a like, and that verie rudely and homely: thinkinge them not to haue the thinges whiche they did not weare: being therfore more proude, then wiſe: determyned in the gorgiouſnes of their apparel to repreſente verye goddes, and wyth the brighte ſhyninge and gliſterynge of their gay clothing to daſell the eyes of the ſilie poore Utopians. So there came in. iii. Ambaſſadours with. c. [an hundred] ſeruauntes all apparelled in

A very pleasaunt tale.

chaungeable colours: the moſte of them in ſilkes: the Ambaſſadours themſelves (for at home in their owne countrey they were noble men) in cloth of gold, with great cheines of gold, with golde hanginge at their eares, with gold ringes upon their fingers, with brouches and aglettes of gold vpon their cappes, which gliſtered ful of peerles and precious ſtones: to be ſhort trimmed, and adourned with al thoſe thinges, which among the Utopians were either the puniſhement of bondmen, or the reproche of infamed perſones, or elles trifels for yonge children to playe withal. Therefore it wolde haue done a man good at his harte to haue ſene howe proudelye they diſpleyed theire pecockes fethers, howe muche they made of theire paynted ſheathes, and howe loftely they ſet forth and aduaunced them ſelfes, when they compared their gallaunte apparrell with the poore rayment of the Utopians. For al the people were ſwarmed forth into the ſtretes. And on the other ſide it was no leſſe pleaſure to conſider howe muche they were deceaued, and how farre they miſſed of their purpoſe being contrary wayes taken, then they thought they ſhould haue bene. For to the eyes of all the Utopians, excepte very fewe, which had bene in other countreys for ſome reſonable cauſe, al that gorgeouſnes of apparrel ſeemed ſhamefull and reprocheful. In ſo muche that they moſt reuerently ſaluted the vileſt and moſt abiect of them for lordes: paſſing ouer the Ambaſſadoures themſelfes without any honour: iudging them by their wearing of golden cheynes to be bondmen. Yea you ſhoulde haue ſene children alſo, that had caſte away their peerles and pretious ſtones, when they ſawe the like ſticking vpon the Ambaſſadours cappes: digge and puſhe theire mothers vnder the ſides, ſainge thus to them. Loke mother how great a lubbor doth yet were peerles and precious ſtoones, as though he were a litel child ſtil. But the mother, yea and that alſo in good earneſt: peace ſone, ſaithe ſhe: I thinke he be ſome of the Ambaſſadours fooles. Some founde faulte at theire

O wittie head.

golden cheines, as to no vſe nor purpoſe, being ſo ſmal and weake, that a bondeman might eaſely breake them, and agayne ſo wyde and large, that when it pleaſed him, he myght caſt them of, and runne awaye at libertye whether he woulde. But when the Ambasſadoures hadde bene there a daye or. ii. and ſawe ſo greate abundaunce of gold ſo lyghtely eſteimed, yea in no leſſe reproche, then it was with them in honour: and beſides that more golde in the cheines and gieues of one fugitiue bondman, then all the coſtelye ornamentes of them. iii. was worth: they beganne to abate their courage, and for very ſhame layde away al that gorgyouſe arraye, whereof they were ſo proud. And ſpecyally when they had talked familiarlye with the Utopians, and had learned al theire faſſions and opinions.

For they marueyle that any men be ſo folyſhe, as to haue delite and pleaſure in the doubteful gliſteringe of a lytil tryffelynge ſtone, which maye beholde annye of the ſtarres, or elles the ſonne it ſelfe. Or that anye man is ſo madde, as to count him ſelfe the nobler for the ſmaller or fyner threde of wolle, which ſelfe ſame wol (be it now in neuer ſo fyne a ſponne threde) a ſhepe did ones weare: and yet was ſhe all that time no other thing then a ſhepe. They marueile alſo that golde, whych of the owne nature is a thinge ſo vnprofytable, is nowe amonge all people in ſo hyghe eſtimation, that man him ſelfe, by whome, yea and for the vſe of whome it is ſo much ſet by, is in muche leſſe eſtimation, then the golde it ſelfe. In ſo muche that a lumpyſhe blockehedded churle, and whyche hathe no more wytte then an aſſe, yea and as ful of noughtynes as of follye, ſhall haue neuertheles manye wyſe and good men in ſubiectyon and bondage, only for this, bycauſe he hath a greate heape of golde. Whyche yf it ſhoulde be taken from hym by anye fortune, or by ſome ſubtyll wyle and cautele of the lawe, (whyche no leſſe then fortune dothe bothe raiſe vp the lowe, and plucke

Doubteful he calleth it, either in consideration and respecte of counterfeite stones, or elles he calleth doubteful very littel worthe.

A true saing and a wittie.

downe the highe) and be geuen to the moſte vile ſlaue and abiect dryuell of all his houſholde, then ſhortely after he ſhal goo into the ſeruice of his ſeruaunt, as an augmentation nor ouerplus beſide his money. But they muche more maruell at and deteſt the madnes of them, whyche to thoſe riche men, in whoſe debte and daunger they be not, do giue almoſt diuine honoures, for none other conſideration, but bicauſe they be riche: and yet knowing them to bee ſuche nigeſhe penny fathers, that they be ſure as longe as they liue, not the worthe of one farthinge of that heape of gold ſhall come to them.

Howe muche more witte is in the heades of the Utopianes then of the common sorte of christianes.

Theſe and ſuch like opinions haue they conceaued, partely by education, beinge brought vp in that common wealth, whoſe lawes and cuſtomes be farre different from theſe kindes of folly, and partely by good litterature and learning. For though there be not many in euery citie, which be exempte and diſcharged of all other laboures, and appointed only to learning, that is to ſaye: ſuche in whome euen from theire very childhode they haue perceaued a ſingular towardnes, a fyne witte, and a minde apte to good learning: yet all in their childhode be inſtructe in learninge. And the better parte of the people, bothe men and women throughe oute all their whole lyffe doo beſtowe in learninge thoſe ſpare houres, which we ſayde they haue vacante from bodelye laboures. They be taughte learninge in theire owne natyue tong. For it is bothe copious in woordes, and alſo pleaſaunte to the eare: and for the vtteraunce of a mans minde very perfecte and ſure. The mooſte parte of all that ſyde of the worlde vſeth the ſame langage, ſauinge that amonge the Utopians it is fyneſte and pureſte, and accordinge to the diuerſytye of the countreys it is dyuerſlye alterede. Of all theſe Philoſophers, whoſe names be heare famous in this parte of the worlde to vs knowen, before oure cummynge thether not aſmuche as the fame of annye of

The studies and literature amonge the Utopianes.

them was cumen amonge them. And yet in Mufike, Logike, Arythmetyke, and Geometrye they haue founde oute in a manner all that oure auncient Philofophers haue tawghte. But as they in all thinges be almofte equal to oure olde auncyente clerkes, fo oure newe Logiciens in fubtyl inuentions haue farre paffed and gone beyonde them. For they haue not deuyfed one of all thofe rules of reftrictions, amplifications and fuppofitions, verye wittelye inuented in the fmall Logicalles, whyche heare oure children in euery place do learne. Furtheremore they were neuer yet hable to fynde out the feconde intentions: infomuche that none of them all coulde euer fee man himfelfe in commen, as they cal him, thoughe he be (as you knowe) bygger than euer was annye gyaunte, yea and poynted to of vs euen wyth our fynger. But they be in the courfe of the ftarres, and the mouynges of the heauenly fpheres verye expert and cunnynge. They haue alfo wittely excogitated and diuifed inftrumentes of diuers faffions: wherein is exactly comprehended and conteyned the mouynges and fituations of the fonne, the mone, and of al the other ftarres, which appere in theire horizon. But as for the amityes and diffentions of the planettes, and all that deceyteful diuination by the ftarres, they neuer afmuch as dreamed thereof. Raynes, windes, and other courfes of tempeftes they knowe before by certeine tokens, which they haue learned by long vfe and obferuation. But of the caufes of al thefe thinges and of the ebbinge, flowinge, and faltenes of the fea, and finallye of the original begynnynge and nature of heauen and of the worlde, they holde partelye the fame opinions that oure olde Philofophers hold, and partely, as our Philofophers varye among themfelfes, fo they alfo, whiles they bringe newe reafons of thinges, do difagree from all them, and yet among themfelfes in all poyntes they doe not accorde. In that part of Phi-

Musike
Logike.
Arithemetike
Geometrie

In this place semethe to be a nipping taunte.

Astronomie.

Yet amonge christians this geere is highli estemed thies daies.

Naturall philosophie is a knowledge most vncertein.

Moral philosophie.

losophie, which intreateth of manners and vertue, theire reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualityes of the sowle, of the body, and of fortune. And whether the name of goodnes maye be applied to all these, or onlye to the endowments and giftes of the soule.

The order of good thinges.

They reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question is in what thinge, be it one or moe, the felicitye of man consistethe. But in this poynte they seme almooste to muche geuen and enclyned to the opinion of them, which defende pleasure, wherein they determine either all or the chiefyste parte of mans felicitye to reste. And (whyche is more to bee marueled at) the defense of this soo deyntye and delicate an opinion, they fetche euen from theire graue, sharpe, bytter, and rygorous religion. For they neuer dispute of felicity or blessednes, but they ioyne vnto the reasons of Philosophye certeyne principles taken oute of religion: wythoute the whyche to the inuestigation of trewe felicitye they thynke reason of it selfe weake and vnperfecte. Those principles be these and such lyke. That the soule is immortal: and by ye bountiful goodnes of God ordeined to felicitie. That to our vertues and good deades rewardes be appointed after this life, and to our euel deades punishmentes. Though these be perteyning to religion, yet they thincke it mete that they shoulde be beleued and graunted by profes of reason. But yf these principles were condempned and dysanulled, then without anye delaye they pronounce no man to be so folish, whiche woulde not do all his diligence and endeuoure to obteyne pleasure be ryght or wronge, onlye auoydynge this inconuenience, that the lesse pleasure should not be a let or hinderaunce to the bigger: or that he laboured not for that

The endes of good thinges.

The Utopianes holde opynion that felycytie consistethe in honest pleasure.

The principles of philosophye grounded vpon religion.

The theologie of the Utopianes.

The immortalitie of the soule, wherof these dayes certeine Christianes be in doubte.

pleaſure, whiche would bringe after it displeaſure, greefe, and ſorrow. For they iudge it extreame madnes to folowe ſharpe and peinful vertue, and not only to banniſhe ye pleaſure of life, but alſo willingly to suffer griefe, without anye hope of proffit thereof enſuinge. For what proffit can there be, if a man, when he hath paſſed ouer all his lyfe vnpleaſauntly, that is to ſay, miſerablye, ſhall haue no rewarde after his death? But nowe ſyr they thinke not felicitie to reſte in all pleaſure, but only in that pleaſure that is good and honeſte, and that hereto, as to perfet bleſſednes our nature is allured and drawen euen of vertue, whereto onlye they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute felicitie. For they define vertue to be life ordered according to nature, and that we be here vnto ordeined of god. And that he dothe followe the courſe of nature, which in deſiering and refuſinge thinges is ruled by reaſon. Furthermore that reaſon doth chiefely and principallye kendle in men the loue and veneration of the deuine maieſtie. Of whoſe goodnes it is that we be, and that we be in poſſibilitie to attayne felicite. And that ſecondarely it bothe ſtirrethe and prouoketh vs to leade our lyfe oute of care in ioy and mirth, and alſo moueth vs to helpe and further all other in reſpecte of ye ſociete of nature to obteine and enioye ye ſame. For there was neuer man ſo earneſt and paineful a follower of vertue and hater of pleaſure, yat wold ſo inioyne you laboures, watchinges, and faſtinges, but he would alſo exhort you to eaſe, lighten, and relieue, to your powre, ye lack and miſery of others, prayſing the ſame as a dede of humanitie, and pitie. Then if it be a poynte of humanitie for man to bring health and comforte to man, and ſpeciallye (which is a vertue moſte peculiarlye belonging to man) to mitigate and aſſuage the greife of others, and by takyng from them the ſorowe and heuynes of lyfe, to reſtore them to ioye, that is to ſaye to pleaſure: whie maye it not then be ſayd, that nature

As euery pleasure ought not to be inhaunced so grefe is not to be pursued but for vertues sake.

In this definition of vertue they agre with the Stoicians.

The worke and effecte of reason in man.

doth prouoke euerye man to doo the ſame to himſelfe? For a ioyfull lyfe, that is to ſay, a pleaſaunt lyfe is either euel: and if it be ſo, then thou ſhouldeſt not onlye helpe no man therto, but rather, as much as in the lieth, withdrawe all men frome it, as noyſome and hurteful, or els if thou not only mayſte, but alſo of dewty art bound to procure it to others, why not chiefely to the ſelfe? To whome thou art bound to ſhew aſmuch ſauoure and gentelnes as to other. For when nature biddeth the to be good and gentle to other ſhe commaundeth the not to be cruell and vngentle to the ſelfe. Therefore euen very nature (ſaye they) preſcribeth to vs a ioyful lyfe, that is to ſay, pleaſure as the ende of all oure operations. And they define vertue to be lyfe ordered accordynge to the preſcripte of nature. But in that that nature dothe allure and prouoke men one to healpe another to lyue merily (which ſuerly ſhe doth not without a good cauſe: for no man is ſo farre aboue the lotte of mans ſtate or condicion, that nature dothe carke and care for hym onlye, whiche equallye fauourethe all, that be comprehended vnder the communion of one ſhape forme and faſſion) verely ſhe commaundeth the to vſe diligent circumſpection, that thou do not ſo ſeke for thine owne commodities, that thou procure others incommodities. Wherefore theire opinion is, that not only couenauntes and bargaynes made amonge priuate men ought to be well and faythefullye fulfilled, obſerued, and kepte, but alſo commen lawes, whiche either a good prince hath iuſtly publyſhed, or els the people neither oppreſſed with tyrannye, neither deceaued by fraude and gyell, hath by theire common conſent conſtituted and ratifyed, concerninge the particion of the commodities of lyfe, that is to ſay, the matter of pleaſure. Theſe lawes not offended, it is wyſdome, that thou looke to thine own

But nowe a daies some ther bee that wyllinglye procure vnto themselues painefull griefes, as thoughe therin rested some hieghe pointe of religion, whereas rather the religiously disposed person, yf they happen to him either by chaunce or elles by naturall necessitie, ought pacientlye to receaue and suffer them.

Bargaynes and Lawes.

wealthe. And to doe the ſame for the common wealth is no leſſe then thy duetie, if thou beareſt any reuerent loue, or any naturall zeale and affection to thy natiue countreye. But to go about to let an other man of his pleaſure, whiles thou procureſt thine owne, that is open wrong. Contrary wyſe to withdrawe ſomethinge from the ſelfe to geue to other, that is a pointe of humanitie and gentilnes: whiche neuer taketh awaye ſo muche commoditie, as it bringethe agayne. For it is recompenſed with the retourne of benefytes, and the conſcience of the good dede, with the remembraunce of the thankefull loue and beneuolence of them to whom thou haſt done it, doth bringe more pleaſure to thy mynde, then that whiche thou haſt withholden from thy ſelfe could haue brought to thy bodye. Finallye (which to a godly diſpoſed and a religious mind is eaſy to be perſuaded) God recompenſeth the gifte of a ſhort and ſmal pleaſure with great and euerlaſtinge ioye. Therfore the matter diligently weyede and conſidered, thus they thinke, that all our actions, and in them the vertues themſelfes be referred at the laſt to pleaſure, as their ende and felicitie. Pleaſure they call euery motion and ſtate of the bodie or mynde, wherin man hath naturally delectation. Appetite they ioyne to nature, and that not without a good cauſe. For like as, not, only the ſenſes, but alſo right reaſon coueteth whatſoeuer is naturally pleaſaunt, for yat it may be gotten without wrong or iniurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleaſure, nor cauſing painſul labour, euen ſo thoſe thinges that men by vaine ymagination do fayne againſt nature to be pleaſaunt (as though it laye in their power to chaunge ye thinges, as they do ye names of thinges) al ſuche pleaſures they beleue to be of ſo ſmall helpe and furtheraunce to felicitie, that they counte them a great let and hinderaunce. Becauſe that in whom they haue ones taken place, all his mynde they poſſeſſe with a falſe opinion of pleaſure. So that there is no place left for true and

The mutual recourse of kindnes.

The definition of Pleasure.

False and counterfeate pleasures.

naturall delectations. For there be many thinges, which of their owne nature conteyne no pleſauntnes: yea the moſte parte of them muche grieſe and ſorrowe. And yet throughe the peruerſe and malicyous flickeringe inticementes of lewde and vnhoneſte deſyres, be taken not only for ſpeciall and ſouereigne pleaſures, but alſo be counted amonge the chieſe cauſes of life. In this counterfeat kinde of pleaſure they put them that I ſpake of before. Whiche the better gownes they haue on, the better men they thinke them ſelfes. In the which thing they doo twyſe erre. For they be no leſſe deceaued in that they thinke theire gowne the better, than they be, in that they thinke themſelfes the better For if you conſider the profitable vſe of the garmente, whye ſhould wulle of a fyner ſponne threde, be thoug[h]t better, than the wul of a courſe ſponne threde? Yet they, as though the one did paſſe the other by nature, and not by their miſtakyng, auaunce themſelfes, and thinke the price of their owne perſones thereby greatly encreaſed. And therefore the honour, which in a courſe gowne they durſte not haue loked for, they require, as it were of dewtie, for theyr fyner gownes ſake. And if they be paſſed by without reuerence, they take it diſpleaſauntly and diſdainfullye. And agayne is it not lyke madnes to take a pryde in vayne and vnprofitable honours? For what naturall or trewe pleaſure doeſt thou take of an other mans bare hede, or bowed knees? Will this eaſe the paine of thy knees, or remedie the phrenſie of thy hede? In this ymage of counterfeite pleaſure, they be of a maruelous madneſſe, whiche for the opinion of nobilitie, reioyſe muche in their owne conceyte. Becauſe it was their fortune to come of ſuche auncetoures, whoſe ſtocke of longe tyme hathe bene counted ryche (for nowe nobilitie is nothing elles) ſpeciallye riche in landes. And though their auncetours left them not one foote of lande, or els they themſelues haue pyſſed it agaynſte the walles, yet

The errour of them that esteme themselfes the more for apparrelles sake.

Folish honore.

Vaine nobilitie.

they thinke themſelues not the leſſe noble therfore of one heare. In this number alſo they counte them that take pleaſure and delite (as I ſaid) in gemmes and precious ſtones, and thynke themſelues almoſte goddes, if they chaunce to gette an excellente one, ſpeciallye of that kynde, whiche in that tyme of their own countre men, is had in hygheſt eſtimation. For one kynde of ſtone kepeth not his pryce ſtyll in all countreis, and at all times. Nor they bye them not, but taken out of the golde, and bare: no nor ſo neither, vntyll they haue made the ſeller to ſweare, that he will warraunte and aſſure it to be a true ſtone, and no counterfeit gemme. Suche care they take leſt a counterfeite ſtone ſhould deceaue their eyes in ſteade of a ryghte ſtone. But why ſhouldeſt thou not take euen aſmuche pleaſure in beholdynge a counterfeite ſtone, whiche thine eye cannot diſcerne from a righte ſtone? They ſhoulde bothe be of lyke value to thee, euen as to the blynde man. What ſhall I ſaye of them, that kepe ſuperfluous riches, to take delectation only in the beholdinge, and not in the vſe or occupiynge thereof? Do they take trew pleaſure, or elles be thei deceaued with falſe pleaſure? Or of them that be in a contrarie vice, hidinge the gold whiche they ſhall neuer occupye, nor peraduenture neuer ſe more? And whiles they take care leaſte they ſhall leeſe it, do leeſe it in dede. For what is it elles, when they hyde it in the ground, takynge it bothe from their owne vſe, and perchaunce frome all other mennes alſo? And yet thou, when thou haſte hydde thy treaſure, as one out of all care, hoppeſt for ioye. The whiche treaſure, yf it ſhoulde chaunce to bee ſtolen. and thou ignoraunt of the theſte ſhouldeſt dye tenne years after: all that tenne yeares ſpace that thou lyuedeſt after thy money was ſtoolen, what matter was it to thee, whether it hadde bene taken awaye or elles ſafe as thou lefteſte

Pleasure in precious stones most folish.

The opinion and fansie of people doeth augment and diminishe the price and estimation of precious stones.

Beholders of treasure, not occupiyng the same.

Hyders of treasure.

A prettie fiction and a wittie.

it? Trewlye both wayes like profytte came to thee. To thefe fo foolyfhe pleafures they ioyne dicers, whofe madneffe they knowe by hearfay, and not by vfe. Hunters alfo, and hawkers. For what pleafure is there (fay they) in caftinge the dice vpon a table. Which thou haft done fo often, that if there wer any pleafure in it, yet the oft vfe might make thee werie thereof? Or what delite can there be, and not rather dyfpleafure in hearynge the barkynge and howlynge of dogges? Or what greater pleafure is there to be felte, when a dogge followeth an hare, then when a dogge followeth a dogge? for one thinge is done in bothe, that is to faye, runnynge, yf thou hafte pleafure therin. But yf the hope of flaughter, and the expectation of tearynge in peces the beafte doth pleafe thee: thou fhouldeft rather be moued with pitie to fee a felye innocente hare murdered of a dogge: the weake of the ftronger, the fearefull of the fearce, the innocente of the cruell and vnmercyfull. Therefore all thys exercyfe of huntynge, as a thynge vnworthye to be vfed of free men, the Utopians haue reiected to their bouchers to the whiche crafte (as we fayde before) they appointe their bondemen. For they counte huntynge the loweft, the vyl efte, and moofte abiecte part of boucherie, and the other partes of it more profitable, and more honefte, as bryngynge muche more commoditie, in that they kyll beaftes onely for neceffitie. Where as the hunter feketh nothinge but pleafure of the feelye and wofull beaftes flaughter and murder. The whiche pleafure in beholdinge deathe, they thinke doeth rife in the very beaftes, either of a cruel affection of mind, or els to be chaunged in continuaunce of time into crueltie, by longe vfe of fo cruell a pleafure. Thefe therfore and all fuche like, whiche be innumerable, though the common forte of people doth take them for pleafures, yet they, feing there is no natural pleafauntnes in them, do playnly determine them to haue no affinitie with trew and right

Dice playe.

Huntinge and hawkinge.

Hunting the basest parte of bouchers among the Utopians, and yet this is nowe the exercise of most noble men.

pleaſure. For as touchinge that they do commonlye moue the ſenſe with delectation (whiche ſemeth to be a woorke of pleaſure) this doeth nothynge diminiſhe their opinion. For not the nature of the thing, but their peruerſe and lewde cuſtome is the cauſe hereof. Whiche cauſeth them to accept bitter or ſowre thynges for ſwete thynges. Euen as women with child in their viciate and corrupte taſte, thynke pytche and tallowe ſweter then any honey. Howbeit no mannes iudgemente depraued and corrupte, either by ſyckenes, or by cuſtome, can chaunge the nature of pleaſure, more then it can do the nature of other thinges. They make diuers kindes of pleaſures. For ſome they attribute to the ſoule, and ſome to the body. To the ſoule they geue intelligence, and that delectation, that commethe of the contemplation of trewth. Hereunto is ioyned the pleaſaunte remembraunce of the good lyfe paſte. The pleaſure of the bodye they deuide into ii. partes. The firſt is when delectation is ſenſibly felt and perceaued. Whiche many times chaunceth by the renewing and refreſhing of thoſe partes, whiche oure naturall heate drieth vp. This commeth by meate and drynke. And ſometymes whyles thoſe thynges be expulſed, and voyded, wherof is in the body ouer great abundaunce. This pleaſure is felt, when we do our natural eaſement, or when we be doyng the acte of generation, or when the ytchinge of any part is eaſed with rubbyng or ſcratchynge. Sometimes pleaſure riſeth exhibitinge to any membre nothynge that it deſireth, nor takynge from it any paine that it feeleth, which neuertheleſſe tikleth and moueth oure ſenſes wyth a certeine ſecrete efficacie, but with a manifeſt motion turnethe them to it. As is that whiche commeth of muſicke. The ſeconde parte of bodely pleaſure they ſay, is that which conſiſteth and reſteth in the quiete, and vpryghte ſtate of the bodye. And that trewlye is euerye mannes owne propre health entermingled and dis-

The kindes of trew pleasures.

The pleasures of the bodye.

Bodily health.

turbed with no griefe. For this, yf it be not letted nor aſſaulted with no greif, is delectable of it ſelfe, thoughe it be moued with no externall or outwarde pleaſure. For though it be not ſo plain and manyfeſte to the ſenſe, as the gredye luſte of eatynge and drynkynge, yet neuertheleſſe manye take it for the chiefeſte pleaſure. All the Utopians graunt it to be a right ſouereigne pleaſure, and as you woulde ſaye the foundation and grounde of all pleaſures, as whiche euen alone is hable to make the ſtate and condition of life delectable and pleaſaunt. And it beyng once taken awaye, there is no place leſte for any pleaſure. For to be without greife not hauinge health, that they call vnſenſibilitie, and not pleaſure. The Utopians haue long a go reiected and condempned the opinion of them, whiche ſayde that ſtedfaſte and quiete healthe (for this question alſo hathe bene diligently debated amonge them) oughte not therfore to be counted a pleaſure, bycauſe they ſaye it can not be preſentlye and ſenſiblye perceaued and felte by ſome outwarde motion. But of the contrarie parte nowe they agree almooſte all in this, that healthe is a mooſt ſoueraigne pleaſure. For ſeynge that in ſyckneſſe (ſaye they) is greiffe, whiche is a mortal enemie to pleaſure, euen as ſicknes is to health, why ſhould not then pleaſure be in the quietnes of health? For they ſay it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you ſaye that ſyckneſſe is a griefe, or that in ſickenes is griefe, for all commethe to one purpoſe. For whether health be a pleaſure it ſelfe, or a neceſſary cauſe of pleaſure, as fier is of heate, truelye bothe waye it foloweth, that they cannot be withoute pleaſure, that be in perfect helth. Furthermore whiles we eat (ſay they) then healthe, whiche beganne to be appayred, fighteth by the helpe of foode againſte hunger. In the which fight, whiles health by litle and litle getteth the vpper hande, that ſame procedyng, and (as ye would ſay) that onwardnes to the wonte ſtrength miniſtreth that pleaſure, whereby we be ſo refreſhed. Health therfore, whiche in the conflict is ioyefull, ſhall it not be mery, when it

hath gootten the victorie? But as ſoone as it hathe recouered the priſtinate ſtrength, which thing onely in all the fight it coueted, ſhal it incontinent be aſtonied? Nor ſhal it not know nor imbrace the owne wealthe and goodnes? For where it is ſaid, healthe can not be felt: this, they thinke, is nothing trew. For what man wakyng, ſay they, felethe not himſelfe in health: but he that is not? Is there anye man ſo poſſeſſed with ſtoniſhe inſenſibilitie, or with lethargie, that is to ſay, the ſleping ſicknes, that he will not graunt healthe to be acceptable to him, and delectable? But what other thinge is delectation, than that whiche by an other name is called pleaſure? They imbrace chieflie the pleaſures of the mind. For them they counte the chiefiſt and moſt principall of all. The chiefe parte of them they thinke doth come of the exerciſe of vertue, and conſcience of good life. Of theſe pleaſures that the body miniſtreth, they geue ye preeminence to helth. For the delite of eating and drinking, and whatſoeuer hath any like pleaſauntnes, they determyne to be pleaſures muche to be deſired, but no other wayes than for healthes ſake. For ſuche thinges of their own proper nature be not ſo pleaſaunt, but in that they reſiſte ſickeneſſe priuelie ſtealing on. Therfore like as it is a wiſe mans part, rather to auoid ſicknes, then to wiſhe for medicines, and rather to driue away and put to flight carefull griefes, then to call for comfort: ſo it is muche better not to neade this kinde of pleaſure, then thereby to be eaſed of the contrarie griefe. The whiche kinde of pleaſure, yf anye man take for his felicitie, that man muſt nedes graunt, that then he ſhalbe in moſt felicitie, if he liue that life, which is led in continuall hunger, thurſte, itchinge, eatinge, drynkynge, ſcratchynge, and rubbing. The which life how not only foule, and vnhoneſt, but alſo howe miſerable, and wretched it is, who perceueth not? Theſe doubtles be the baſeſt pleaſures of al, as vnpure and vnperfect. For they neuer come, but accompanied with their contrarie

Delectation.

The pleasures of the mynde.

griefes. As with the pleafure of eating is ioyned hunger, and yat after no very egal fort. For of thefe. ii. ye griefe is both the more vehement, and alfo of longer continuaunce. For it beginneth before the pleafure, and endeth not vntil the pleafure die with it. Wherefore fuche pleafures they thinke not greatlye to be fet by, but in yat thei be neceffari. Howbeit they haue delite alfo in thefe, and thankfulli knowledge ye tender loue of mother nature, which with moft pleafaunt delectation allureth her children to that, to the neceffarie vfe wherof they muft from time to time continually be forced and driuen. For how wretched and miferable fhould our life be, if thefe dailie greffes of hunger and thurft coulde not be driuen awaye, but with bitter potions, and fower medicines, as the other diffeafes be, wherewith we be feldomer troubled? But beutie, ftrengthe, nemblenes, thefe as peculiar and pleafaunt giftes of nature they make muche of. But thofe pleafures that be receaued by the eares, the eyes, and the nofe, whiche nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other liuinge creature doth behold the fairenes and the bewtie of the worlde, or is moued with any refpecte of fauours, but onely for the diuerfitie of meates, neither perceaueth the concordaunte and difcordant diftaunces of foundes, and tunes) thefe pleafures, I fay, they accept and alowe as certen pleafaunte reioyfinges of life. But in all thinges this cautel they vfe, that a leffe pleafure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleafure be no caufe of difpleafure, whiche they thinke to folow of neceffitie, if the pleafure be vnhonefte. But yet to difpife the comlines of bewtie, to waft the bodelie ftrength, to turne nimblenes into floughifhneffe, to confume and make feble the bodie with faftinge, to do iniurie to healthe, and to reiecte the pleafaunte motions of nature, onles a man neglecte thefe commodities, whiles he dothe with a feruent zeale procure the wealthe of others, or the commen profite, for the whiche pleafure forborne, he is in hoope of a greater

The giftes of nature.

pleaſure at goddes hande, elles for a vaine ſhaddow of vertue, for the wealth and profite of no man, to puniſhe himſelfe, or to the intente he maye be hable courragiouſlie to ſuffer aduerſitie: which perchaunce ſhall neuer come to him, this to do they thinke it a point of extreame madnes, and a token of a man cruellye minded towardes himſelfe, and vnkind towards nature, as one ſo diſdaining to be in her daunger, that he renounceth and refuſeth all her benefites.

This is their ſentence and opinion of vertue and pleaſure. And they beleue that by mans reaſon none can be found trewer then this, onles any godlyer be inſpired into man from heuen. Wherin whether they beleue well or no neither the time doth ſuffer vs to diſcuſſe neither it is nowe neceſſarie. For we haue taken vpon vs to ſhewe and declare their lores and ordinaunces, and not to defende them. But this thynge I beleue verely: howe ſoeuer theſe decres be, that there is in no place of the world, neyther a more excellent people, neither a more flouriſhynge commen wealth. They be lyghte and quicke of bodie, full of actiuitie and nimblenes, and of more ſtrength then a man woulde iudge them by their ſtature, which for all that is not to lowe. And thoughe theyr ſoyle be not verie frutefull, nor their aier very wholſome, yet againſte the ayer they ſo defende them with temperate diete, and ſo order and huſbande their grounde with diligente trauaile, that in no countrey is greater increaſe, and plentye of corne and cattell, nor mens bodies of longer lyfe, and ſubiect or apte to fewer diseaſes. There therfore a man maye ſee well, and diligentlie exploited and furniſhed, not onelye thoſe thinges whiche huſbandemen do commenly in other countreis, as by craft and cunninge to remedie the barrennes of the grounde: but alſo a whole wood by the handes of the people plucked vp by the rootes in one place, and ſet againe in an other place. Wherein was had regard and conſideration, not of plenty, but of commodious

Marke this well.

The wealthe and description of the Utopians.

carriage, that wood and timber might be nigher to the ſea, or the riuers, or, ye cities. For it is leſſe laboure and buſineſſe to carri grayne farre by land, than wood. The people be gentle, merie, quicke, and fyne witted, delitinge in quietnes, and when nede requireth, hable to abide and ſuffer much bodelie laboure. Els they be not greatly deſirous and fond of it: but in the exerciſe and ſtudie of the mind they be neuer wery. When they had herd me ſpeak of ye greke literature or lerning (for in latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly alow, beſides hiſtoriens and Poetes) they made wonderfull earneſte and importunate ſute vnto me that I would teach and inſtructe them in that tonge and learninge. I beganne therfore to reade vnto them, at the firſt truelie more bicauſe I would not ſeme to refuſe the laboure, then that I hooped that they would any thing profite therein. But when I had gone forward a litle, I perceaued incontinente by their diligence, that my laboure ſhould not be beſtowed in vaine. For they began ſo eaſelie to faſhion their letters, ſo plainlie to pronounce the woordes, ſo quickelie to learne by hearte, and ſo ſuerlie to rehearſe the ſame, that I maruailed at it, ſauinge that the moſt parte of them were fine, and choſen wittes and of ripe age, piked oute of the companie of the learned men, whiche not onelie of their owne free and voluntarie will, but alſo by the commaundemente of the counſell, vndertoke to learne this langage. Therefore in leſſe then thre yeres ſpace there was nothing in the Greke tonge that they lacked. They were hable to rede good authors withoute anie ſtaye, if the booke were not falſe. This kynde of learninge, as I ſuppoſe, they toke ſo muche the ſooner, bycauſe, it is ſumwhat allyaunte to them. For I thinke that this nation tooke their beginninge of the Grekes, bicauſe their ſpeche, which in al other poyntes is not much vnlyke the Perſian tonge, kepeth dyuers ſignes and tokens of the

The vtilitie of the greke tonge.

A wonderfull aptnes to learninge in the Utopians.

But now most blockheded asses be sette to learninge, and most pregnaunt wittes corrupt with pleasures

greke langage in the names of their cityes, and of theire magiſtrates. They haue of me (for when I was determyned to entre into my. iiii. voyage, I caſte into the ſhippe in the ſteade of marchandiſe a prety fardel of bookes, bycauſe I intended to come againe rather neuer, than ſhortly) they haue, I ſaye, of me the moſte parte of Platoes workes, more of Ariſtotles, alſo Theophraſtus of plantes, but in diuers places (which I am ſorye for) vnperfecte. For whiles we were a ſhipborde, a marmoſet chaunced vpon the booke, as it was negligentlye layde by, which wantonlye playinge therewyth plucked oute certeyne leaues, and toore them in pieces. Of them that haue wrytten the grammer, they haue onelye Laſcaris. For Theodorus I caried not wyth me, nor neuer a dictionayre, but Heſichius, and Dioſcorides. They ſett greate ſtoore by Plutarches bookes. And they be delyted wyth Lucianes mery conceytes and ieſtes. Of the Poetes they haue Ariſto phanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus ſmall prynte. Of the Hiſtorians they haue Thucidides, Herodotus, and Herodian. Alſo my companion, Tricius Apinatus caried with him phiſick bokes, certein ſmal woorkes of Hippocrates and Galenes Microtechne. The whyche boke they haue in greate eſtimation. For thoughe there be almoſt no nation vnder heauen that hath leſſe nede of Phiſicke then they, yet this notwithſtandyng, Phiſicke is no where in greater honour. Bycauſe they counte the knowledge of it among the goodlyeſte, and moſt profytable partes of Philoſophie. Forwhyles they by the helpe of this Philoſophie ſearche oute the ſecrete myſteryes of nature, they thinke themſelfes to receaue therby not onlye wonderfull greate pleaſure, but alſo to obteine great thankes and fauour of the autour and maker therof. Whome they thinke according to ye faſſion of other artificers, to haue ſet furth the maruelous and gorgious frame of the world for man with great affeccion intentiuely to beholde. Whom only he hath

Phisicke hieghly regarded.

The contemplacion of nature.

made of witte, and capacitie to conſidre and vnderſtand the excellencie of ſo great a woork. And therefore he beareth (ſay they) more goodwil and loue to the curious and diligent beholder and vewer of his woork and maruelour at the ſame, then he doth to him, which like a very brute beaſte without witte and reaſon, or as one without ſenſe or mouing, hathe no regarde to ſoo greate and ſoo wonderfull a ſpectacle. The wittes therefore of the Utopians inurede and exerciſed in learnynge, be marueilous quycke in the inuention of feates helpinge annye thinge to the aduantage and wealthe of lyffe. Howbeit. ii. feates theye maye thanke vs for. That is, the ſcyence of imprinting, and the craſte of makinge paper. And yet not onelye vs but chiefelye and principallye themſelfes.

For when we ſhewede to them Aldus his print in bookes of paper, and told them of the ſtuffe wherof paper is made, and of the feate of grauing letters, ſpeaking ſumwhat more, then we colde plainlye declare (for there was none of vs, that knewe perfectlye either the one or the other) they furthwith very wittely coniectured the thinge. And where as before they wrote onely in ſkinnes, in barkes of tryes, and in rides, nowe they haue attempted to make paper, and to imprint letters. And thoughe at the firſt yt proued not all of the beſte, yet by often aſſayinge the ſame they ſhortelye got the feate of bothe. And haue ſo broughte the matter aboute, that yf they had copyes of Greeke authores, they coulde lacke no bookes. But nowe they haue no moore, then I rehearſed before, ſauinge that by pryntynge of bookes they haue multiplyed and increaſed the ſame into manye thouſandes of copies. Whoſoeuer cummethe thether to ſee the lande, beinge excellent in anye gifte of wytte, or throug[h]e muche and longe iournienge wel experienſed and ſene in the knoweledg[e] of many countreies (for the whyche cauſe wee were very welcome to them) him they receyue and interteyne wonders gentilly, and louinglye. For they haue delite to heare what is done in euerye lande,

howbeit verye fewe merchaunte men come thether. For what ſhoulde they bring thether, onles it were Iron, or els gold and ſiluer, whiche they hadde rather carrye home agayne? Alſo ſuch thinges as are to be caryed oute of theire lande, they thinke it more wyſedome to carry that gere furthe themſelfes, then that other ſhoulde come thether to fetche it, to th[e] entente they maye the better knowe the out landes on euerye ſyde of them, and kepe in vre the feate and knowledge of ſailinge.

Of Bondemen, sicke persons, wedlocke, and diuers other matters.

THey neither make bondemen of priſoners taken in battayle, oneles it be in battaylle that they foughte them ſelfes, nor of bondmens children, nor to be ſhort, of anye ſuche as they canne gette oute of forreine countries, though he were theire a bondman. But either ſuche, as amonge themſelfes for heinous offences be punyſhed with bondage, or elles ſuche, as in the Cities of other landes for great treſpaſſes be condempned to deathe. And of this ſort of bondemen they haue mooſte ſtoore.

A maruelous equitie of this nation.

For manye of them they bringe home ſumtimes payinge very lytle for them, yea mooſte commonlye gettynge them for gramercye. Theſe ſortes of bondemen they kepe not onely in continual woorke and labour, but alſo in bandes. But their oune men they handle hardeſt, whom they Iudge more deſperate, and to haue deſerued greater puniſſhemente, bycauſe they being ſo godlye broughte vp to vertue in ſoo excelente a common wealth, could not for all that be refreined from

miſdoing. An other kinde of bondemen they haue, when a vile drudge being a poore laborer in an other countrey doth chueſe of his owne free wyll to be a bondman among them. Theſe they intreate and order honeſtly, and enterteine almoſte as gentellye, as theire owne free cytyzeins, ſauynge that they put them to a lyttle more laboure, as thereto accuſtomed. Yf annye ſuche, be diſpoſed to departe thens (whiche ſeldome is ſeene) they neither holde him againſte his wyll, neither ſende him away with emptye handes. The ſycke (as I ſayde) they ſee to with great affection, and lette nothing at al paſſe concerninge either Phiſycke or good diete, whereby they may be reſtored againe to their health. Such as be ſicke of incurable diſeaſes they comforte with ſittinge by them, with talkinge with them, and to be ſhorte with all maner of helpes that may be. But yf the diſeaſe be not onelye vncurable, but alſo full of contynuall payne and anguiſhe: then the prieſtes and the magiſtrates exhort the man, ſeinge he is not hable to doo anye dewtye of lyffe, and by ouerlyuinge his owne deathe is noyſome and irkeſome to other, and greuous to himſelfe: that he wyl determine with himſelfe no longer to cheryſhe that peſtilent and peineful diſeaſe. And ſeinge his lyfe is to him but a tormente, that he wyl not bee vnwillinge to dye, but rather take a good hope to him, and either diſpatche himſelfe out of that payneful lyffe, as out of a priſon, or a racke of tormente, or elles ſuffer himſelfe wyllinglye to be rydde oute of it by other. And in ſo doinge they tell him he ſhall doo wyſely, ſeing by his deathe he ſhall loſe no commoditye, but ende his payne. And bycauſe in that acte he ſhall followe the counſel of the pryeſtes, that is to ſaye, of the interpreters of goddes wyll and pleaſure, they ſhewe him that he ſhall do lyke a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus perſuaded, finyſhe theire liues willynglye, either with hunger, or elles dye in theire ſleape without anye fealing of deathe. But they cauſe none ſuche to dye

Of them that be sicke.

Voluntarye deathe.

agaynſte his wyll, nor they vſe no leſſe dilygence and attendaunce aboute him: beleuinge this to be an honorable deathe. Elles he that killeth himſelf before that the pryeſtes and the counſel haue allowed the cauſe of his deathe, him as vnworthy either to be buryed, or with ſier to be conſumed, they caſte vnburied into ſome ſtinkinge marriſh The woman is not maried before ſhe be xviii. yeres olde. The man iiij yeres elder before he marye. If either the man or the woman be proued to haue actually offended before theire marriage, with an other, the partye that ſo hathe treſpaced is ſharpelye puniſhed. And bothe the offenders be forbidden euer after in al theire lyfe to marrye: oneles the faulte be forgeuen by the princes pardone. But bothe the good man and the good wyfe of the houſe, where that offenſe was committed as beinge ſlacke and neglygent in lokinge to theire chardge, be in daunger of greate reproche and infamye. That offenſe is ſo ſharpely punyſhed, bicauſe they perceaue, that onles they be diligentlye kepte from the libertye of this vice, fewe wyll ioyne together in the loue of marriage, wherein all the lyfe muſt be led with one, and alſo all the griefes and diſpleaſures com ming therewith paciently be taken and borne. Furthermore in chueſinge wyfes and huſbandes they obſerue earneſtly and ſtraytelye a cuſtome, whiche ſemed to vs very fonde and folyſhe. For a ſad and an honeſt matrone ſheweth the woman, be ſhe mayde or widdowe, naked to the wower. And lykewyſe a ſage and diſcrete man exhibyteth the wower naked to the woman. At this cuſtome we laughed, and diſalowed it as fooliſhe. But they on the other parte doo greatlye wonder at the follye of al other nations, whyche in byinge a colte, whereas a lytle money is in haſarde, be ſo charye and circumſpecte, that thoughe he be almoſte all bare, yet they wyll not bye hym, oneles the ſaddel and all the harneies be taken of, leaſte vnder thoſe couerynges be hydde, ſom galle or ſoore. And yet in chueſinge a wyfe,

Of wedlocke.

Thoughe not verie honestly, yet not vnwiselye.

whyche ſhalbe either pleaſure, or diſpleaſure to them all theire lyfe after, they be ſo recheles, that al the reſydewe of the woomans bodye beinge couered with cloothes, they eſteme her ſcaſelye be one handebredeth (for they can ſe no more but her face) and ſo to ioyne her to them not without greate ieoperdye of euel agreinge together, yf any thing in her body afterward ſhould chaunce of offend and myſlyke them.

For all men be not ſo wyſe, as to haue reſpecte to the vertuous conditions of the partie. And the endowmentes of the bodye cauſe the vertues of the minde more to be eſtemed and regarded: yea euen in the mariages of wyſe men. Verely ſo foule deformitie maye be hydde vnder thoſe coueringes, that it maye quite alienate and take awaye the mans mynde from his wyſe, when it ſhal not be lawful for theire bodies to be ſeparate agayne. If ſuche deformitie happen by any chaunce after the mariage is conſummate and finyſhed, wel, there is no remedie but patience. Euery man muſte take his fortune wel a worthe. But it were wel done that a lawe were made wherebye all ſuche deceytes myghte be eſchewed, and aduoyded before hande.

And this were they conſtreyned more earneſtlye to looke vpon, becauſe they onlye of the nations in that parte of the worlde bee contente euerye man with one wyſe a piece. And matrymoneie is there neuer broken, but by death: excepte adulterye breake the bonde, or els the intollerable wayewarde maners of either partye. For if either of them finde themſelfe for any ſuch cauſe greued: they maye by the licenſe of the counſel chaunge and take another. But the other partie lyueth euer after in infamye, and out of wedlocke. Howbeit the huſbande to put away his wife for no other faulte, but for that ſome myſhappe is fallen to her bodye, this by no meanes they wyll ſuffre. For they iudge it a great poynt of crueltie, that anye body in their moſte nede of helpe and comforte, ſhoulde be caſte of and forſaken,

Diuorcement.

and that olde age, whych both bringeth ſicknes with it, and is a ſyckenes it ſelfe, ſhould vnkindly and vnfaythfullye be delte withall. But nowe and then it chaunſeth, where as the man and the woman cannot well agree betw[e]ne themſelfes, both of them fyndinge other, with whome they hope to lyue more quietlye and merylye, that they by the full conſente of them bothe be diuorſed a ſonder and maried againe to other. But that not without the authoritie of the counſell. Whiche agreeth to no diuorſes, before they and their wyfes haue diligently tried and examyned the matter. Yea and then alſo they be lothe to conſent to it, bycauſe they know this to be the next way to break loue betwene man and wyfe, to be in eaſye hope of a new mariage. Breakers of wedlocke be punyſhed with mooſte greuous bondage. And if both the offenders were maried, then the parties whiche in that behalfe haue ſufferede wrong, beinge diuorſed from the auoutrers, be maried together, if they wille, or els to whom they luſt. But if either of them both do ſtyl continewe in loue towarde ſo vnkinde a bedfellowe, the vſe of wedlocke is not to them forbidden, if the partye faulteles be diſpoſed to followe in toylinge and drudgerye the perſon, which for that offence is condempned to bondage. And very ofte it chaunceth that the repentaunce of the one, and the earneſte diligence of the other, dothe ſo moue the prince with pytie and compaſſion, that he reſtoreth the bonde perſone from ſeruitude to libertie and fredom again. But if the ſame partie be taken eftſones in that faulte, there is no other waye but death. To other treſpaces no preſcript puniſhmente is appoynted by anye lawe. But accordinge to the heynouſenes of the offenſe, or contrarye, ſo the puniſhemente is moderated by the diſcretion of the counſell. The huſbandes chaſtice theire wyfes: and the parentes theire children, oneles they haue done anye ſo horryble an offenſe, that the open punyſhemente thereof maketh muche for the aduauncemente

The decerning of punishment putte to the discretion of the magistrates.

of honeſte maners. But moſte commenlye the moſte heynous faultes be punyſhed with the incommoditie of bondage. For that they ſuppoſe to be to the offenders no leſſe griefe, and to the common wealth more profit, then yf they ſhould haſtely put them to death, and ſo make them quite out of the waye. For there cummeth more profit of theire laboure, then of theire deathe, and by theire example they feare other the longer from lyke offenſes. But if they beinge thus vſed, doo rebell and kicke againe, then forſothe they be ſlayne as deſperate and wilde beaſtes, whom neither priſon nor chaine coulde reſtraine and kepe vnder. But they, whiche take theire bondage pacientlye, be not leſte all hopeles. For after they haue bene broken and tamed with long miſeries, if then thei ſhewe ſuch repentaunce, as therebye it maye bee perceaued that they be ſoryer for theire offenſe then for their punyſhemente: ſumtymes by the Prynces prerogatyue, and ſumtymes by the voyce and conſent of the people, theire bondage either is mitigated, or els cleane releaſed and forgeuen. He that moueth to aduoutreye is in no leſſe daunger and ieoperdie, then yf he hadde committed aduoutrye in dede. For in all offenſes they counte the intente and pretenſed purpoſe as euel, as the acte or dede it ſelfe, thinking that no lette oughte to excuſe him, that did his beſte to haue no lette. They haue ſingular delite and pleaſure in foles. And as it is a greate reproche to do annye of them hurte or iniury, ſo they prohibite not to take pleaſure of foolyſhnes. For that, they thinke, dothe muche good to the fooles. And if any man be ſo ſadde, and ſterne, that he cannot laughe neither at their wordes, nor at their dedes, none of them be committed to his tuition: for feare leaſt he would not intreate them gentilly and fauorably enough: to whom they ſhould brynge no delectation (for other goodnes in them is none) muche leſſe anye proffite ſhoulde they yelde him. To mocke a man for his de-

Motion to aduoutrye punished.

pleasure of fooles.

formitie, or for that he lacketh anye parte or lymme of his bodye, is counted greate dishonestye and reproche, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh. Which vnwysely doth imbrayde anye man of that as a vice, that was not in his powre to eschewe. Also as they counte and reken verye little witte to be in him, that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comlinesse, so to helpe the same with payntinges, is taken for a vaine and a wanton pride, not withoute greate infamie. For they knowe euen by very experience, that no comelinesse of bewtye doethe so hyghelye commende and auaunce the wiues in the conceite of their husbandes, as honest conditions and lowlines. For as loue is oftentimes wonne with bewty, so it is not kept, preserued, and continued, but by vertue and obedience. They do not onely feare their people from doyng euil by punishmentes, but also allure them to vertue with rewardes of honoure. Therfore they set vp in the markette place the ymages of notable men, and of such as haue bene great and bounteful benefactors to the commen wealth, for ye perpetual memorie of their good actes: and also that the glory and renowme of the auncetors maye styrre and prouoke their posteritie to vertue. He that inordinatly and ambitiously desireth promotions, is left al hopeles for euer atteining any promotion as long as he liueth. They lyue together louinglye. For no magistrate is eyther hawte or fearfull. Fathers they be called, and lyke fathers they vse themselues. The citezens (as it is their dewtie) willynglye exhibite vnto them dew honour without any compulsion. Nor the prince himselfe is not knowen from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of state, nor by a crown or diademe roial, or cap of maintenaunce, but by a litle sheffe of corne caried before him. And so a taper of wax is borne before ye bishop, wherby onely he is knowen. They haue but few

Counterfeite bewtie.

Sinne punished and vertue rewarded.

The inordinate desire of honours condemned.

Magistrates honoured.

Fewe lawes. lawes. For to people ſo inſtructe and inſtitute very fewe do ſuffice. Yea this thing they chiefely reproue among other nations, that innumerable bokes of lawes and expoſitions vpon the ſame be not ſufficient. But they think it againſt all right and iuſtice that men ſhoulde be bound to thoſe lawes, which either be in number mo then be hable to be read, or els blinder and darker, then that anye man can well vnderſtande them. Furthermore they vtterlie exclude and baniſhe all attorneis, proctours, and ſergeauntes at the lawe: whiche craftelye handell matters, and ſubtelly diſpute of the lawes. For they thinke it moſte meete, that euery man ſhould pleade his own matter, and tel the ſame tale before the iudge that he wold tell to his man of law. So ſhal there be leſſe circumſtaunce of wordes, and the trueth ſhall ſoner come to light, whiles the iudge with a diſcrete iudgement doeth waye the woordes of him, whom no lawyer hath inſtructe with deceit, and whiles he helpeth and beareth out ſimple wittes againſt the falſe and malicious circumuentions of craftie children. This is harde to be obſerued in other countreis, in ſo infinitie a number of blinde and intricate lawes. But in Utopia euery man is a cunning lawier. For (as I ſaid) they haue very few lawes: and the plainer and groſſer that anye interpretation is: that they allowe as moſt iuſte. For all lawes (ſaie they) be made and publyſhed onely to the intente, that by them euery man ſhoulde be put in remembraunce of his dewtie. But the craftye and ſubtill interpretation of them (forasmuche as few can atteyne thereto) canne put verye fewe in that remembraunce, where as the ſimple, the plaine, and groſſe meaninge of the lawes is open to euerye man.

The multitude of lawyers superfluous.

The intent of lawes.

Elles as touchinge the vulgare ſort of the people, whiche be bothe mooſte in number, and haue moſte nede to knowe their dewties, were it not as good for them, that no law were made at all, as when it is made, to bringe ſo blynde an interpretation vpon it, that

without greate witte and longe arguynge no man can diſcuſſe it? To the ſyndynge oute whereof neyther the groſſe iudgement of the people can attaine, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in woorkinge for their liuynges, canne ſuffice thereto. Theſe vertues of the Utopians haue cauſed their nexte neiboures and borderers, whiche liue fre and vnder no ſubiection (for the Utopians longe ago, haue deliuered manye of them from tirannie) to take magiſtrates of them, ſome for a yeare, and ſome for fiue yeares ſpace. Which when the tyme of their office is expired, they bringe home againe with honoure and praiſe, and take new againe with them into their countrey. Theſe nations haue vndoubtedlye very well and holſomely prouided for their common wealthes. For ſeynge that bothe the makinge and marringe of the weale publique, doeth depende and hange vpon the maners of the rulers and magiſtrates, what officers coulde they more wyſelye haue choſen, then thoſe which can not be ledde from honeſtye by bribes (for to them that ſhortly after ſhal depart thens into their own countrey money ſhould be vnprofitable) nor yet be moued eyther with fauoure, or malice towardes any man, as beyng ſtraun gers, and vna[c]quainted with the people? The whiche two vices of affection and auarice, where they take place in iudgementes, incontinente they breake iuſtice, the ſtrongeſt and ſuereſt bonde of a common wealth Theſe peoples whiche fetche their officers and rulers from them, the Utopians cal their fellowes. And other to whome they haue bene beneficiall, they call their frendes. As touching leagues, which in other places betwene countrey and countrey be ſo ofte concluded, broken, and renewed, they neuer make none with anie nation. For to what purpoſe ſerue leagues, ſay they? As thoughe nature had not ſet ſufficient loue betwene man and man. And who ſo regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will paſſe for wordes? They be brought into this opinion chiefelye, becauſe that in thoſe partes of the worlde, leagues be-

Of leagues.

twene princes be wont to be kepte and obſerued very ſklenderly. For here in Europa, and eſpeciallye in theſe partes where the faith and religion of Chriſte reigneth, the maieſtie of leagues is euerye where eſtemed holy and inuiolable: partlie through the iuſtice and goodnes of princes, and partly at the reuerence and motion of the head Biſhops. Which like as they make no promiſſe themſelues, but they do verye religiouſlye perfourme the ſame, ſo they exhorte all princes in any wiſe to abide by their promiſſes, and them that refuſe or denye ſo to do, by their pontificall powre, and authoritie they compell thereto. And ſurely they thinke well that it might ſeme a verye reprochefull thing, yf in the leagues of them which by a peculiare name be called faithful, faith ſhould haue no place. But in that newe founde parte of the world, which is ſcaſelie ſo farre frome vs beyond the line equinoctiall, as our life and maners be diffident from theirs, no truſt nor confidence is in leagues. But the mo and holier ceremonies the league is knitte vp with, the ſoner it is broken by ſome cauillation founde in the wordes, which many times of purpoſe be ſo craftelie put in, and placed, that the bandes can neuer be ſo ſure nor ſo ſtronge, but they will find ſome hole open to crepe out at, and to breake both league and trueth. The whiche craftye dealing, yea the whiche fraude and deceite, if they ſhould know it to be practiſed among priuate men in their bargaines and contractes, they would incontinent crie out at it with an open mouth, and a ſower countenaunce, as an offenſe moſte deteſtable, and worthye to be punnyſhed with a ſhamefull deathe: yea euen very they that auaunce themſelues authours of lyke counſell geuen to princes. Wherfore it may wel be thought, either that al iuſtice is but a baſſe and a low vertue, and which aualeth it ſelf farre vnder the highe dignitie of kynges: Or at the leaſt wiſe, that there be two iuſtices, the one meete for the inferiour ſorte of the people, goynge a fote and crepynge lowe by the grounde, and bounde down on euery ſide

with many bandes, bycauſe it ſhall not run at rouers. The other a princelye vertue, which like as it is of much hygher maieſtie, then the other pore iuſtice, ſo alſo it is of muche more libertie, as to the which nothing is vnlawfull that it lusteth after. Theſe maners of princes (as I ſaid) whiche be there ſo euell kepers of leagues, cauſe the Utopians, as I ſuppoſe, to make no leagues at al, which perchaunce would chaunge their minde if they liued here. Howbeit they thinke that thoughe leagues be neuer ſo faithfullye obſerued and kepte, yet the cuſtome of makynge leagues was very euell begon. For this cauſeth men (as though nations which be ſeperat a ſondre, by ye ſpace of a litle hil or a riuer, were coupled together by no ſocietie or bonde of nature) to thinke themſelues borne aduerſaries and enemies one to an other, and that it were lawfull for the one to ſeke the death and deſtruction of the other, if leagues were not: yea, and that after ye leagues be accorded, frendſhip doth not grow and encreſe: But the licence of robbing and ſtealing doth ſtyll remaine, as farfurth as for lack of forſight and aduiſement in writing the wordes of the league, any ſentence or clauſe to the contrarie is not therin ſufficientlie comprehended. But they be of a contrarye opinion. That is, that no man oughte to be counted an enemye, whiche hath done no iniurye. And that the felowſhippe of nature is a ſtronge league: and that men be better and more ſurely knit togethers by loue and beneuolence, then by couenauntes of leagues: by hartie affection of minde, then by wordes.

Of warfare.

Arre or battel as a thing very beaſtly, and yet to no kinde of beaſtes in ſo muche vſe as to man, they do deteſt and abhorre. And contrarie to the cuſtome almooſte of all other nations, they counte nothynge

ſo muche againſt glorie, as glory gotten in warre. And therefore thoughe they do daylie practiſe and exerciſe themſelues in the diſcipline of warre, and not onelie the men, but alſo the women vpon certen appointed daies, leſt they ſhould be to ſeke in the feate of armes, if nede ſhould require, yet they neuer go to battell, but either in the defence of their owne countrey, or to driue out of their frendes lande the enemies that haue inuaded it, or by their power to deliuer from the yocke and bondage of tirannye ſome people, that be therewith oppreſſed. Which thing they do of meere pitie and compaſſion. Howbeit they ſende helpe to their frendes, not euer in their defence. But ſometymes alſo to requite and reuenge iniuries before to them done. But this they do not onleſſe their counſell and aduiſe in the matter be aſked, whiles it is yet newe and freſhe. For if they finde the cauſe probable, and if the contrarie part wil not reſtoore agayne ſuche thynges as be of them iuſtelye demaunded, then they be the chiefe autours and makers of the warre. Whiche they do not onlie as ofte as by inrodes and inuaſions of ſoldiours praies and booties be driuen awaye, but then alſo muche more mortally, when their frendes marchauntes in anie lande, either vnder the pretence of vniuſte lawes, or elles by the wreſtinge and wronge vnderſtandinge of good lawes, do ſuſteine an vniuſt accuſation vnder the colour of iuſtice. Neither the battell whiche the Utopians fought for the Nephelogetes againſt the Alaopolitanes a litle before oure time was made for any other cauſe, but that the Nephelogete marchaunt men, as the Utopians thought, ſuffred wrong of the Alaopolitanes, vnder the pretence of righte. But whether it were righte or wronge, it was with ſo cruel and mortal warre reuenged, the countreis rounde about ioyninge their helpe and powre to the purſaunce and malice of bothe parties, that moſte floriſhing and wealthy peoples, being ſome of them ſhrewedly ſhaken, and ſome of them ſharpely beaten, the miſcheues wer not finiſhed nor ended, vn-

til the Alaopolitanes, at the laſt were yelded vp as bondemen into the iuriſdiction of the Nephelogetes. For the Utopians fought not this war for themſelues. And yet the Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flouriſhed in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them. So egerlye the Utopians proſequute the iniuries done to their frendes: yea, in money matters, and not their owne likewiſe. For if they by coueyne or gile be wiped beſide their goodes, ſo that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreake their anger by abſteininge from occupieng with that nation, vntil they haue made ſatiſfaction. Not forbicauſe they ſet leſſe ſtoore by their owne citizeins, then by their frendes: but that they take the loſſe of their frendes money more heuelie then ye loſſe of their own. Bicauſe that their frendes marchaunte men, foraſmuche as that they leiſe is their own priuate goods, ſuſteine great dammage by the loſſe. But their owne citizeyns leiſe nothing but of the commen goods, and of that whiche was at home plentifull and almoſt ſuperfluous, els had it not bene ſent furth. Therfore no man feleth the loſſe. And for this cauſe they thinke it to cruell an acte, to reuenge that loſſe with the deathe of manie, the incommoditie of the which loſſe no man feeleth neither in his lyfe, nor yet in his liuing. But if it chaunce that any of their men in any other countrey be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a commen or a priuate counſel, knowyng and trying out the trueth of the matter by their ambaſſadours, onleſſe the offenders be rendered vnto them in recompence of the iniurie, they will not be appeaſed: but incontinent they proclaime warre againſt them. The offenders yelded, they puniſhe either with death, or with bondage. They be not only ſory, but alſo aſhamed to atchieue the victorie with bloudſhed, counting it greate folie to bie precious wares to dere. They reioyſe and auaunt themſelues, if they vanquiſhe and oppreſſe their enemies by craft and deceite. And for that act they

Victorie deare bought.

make a generall triumph, and as yf the matter were manfullye handeled, they ſet vp a pyller of ſtone in the place where they ſo vanquiſhed their enemies, in token of the victorie. For then they glorie, then they boaſte, and cracke that they haue plaied the men in deede, when they haue ſo ouercommen, as no other liuing creature but onely man could: that is to ſaye, by the by the mighte and puiſaunce of wit. For with bodily ſtrength (ſay they) beares, lions, boores, wulfes, dogges, and other wild beaſtes do fight. And as the moſte part of them do paſſe vs in ſtrength and fierce courage, ſo in wit and reaſon we be much ſtronger then they all. Their chief and principall purpoſe in warre, is to obteine that thynge, whiche if they had before obteined, they woulde not haue moued battell. But if that be not poſſible, they take ſo cruell vengeaunce of them whiche be in the faulte, that euer after they be aferde to do the like. This is their chieſe and principall intent, whiche they immediatlie and firſt of al proſequute, and ſetforwarde. But yet ſo, that they be more circumſpecte, in auoidinge and eſchewynge ieopardies, then they be deſierous of prayſe and renowne. Therefore immediatlye after that warre is ones ſolemnelie denounced, they procure many proclamations ſigned with their owne commen ſeale to be ſet vp priuilie at one time in their enemies lande, in places moſte frequented. In theſe proclamations they promiſſe greate rewardes to hym that will kill their enemies prince, and ſome what leſſe giftes, but them verye greate alſo, for euerye heade of them, whoſe names be in the ſaide proclamations conteyned. They be thoſe whom they count their chiefe aduerſaries, next vnto the prince. Whatſoeuer is preſcribed vnto him that killeth any of the proclaimed perſons, that is dubled to him that bringeth anye of the ſame to them aliue: yea, and to the proclaimed perſones themſelues, if they wil chaunge their mindes, and come into them, taking their partes, they profer the ſame greate rewardes with pardone, and ſuertie of their liues. Therefore it quickely commeth to paſſe that their ene-

mies haue all other men in ſuſpicion, and be vnfaithfull, and miſtruſting among themſelues one to another, liuing in great feare, and in no leſſe ieopardie. For it is well knowen, that diuers times the moſt part of them (and ſpeciallie the prince him ſelfe) hathe bene betraied of them, in whom they put their moſte hope and truſt. So that there is no maner of act nor dede that giftes and rewardes do not enforce men vnto. And in rewardes they kepe no meaſure. But remembring and conſidering into how great haſarde and ieopardie they cal them, endeuoure themſelues to recompence the greatnes of the daunger with like great benefites. And therefore they promiſe not only wonderful greate abundaunce of golde, but alſo landes of greate reuenues lieng in moſt ſaffe places among theire frendes. And theire promiſſes they perfourme faythfully withoute anny fraude or couyne. This cuſtome of byinge and ſellynge aduerſaryes among other people is dyſallowed, as a cruel acte of a baſſe and a cowardyſhe mynde. But they in this behalfe thinke themſelfes muche prayſe woorthy, as who lyke wyſe men by this meanes diſpatche greate warres withoute anny battell or ſkyrmyſhe. Yea they counte it alſo a dede of pytye and mercye, bicauſe that by the deathe of a fewe offenders the lyues of a greate numbre of innocentes, aſwel of theire oune men as alſo of theire enemies be raunſomed and ſaued, which in fighting ſhoulde haue bene ſleane. For they doo no leſſe pytye the baſſe and common ſorte of theire enemies people, then they doo theire owne: knowing yat they be driuen and enforced to warre againſte their willes by the furyous madnes of theire princes and heades. Yf by none of theſe meanes the matter goo forwarde, as they woulde haue it, then they procure occayſons of debate, and diſſention to be ſpredde amonge theire enemies. As by bringinge the princes brother, or ſome of the noble men in hoope to obtayne the kingedome. Yf this waye preuayle not, then they reyſe vp the people that be nexte neyghebours and borderers to theire enemyes, and them they

ſette in theire neckes vnder the coloure of ſome olde tytle of ryghte, ſuch as kynges doo neuer lacke. To them they promyſſe theire helpe and ayde in theire warre. And as for moneye they gyue them abundaunce. But of theire owne cytyzeins they ſende to them fewe or none. Whome they make ſo much of, and loue ſo intierlye, that they would not be willing to chaunge anye of them for their aduerſaries prince. But their gold and ſiluer, bycauſe they kepe it all for thys only purpoſe, they laye it owte frankly and frely: as who ſhoulde lyue euen as wealthely, if they hadde beſtowed it euerye pennye. Yea and beſydes theire ryches, whyche they kepe at home, thei haue alſo an infinite treaſure abrode, by reaſon that (as I ſayde before) manye nations be in their debte. Therefore they hiere ſoldiours oute of all countreis and ſende them to battayle, but cheifly of the zapoletes. This people is 500. myles from Utopia eaſtewarde. They be hideous, ſauage, and fyerce, dwellynge in wild woodes and high mountaines, where they were bredde and brought vp. They be of an harde nature, hable to abide and ſuſteine heate, colde, and labour, abhorrynge from all delicate deintyes, occupyenge no huſbandrye nor tyllage of the ground, homelye and rude both in buildinge of their houſes and in their apparrel, geuen vnto no goodnes, but onely to the breedinge and bringynge vp of cattel. The moſte parte of theire lyuinge is by huntynge and ſtealynge. They be borne onelye to warre, whyche they diligentlye and earneſtelye ſeke for. And when they haue gotten it, they be wonders glad thereof. They goo furthe of theire countreye in greate companyes together, and who ſoeuer lackethe ſouldyours, there they proffer theire ſeruice for ſmall wages. This is onelye the crafte they haue to gette theire liuynge by. They maynteyne theire lyfe, by ſekinge theire deathe. For them whomewyth they be in wayges they fyghte hardelye, fyerflye, and faythefullye. But they bynde themſelfes for no certeyne tyme. But vpon this condition they

entre into bondes, that the nexte daye they wyll take parte with the other ſyde for greatter wayges, and the nexte daye after that, they wyll be readye to come backe agayne for a lytle more moneye. There be fewe warres thereawaye, wherein is not a greate numbre of them in bothe partyes. Therefore it dayelye chauncethe that nye kynſefolke whyche were hiered together on one parte, and there verye frendelye and familiarlye vſed themſelfes one wyth another, ſhortely after beinge ſeparate in contrarye partes, runne one againſte another enuyouſlye and ſyercelye: and forgettinge bothe kindred and frendeſhyppe, thruſte theire ſwordes one in another. And that for none other cauſe, but that they be hyered of contrarye prynces for a lytle moneye. Whyche they doo ſo hyghlye regarde and eſteame, that they will eaſelye be prouoked to chaunge partes for a halfe-penye more wayges by the daye. So quyckelye they haue taken a ſmacke in coueteſenes. Whyche for all that is to them no proffyte. For that they gette by ſyghtynge, immedyatelye they ſpende vnthryftelye and wretchedlye in ryotte. This people fighteth for the Utopians agaynſte all nations, bycauſe they geue them greatter wayges, then annye other nation wyll. For the Utopians lyke as they ſeke good men to vſe wel, ſo they ſeke theſe euell and vicious men to abuſe. Whome, when neade requirethe, with promiſſes of greate rewardes they putte forthe into great ieopardyes. From whens the mooſte parte of them neuer cummeth againe to aſke their rewardes. But to them that remaine aliue they paye yat which they promiſſed faithfully, that they maye be the more willinge to put themſelfes in like daunger another time. Nor ye Utopianes paſſe not how many of them they bring to deſtruction. For they beleue yat they ſhould doo a verye good deade for all mankind, if they could ridde out of ye worlde all that fowle ſtinking denne of that moſt wicked and curſed people. Next vnto thies they vſe ye ſoldiours of them for whom they fighte. And then the helpe of their other frendes. And laſte of all, they ioyne to

theire oune citizens. Emong whome they giue to one of tried vertue and prowes the reule, goouernaunce, and conduction of the whole armye. Vnder him they appoynte ij. other, whyche, whyles he is ſauffe, be bothe priuate and oute of offyce. But yf he be taken or ſlayne, the one of the other. ij. ſuccedeth hym, as it were by inherytaunce. And if the ſeconde miſcarrye, then the thirde taketh his rowme, leaſte that (as the chaunce of battell is vncerteine and doubtſul) the ieopardye or deathe of the capitaine ſhoulde brynge the whole armye in haſarde. They chueſe ſoldyours out of euery citye thoſe, whych putte furthe themſelffes wyllyngelye. For they thruſte no man forthe into warre agaynſte his wyll. Bycauſe they beleue, yf annye man be fearefull and fainte harted of nature, he wyll not onelye doo no manfull and hardy acte hym ſelfe, but alſo be occayſon of cowardenes to his fellowes. But if annye battell be made agaynſte theire owne countreye, then they putt theſe cowardes (ſo that they be ſtronge bodyed) in ſhyppes amonge other bolde harted men. Or elles they dyſpoſe them vpon the walles, from whens they maye not flye. Thus what for ſhame that theire enemies be at hande, and what for bycauſe they be without hope of runninge awaye, they forgette all feere. And manye times extreame neceſſitye turnethe cowardnes into prowes and manlynes. But as none of them is thruſt forthe of his countrey into warre againſte his wyll, ſo women that be wyllynge to accompany theire huſbandes in times of warre be not prohibited or letted. Yea they prouoke and exhorte them to it with prayſes. And in ſet fylde the wyues doo ſtande euerye one by theire owne huſbandes ſyde. Alſo euery man is compaſſed next aboute with his owne children, kinſſolkes, and aliaunce. That they, whom nature chiefely moueth to mutual ſuccoure, thus ſtandynge together, maye healpe one another. It is a great reproche, and diſhoneſty for the huſband to come home without his wiffe, or the wyffe withoute her huſbande, or the ſonne without his father.

And therfore if the other part ſticke ſo harde by it, that the battel come to their handes, it is fought with great ſlaughter and blodſhed, euen to the vtter deſtruction of both partes. For as they make all the meanes and ſhyftes that maye be to kepe themſelfes from the neceſſitye of fyghtinge, or that they may diſpatche the battell by their hiered ſoldyours: ſo when there is no remedy, but that they muſte neades fight themſelfes, they they do as corragiouſlye fall to it, as before, whyles they myght, they did wiſelye auoyde and refuſe it. Nor they be not moſt fierce at the firſt bront. But in continuaunce by litle and lytle theire fierce courage encreaſeth, with ſo ſtubborne and obſtynate myndes, that they wyll rather dye then gyue back an ynche. For that ſuertye of lyuinge, whiche euerye man hath at home beinge ioyned with noo carefull anxietye or remembraunce how theire poſteritie ſhall lyue after them (for his penſifnes oftentymes breakethe and abateth couragious ſtomakes) maketh them ſtowte and hardye, and diſdaineful to be conquered. Moreouer theire knowledge in cheualrye and feates of armes putteth them in a good hope. Finally the wholeſome and vertuous opinions, wherin they were brought vp euen from theire childhode, partely through learnynge, and partlye throughe the good ordinaunces and lawes of theire weale publique augmente and encreaſe theire manfull courage. By reaſon whereof they neither ſet ſo litle ſtore by their liues, that they will raſſhelye and vnaduiſedlye caſte them away: nor they be not ſo farre in lewde and fond loue therewith, that they will ſhamefullye couete to kepe them, when honeſtie biddeth leaue them. When the battel is hotteſt and in al places moſt fierce and feruent, a bende of choſen and picked yong men, whiche be ſworne to liue and dye togethers, take vpon them to deſtroye theire aduerſaries capitaine. Whome they inuade now with priuy wieles, now by open ſtrength. At him they ſtrike both nere and farre of. He is aſſayled with a long and a con-

The capitane is chieflye to be pursued to th[e]intente the battell maye the soner be ended.

tinuall aſſaulte freſhe men ſtyll commynge in the weried mens places. And ſeldome it chaunceth (onles he he ſaue hymſelfe by flying) that he is not either ſlayne, or els taken priſoner, and yelded to his enemies aliue. If they wynne the fyelde, they perſecute not theire enemies with the violent rage of ſlaughter. For they had rather take them aliue, then kyl them. Neither they do ſo follow the chaſe and purſute of theire enemies, but they leaue behinde them one parte of theire hoſte in battaile arraye vnder their ſtandardes. In ſo muche that if al their whole armie be diſcumfeted and ouercum ſauing the rerewarde, and that they therewith atchieue the victory, then they had rather lette al their enemies ſcape, then to followe them out of array. For they remembre, it hath chaunced vnto themſelfes more then ones: the whole powre and ſtrength of their hoſte being vanquiſhed and put to flight, whiles their enemies reioyſing in the victory haue perſecuted them flying ſome one way and ſome another, a ſmall companye of theire men lying in an ambuſhe, there redy at all occaſions, haue ſodainelye ryſen vpon them thus diſperſed and ſcattered oute of arraye, and through preſumption of ſafety vnaduiſedly purſuing the chaſe: and haue incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battayll: and ſpite of their tethes wreſtinge oute of their handes the ſure and vndouted victorye, being a litle before conquered, haue for their parte conquered the conquerers. It is hard to ſay whether they be craftier in layinge an ambuſhe, or wittier in auoydinge the ſame. You would thinke they intende to flye, when they meane nothing leſſe. And contrarye wyſe when they go about that purpoſe, you wold beleue it were the leaſte parte of their thought. For if they perceaue themſelfes either ouermatched in numbre, or cloſed in too narrowe a place, then they remoue their campe either in the night ſeaſon with ſilence, or by ſome pollicie they deceaue theire enemies, or in the day time they retiere backe ſo ſoftelye, that it is no leſſe ieoperdie to medle with them when they geue backe, then when they preeſe on. They fence and

fortifie their campe fewerlye with a deape and a brode trenche. The earth therof is caſt inward. Nor they do not ſet drudgeis and ſlaues a worke about it. It is doone by the handes of the ſouldiours them ſelfes. All the whole armye worketh vpon it: excepte them that kepe watche and warde in harneis before the trenche for ſodeine auentures. Therefore by the labour of ſo manye a large trenche cloſinge in a greate compaſſe of grounde is made in leſſe tyme then anye man woulde beleue. Theire armoure or harneys, whiche they weare, is ſure and ſtrong to receaue ſtrokes, and handſome for all mouinges and geſtures of the bodye, inſomuche that it is not vnweldye to ſwymme in. For in the diſcipline of theire warefare amonge other feates thei learne to ſwimme in harnes. Their weapons be arrowes aloufe: whyche they ſhote both ſtrongely and ſurelye, not onelye fotemen, but alſo horſemen. At hande ſtrokes they vſe not ſwordes but pollaxes, whiche be mortall, aſwel in ſharpenes, as in weyghte, both for foynes and downe ſtrokes. Engines for warre they deuyſe and inuent wonders wittelye. Whiche when they be made they kepe verye ſecrete, leaſte yf they ſhoulde be knowen before neade requyre, they ſhould be but laughed at and ſerue to no purpoſe. Bnt in makynge them hereunto they haue chiefe reſpecte, that they be both eaſy to be caried, and handſome to be moued, and turned about.

Their armour.

Truce taken with their enemies for a ſhorte time they do ſo firmelye and faythfullye keape, that they wyll not breake it: no not though they be thereunto prouoked. They doe not waſte nor deſtroye theire enemies lande with forraginges, nor they burne not vp their corne. Yea, they ſaue it as muche as may be from being ouerrunne and troden downe either with men or horſes, thinkinge that it growethe for theire owne vſe and proffit. They hurt no man that is vnarmed, onles he be an eſpiall. All cities that be yelded vnto them, they defende. And ſuche as they wynne by force of aſſaulte, they neither diſpoyle nor ſacke, but them that withſtode and dyſſuaded the

Of truces.

yeldynge vp of the ſame, they put to deathe, the other ſouldiours they punnyſhe with bondage. All the weake multitude they leaue vntouched. If they knowe that annye citezeins counſelled to yealde and rendre vp the citie, to them they gyue parte of the condemned mens goods. The reſydewe they diſtribute and giue frelye amonge them, whoſe helpe they had in ſame warre. For none of them ſelfes taketh any portion of the praye. But when the battaile is finiſhed and ended, they put theire frendes to neuer a penny coſte of al the charges that they were at, but laye it vpon theire neckes that be conquered. Them they burdeine with the whole charge of theire expenſeis, whiche they demaunde of them partelye in moneie to be kept for like vſe of battayll, and partelye in landes of greate reuenues to be payde vnto them yearelye for euer. Suche reuenues they haue now in manye countreis. Whiche by litle and litle ryſinge of dyuers and ſondry cauſes be increaſed aboue. vij. [ſeven] hundrethe thouſand ducates by the yere. Thether they ſende forth ſome of their citezeins as Lieuetenauntes, to liue there ſumptuouſly like men of honoure and renowne. And yet this not withſtandinge muche moneye is ſaued, which commeth to the commen treaſory: onles it ſo chaunce, that they had rather truſt ye countrey with the money. Which many times they do ſo long, vntil they haue nede to occupie it. And it ſeldome happeneth, that thei demaund al. Of theſe landes they aſſigne parte vnto them, which at their requeſt and exhortacion put themſelfes in ſuch ieoperdies, as I ſpake of before. If anye prince ſtirre vp warre agaynſte them, intending to inuade theire lande, they mete hym incontinent oute of theire owne borders with greate powre and ſtrengthe. For they neuer lyghtely make warre in their owne countrei. Nor they be neuer broughte into ſo extreme neceſſitie as to take helpe out of forreyne landes into their owne Ilande.

¶ Of the religions in Utopia.

THere be diuers kindes of religion not only in ſondrie partes of the Ilande, but alſo in diuers places of euery citie. Some worſhip for God the ſonne: ſome the mone: ſome, ſome other of the planettes. There be that giue worſhip to a man that was ones of excellente vertue or of famous glory, not only as God, but alſo as the chiefeſt and hygheſt God. But the moſte and the wyſeſt parte (reiectynge al theſe) beleue, that there is a certayne Godlie powre vnknowen, euerlaſtinge, incomprehenſible, inexplicable, farre aboue the capacitie and retche of mans witte, diſperſed throughoute all the worlde, not in bignes, but in vertue and power. Him they call the father of al. To him alone they attribute the beginninges, the encreaſinges, the procedinges, the chaunges, and the endes of al thinges. Neither they geue any diuine honours to any other then to him. Yea al ye other alſo, though they be in diuers opinions, yet in this pointe they agree all togethers with the wiſeſt ſorte, in beleuing that there is one chiefe and principall God, the maker and ruler of the whole worlde: whome they all commonlye in their countrey language call Mythra. But in this they diſagree, that among ſome he is counted one, and amonge ſome an other. For euery one of them, whatſoeuer yat is whiche he taketh for the chief god, thinketh it to be the very ſame nature, to whoſe only diuine mighte and maieſtie, the ſumme and ſoueraintie of al thinges by the conſent of al people is attributed and geuen. Howbeit they all begyn by litle and litle to forſake and fall from this varietie of ſuperſtitions, and to agre togethers in that religion whiche ſemethe by reaſon to paſſe and excell the reſidewe. And it is not to be doubted, but all the other would long agoo haue bene aboliſhed, but that whatſoeuer vnproſperous thynge happened to anie of

them, as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the fearefulneſſe of people did take it, not as a thinge comminge by chaunce, but as ſente from GOD out of heauen. As thoughe the God, whoſe honoure he was forſakynge, woulde reuenge that wicked purpoſe againſt him. But after they hearde vs ſpeake of the name of Chriſte, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of thee no leſſe wonderful conſtancie of ſo manye martyrs, whoſe bloude wyllinglye ſhedde broughte a great numbre of nations throughoute all partes of the worlde into their ſect: you will not beleue with howe gladde mindes, they agreed vnto the ſame: whether it were by the ſecrete inſpiration of GOD, or elles for that they thought it niegheſt vnto that opinion, which among them is counted the chiefeſt. Howbeit I thinke this was no ſmale helpe and furtheraunce in the matter, that they harde vs ſay, that Chriſt inſtituted among his, al thinges commen: and that the ſame communitie doth yet remaine amongeſt the righteſt Chriſtian companies. Verely howſoeuer it came to paſſe, manye of them conſented togethers in our religion, and were waſſhed in ye holy water of baptiſme. But becauſe among vs foure (for no mo of vs was left a liue, two of our companye beyng dead) there was no prieſt, which I am right ſorie for: they beynge entered and inſtructed in al other pointes of our religion, lacke only thoſe ſacramentes, whiche here none but prieſtes do miniſter. Howbeit they vnderſtand and perceiue them, and be very deſierous of ye ſame. Yea, they reaſon and diſpute ye matter earneſtly among themſelues, whether without ye ſending of a chriſtian biſhop, one choſen out of their own people may receaue the ordre of prieſthod. And truely they were minded to chueſe one. But at my departure from them they had choſen none. They alſo which do not agree to Chriſtes religion, feare no man from it, nor ſpeake againſt any man that hath receiued it. Sauing that one of our company in my preſence was ſharpely puniſhed. He as ſoone as he

Religious houses.

was baptiſed, began againſt our willes, with more earneſte affection, then wiſedome, to reaſon of Chriſtes religion: and began to waxe ſo hote in his matter, that he did not onlye preferre our religion before al other, but alſo did vtterly deſpiſe and condempne all other, calling them prophane, and the folowers of them wicked and deueliſh, and the children of euerlaſtinge dampnation. When he had thus longe reaſoned the matter, they laide holde on him, accuſed him, and condempned him into exile, not as a deſpiſer of religion, but as a ſedicious perſon, and a raiſer vp of diſſention amonge the people. For this is one of the auncienteſt lawes amonge them: that no man ſhall be blamed for reſoninge in the maintenaunce of his owne religion. For kyng Utopus, euen at the firſte beginning, hearing yat the inhabitauntes of the land wer before his comming thether, at continuall diſſention and ſtrife amonge themſelues for their religions: perceyuing alſo that this common diſſention (whiles euery ſeuerall ſecte tooke ſeueral partes in fighting for their countrey) was the only occaſion of his conqueſt ouer them al, aſſone as he had gotten the victory: Firſte of all he made a decree, that it ſhould be lawfull for euerie man to fauoure and folow what religion he would, and that he mighte do the beſt he could to bring other to his opinion, ſo that he did it peaceablie, gentelie, quietly, and ſoberlie, without haſtie and contentious rebuking and inuehing againſt other. If he could not by faire and gentle ſpeche induce them vnto his opinion yet he ſhould vſe no kinde of violence, and refraine from displeaſaunte and ſeditious woordes. To him that would vehemently and feruentlye in this cauſe ſtriue and contende was decreed, baniſhment or bondage. This lawe did kynge Utopus make not only for the maintenaunce of peace, which he ſaw through continuall contention and mortal hatred vtterly extinguiſhed: but alſo becauſe he thought this decrie ſhould make for the furtheraunce of religion. Wherof he durſt define and determine nothing vnad-

Sedicious reſoners puniſhed.

uiſedlie, as douting whether god deſiering manifolde and diuerſe ſortes of honour, would inſpire ſondry men with ſondrie kindes of religion, And this ſuerly he thought a very vnmete and foliſh thing, and a point of arrogant preſumption, to compell all other by violence and threateninges to agre to the ſame, that thou beleueſt to be trew. Furthermore thoughe there be one religion, whiche alone is trew, and al other vaine and ſuperſtitious, yet did he wel foreſee (ſo that the matter were handeled with reaſon, and ſober modeſtie) that the trueth of the own powre would at the laſt iſſue out and come to lyghte. But if contention and debate in that behalfe ſhould continuallye be vſed, as the woorſte men be mooſte obſtinate and ſtubbourne, and in their euyll opinion mooſte conſtante: he perceaued that then the beſte and holyeſt religion woulde be troden vnderfote and deſtroyed by moſt vaine ſuperſticions, euen as good corne is by thornes and weedes ouergrowen and chooked. Therfore all this matter he lefte vndiſcuſſed, and gaue to euerye man free libertie and choiſe to beleue what he woulde. Sauinge that he earneſtelye and ſtraitelye charged them, that no man ſhould conceaue ſo vile and baaſe an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as to think that the ſoules do die and periſhe with the bodye: or that the world runneth at al auentures gouerned by no diuine prouidence. And therfore thei beleue that after this life vices be extreamelye puniſhed and vertues bountifully rewarded. Hym that is of a contrary opinion they counte not in the numbre of men, as one that hathe aualed the heighe nature of hys ſoule to the vielnes of brute beaſtes bodies: muche leſſe in the numbre of their citiziens, whoſe lawes and ordenaunces, if it were not for feare, he wold nothing at al eſteeme. For you maye be ſuer that he will ſtudie either with craft priuely to mocke, or els violently to breake the commen lawes of his countrey, in whom remaineth no further feare then of the lawes, nor no further hope then of the

No vile opinion to be conceaued of mans worthy nature.

bodye. Wherfore he that is thus minded is depriued of all honours, excluded from all common adminiſtrations in the weale publique. And thus he is of all ſortes deſpiſed, as of an vnprofitable, and of a baſe and vile nature. Howbeit they put him to no puniſhment, becauſe they be perſuaded, that it is in no mans power to beleue what he liſt. No nor they conſtraine hym not with threatninges to diſſemble his minde, and ſhew countenaunce contrarie to his thought. For deceit and falſhod and all maners of lies, as nexte vnto fraude, they do maruelouſlie deteſte and abhorre. But they ſuffer him not to dispute in his opinion, and that onelye amonge the commen people. For els aparte amonge the prieſtes and men of grauitie they do not onelye ſuffer, but alſo exhorte him to diſpute and argue: hoping that at the laſt, that madnes will geue place to reaſon. There be alſo other, and of them no ſmall numbre, which be not forbidden to ſpeake theyr mindes, as grounding their opinion vpon ſome reaſon, beyng in their liuing neither euell nor vicious. Their hereſie is much contrarie to the other. For they beleue that the ſoules of brute beaſtes be immortall and euerlaſting. But nothynge to be compared with oures in dignitie, neither ordeined nor predeſtinate to like felicitie. For al they beleue certeinly and ſewerly that mans bleſſe ſhal be ſo great, that they do mourne and lament euery mans ſicknes, but no mans death, oneles it be one whome they ſee depart from his life carefullie, and agaynſt his will. For this they take for a verye euel token, as thoughe the ſoule beynge in diſpaire, and vexed in conſcience, through ſome priuie and ſecret forefeiling of the puniſhement now at hande were aferde to depart. And they thinke he ſhall not be welcome to God, which when he is called, runneth not to him gladlye, but is drawen by force and ſore againſt his will. They therfore that ſee this kinde of deathe, do abhorre it,

Irreligious people secluded from all honours.

A very straung sayinge.

Deceit and falshod detested.

A maruelous straunge opinion touching the soules of brute beastes.

To die vnwillyngly an euel token.

and them that ſo die, they burie with ſorow and ſilence. And when they haue praied God to be mercifull to the ſoule, and mercifully to pardon the infirmities therof, they couer the dead coorſe with earth. Contrariewiſe all that departe merely and ful of good hope, for them no man mourneth, but followeth the heerſe with ioyfull ſynging, commending the ſoules to God with great affection. And at the laſt, not with mourning ſorrow, but with a great reuerence they bourne the bodies. And in the ſame place they ſette vp a piller of ſtone, with the dead mans titles therin graued. When they be come home they reherſe his vertuous maners and his good dedes. But no part of his life is ſo oft or gladly talked of, as his meri deth. They thinke that this remembraunce of the vertue and goodnes of the dead doeth vehemently prouoke and enforce the liuing to vertue. And that nothing can be more pleaſaunt and acceptable to the deade. Whom they ſuppoſe to be preſent among them, when they talke of them, though to the dull and feble eieſight of mortall men they be inuiſible. For it were an vnconuenient thinge, that the bleſſed ſhoulde not be at libertie to goo whether they woulde. And it were a pointe of greate vnkindnes in them to haue vtterly caſt awaye the deſire of viſitinge and ſeing their frendes, to whome they were in their life time ioyned by mutuall loue and amitie. Whiche in good men after their deathe they counte to be rather increaſed then diminiſhed. They beleue therefore that the deade be preſentlye conuerſaunt amonge the quicke, as beholders and witneſſes of all their wordes and dedes. Therfore they go more corragiouſly to their buſines as hauing a truſt and affiaunce in ſuch ouerſeers. And this ſame beleſe of the preſent conuerſation of their forefathers and auncetours among them, feareth them from all ſecrete diſhoneſtie. They vtterly deſpiſe and mocke ſothſayinges and diuinations of thinges to come by the flighte or voices of birdes, and

A willing and a merye deathe not to be lamented.

Sothsayers not regarded nor credited.

all other diuinations of vaine ſuperſtition, whiche in other countreis be in greate obſeruation. But they highlye eſteme and worſhyppe miracles that come by no healpe of nature, as woorkes and witneſſes of the preſente power of God. And ſuche they ſaye do chaunce there verye often. And ſometimes in great and doubtefull matters, by commen interceſſion and prayers, they procure and obteine them with a ſure hope and confidence, and a ſteadfaſt belefe.

Miracles.

The life contemplatiue.

They thinke that the contemplation of nature, and the prayſe thereof comminge, is to God a very acceptable honoure. Yet there be many ſo earneſtlye bent and affectioned to religion, that they paſſe no thing for lerning, nor geue their mindes to any knowledge of thinges. But ydelnes they vtterly forſake and eſchue, thinking felicitie after this life to be gotten and obteined by buſie labors and good exerciſes. Some therfore of them attende vpon the ſicke, ſome amende high waies, clenſe ditches, repaire bridges, digge turfes, grauell, and ſtones, ſel and cleaue wood, bring wood, corne and other thinges into the cities in cartes, and ſerue not onelye in commen woorkes, but alſo in priuate laboures as ſeruauntes, yea, more then bondmen. For what ſo euer vnpleaſaunt, harde, and vile worke is anye where, from the whiche labour, lothſomnes, and deſperation doth fray other, al that they take vpon them willingly and gladly, procuring quiete and reſt to other, remaininge in continual woorke and labour themſelues, not embraidinge others therewith. They neither reproue other mens liues, nor glorie in theire owne. Theſe men the more ſeruiceable they behaue themſelues, the more they be honoured of all men. Yet they be diuided into two ſectes. The one is of them that liue ſingle and chaſt, abſteining not onely from the companie of women, but alſo from eating of fleſhe, and ſome of them from all maner of beastes. Whiche vtterly reiecting the pleaſures of this preſent life as hurtfull, be all wholye ſet vpon the deſier of the lyfe to come by watchynge, and ſweatynge, hoop-

The life actiue.

inge ſhortly to obtaine it, being in the meane ſeaſon merie and luſtie. The other ſecte is no leſſe deſirous of laboure, but they embrace matrimonye, not deſpiſynge the ſolace therof, thinking that they can not be diſcharged of their bounden duties towardes nature without labour and toyle, nor towardes their natiue countrey without procreation of children. They abſtaine from no pleaſure that doeth nothinge hinder them from laboure. They loue the fleſh of foure footed beaſtes, bicauſe they beleue that by yat meate they be made hardier and ſtronger to woorke.

It is not all one to be wise and good.

The Utopians counte this ſecte the wiſer, but the other the holier. Which in that they preferre ſingle life before matrimony, and that ſharp life before an eaſier life, if herein they grounded vpon reaſon they would mock them. But now foraſmuch as they ſay they be led to it by religion, they honor and worſhip them. And theie be they whom in their language by a peculiar name, they cal Buthreſcas, the which woord by interpretation ſignifieth to vs men of religion or religious men. They haue prieſtes of exceding holines, and therefore very few. For there be but xiij. in euery citie accordinge to the number of their churches, ſauyng when they go furthe to battell. For than. vij. of them goo furth with the armie: in whoſe ſteades ſo manie newe be made at home. But the other at their retourne home again reentre euery one into his owne place, they that be aboue the numbre, vntill ſuche time as they ſuccede into the places of the other at their dyinge, be in the meane ſeaſon continuallie in companie with the biſhoppe. For he is the chiefe heade of them al. They be choſen of the people, as the other magiſtrates be by ſecrete voices for the auoydinge of ſtriſe. After their election they be conſecrate of their own companie. They be ouerſeers of al diuine matters, orderers of religions, and as it wer iudges and maiſters of maners. And it is a great diſhoneſtie and ſhame to be rebuked or ſpoken to by any of them for diſſolute and incontin-

Priestes.

ent liuing. But as it is their office to geue good exhortations and counſel, ſo is it ye dutie of the prince and the other magiſtrates to correct and puniſhe offenders, ſauing that the prieſtes, whome they find exceading vicious liuers, them they excommunicate from hauing anye intereſt in diuine matters. And there is almoſte no puniſhement amonge them more feared. For they runne in verye great infamie, and be inwardly tormented with a ſecret feare of religion, and ſhall not long ſcape free with their bodies. For vnleſſe they by quicke repentaunce approue the amendement of their liues to the prieſtes, they be taken and puniſhed of the counſel, as wicked and irreligious. Both childhode and youth is inſtructed, and taught of them. Nor they be not more diligente to inſtructe them in learning, then in vertue and good maners. For they vſe with verie great endeuour and diligence to put into the heades of their children, whiles they be yet tender and pliaunte, good opinions and profitable for the conſeruation of their weale publique. Which when they be once rooted in children, do remayne with them al their life after, and be wonders profitable for the defence and maintenaunce of the ſtate of the commen welth. Whiche neuer decaieth but throughe vices risinge of euill opinions. The prieſtes, onles they be women (for that kinde is not excluded from prieſthoode, howbeit fewe be choſen, and none but widdowes and old women) the men prieſtes, I ſaye, take to their wifes the chiefeſt women in all their countreye. For to no office among the Utopians is more honour and preeminince geuen. In ſo much that if they commit any offence, they be vnder no commen iudgement, but be left only to god and themſelfes. For thei thinke it not lawful to touch him with mannes hande, be he neuer ſo vitious, which after ſo ſingular a ſort was dedicate and conſecrate to god, as a holly oftering. This maner may they eaſelye obſerue, bicauſe they haue ſo ſewe prieſtes, and do chuſe them with ſuch circumſpec-

Excommunication.

Women prieſtes.

The maieſtie and preeminence of priestes.

tion. For it ſcaſely euer chaunceth, that the moſte vertuous amonge vertuous, which in reſpect only of his vertue is auaunced to ſo high a dignity, can fal to vice and wickednes. And if it ſhould chaunce in dede (as mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reaſon they be ſo fewe, and promoted to no might nor powre, but only to honoure, it were not to be feared yat anye great dammage by them ſhould happen and enſue to the commen wealthe. They haue ſo rare and fewe prieſtes, leaſt if the honour were communicated to many, ye digniti of the ordre, which among them now is ſo highly eſtemed, ſhould rune in contempt. Speciallye bicauſe they thincke it hard to find many ſo good, as to be meet for that dignity, to the execution and diſcharge whereof it is not ſufficiente to be endued with meane vertues. Furthermore theſe prieſtes be not more eſtemed of their owne countrey men, then they be of forrein and ſtraunge countreis. Which thinge maye hereby plainly appere. And I thinke alſo yat this is the cauſe of it. For whiles ye armies be fighting together in open feld they a litle beſide not farre of knele vpon their knees in their hallowed veſtimentes, holding vp their handes to heauen: praing firſt of all for peace, nexte for vyctory of their owne parte, but to neyther part a bluddy victory. If their hoſt gette the vpper hand, they runne in to the mayne battayle, and restrayne their owne men from fleying and cruelly purſuinge theire vanquyſhed enemies. Whyche enemyes, yf they doo but ſee them and ſpeake to them, it is ynoughe for the ſauegarde of theire lyues. And the touching of theire clothes defendeth and ſaueth al their gooddes from rauine and ſpoyle. This thinge hathe auaunced them to ſo greate wourſhip and trewe maieſty among al nations, that manye times they haue aſwel preſerued theire own citizens from ye cruel force of their enemies, as they haue theire enemies from the furyous rage of theire owne men. For it is well knowen, that when theire owne army hathe reculed, and in dyſpayre turned backe, and runne away, their ennemies fyerflye purſuing

with ſlaughter and ſpoyle, then the prieſtes cumming betwene haue ſtayed the murder, and parted bothe the hoſtes. So that peace hath bene made and concluded betwene bothe partes vpon equall and indifferent conditions. For there was neuer any nation, ſo fierce, ſo cruell, and rude, but they hadde them in ſuche reuerence, that they counted their bodyes hallowed and ſanctified, and therefore not to be violentlye and vnreuerentlye touched.

The obseruacion of holy daies amonge the Utopians

They kepe hollye the firſte and the laſte daye of euery moneth and yeare, diuydinge the yeare into monethes, whyche they meaſure by the courſe of the moone, as they doo the yeare by the courſe of the ſonne. The fyrſte dayes they call in theire language Lynemernes, and the laſte Trapemernes, the whyche woordes may be interpreted, primifeſte and finifeſt, or els in our ſpeache, firſt feaſte and laſt feaſt. Their churches be verye gorgious, and not onelye of fine and curious workemanſhip, but alſo (which in the fewenes of them was neceſſary) very wide and large, and hable to receaue a great company of people. But they be al ſumwhat darke. Howbeit that was not donne through ignoraunce in buildinge, but as they ſay, by the counſel of the prieſtes. Bicauſe they thought that ouer much light doth diſperſe mens cogitations, whereas in dimme and doubtful lighte they be gathered together, and more earneſtly fixed vpon religion and deuotion: which bicauſe it is not there of one ſort among all men, and yet all the kindes and ſaſſions of it, thoughe they be ſondry and manifold, agre together in the honour of the diuine nature, as goyng diuers wayes to one ende: therefore nothing is ſene nor heard in ye churches, but that ſemeth to agre indefferently with them all. If there be a diſtinct kind of ſacrifice peculiar to anye ſeueral ſecte, that they execute at home in their owne houſes. The common ſacrifices be ſo ordered, that they be no derogation nor preiudice to anye of the priuate ſacrifices and religions. Therefore no ymage of annye god is ſeene in

Their churcheis

Churcheis of dimme light and a reason why

the churche, to the intente it maye bee free for euery man to conceiue god by their religion after what likenes and ſimilitude they will. They call vpon no peculiar name of god, but only Mithra In the which word they all agree together in one nature of the diuine maieſti whatſoeuer it be. No prayers bee vſed but ſuche as euerye man maye boldelie pronounce withoute the offendinge of anny ſecte. They come therefore to the churche, the laſte day of euerye moneth and yeare in the euenynge yet faſtinge, there to gyue thankes to GOD for that they haue proſperouſlye paſſed ouer the yeare or monethe, wherof that hollye daye is the laſte daye. The nexte daye they come to the church earlye in the mornyng, to praye to GOD that they maye haue good fortune and ſucceſſe all the newe yeare or monethe whych they doo begynne of that ſame hollye daye. But in the holly dayes that be the laſte dayes of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the churche, the wiues fall downe proſtrat before theire huſbandes feet at home, and the children before the feete of their parentes, confeſſinge and acknowleginge themſelfes offenders either by ſome actuall dede, or by omiſſion of their deuty, and deſire pardon for their offenſe. Thus yf anye cloude of priuy diſpleaſure was riſen at home, by this ſatiſfaction it is ouerblowen, that they may be preſente at the ſacrifices with pure and charitable mindes. For they be aferd to come there with troubled conſciences. Therefore if they knowe themſelfes to beare anye hatred or grudge towardes anye man, they preſume not to come to ye ſacrifices, before they haue reconciled themſelfes and purged theire conſciences, for feare of greate vengeaunce and punyſhemente for their offenſe. When they come thether, the men goo into the ryghte ſyde of the churche, and the women into the lefte ſyde. There they place themſelfes in ſuche oıdre, that all they whyche be of the male kinde in euery houſhold ſitte before the goodman of ye houſe, and they of the female

The confession of the Utopians.

An order for places in the Churche.

kinde before the goodwyfe. Thus it is forſene that all their geſtures and behauiours be marked and obſerued abrode of them by whoſe authority and diſcipline they be gouerned at home. This alſo they diligently ſee vnto, that the younger euermore be coupled with his elder, leſt children beinge ioyned together, they ſhould paſſe ouer yat time in childiſh wantonnes, wherin they ought principally to conceaue a religious and deuoute feare towardes god: which is the chiefte and almoſt ye only incitation to vertu. They kill no liuing beaſt in ſacrifice, nor they thinke not that the merciful clemencye of god hath delite in bloude and ſlaughter, which hath geuen liffe to beaſtes to the intent they ſhould liue. They burne franckenſence, and other ſweet ſauours, and light alſo a greate numbre of waxe candelles and tapers, not ſuppoſinge this geare to be any thing auaylable to the diuine nature, as neither ye prayers of men. But this vnhurtful and harmeles kind of worſhip pleaſeth them. And by thies ſweet ſauoures and lightes, and other ſuch ceremonies men feele themſelfes ſecretlye lifted vp, and encouraged to deuotion with more willynge and feruent hartes. The people wearethe in the churche white apparell, The prieſt is clothed in chaungeable colours. Whiche in workemanſhipe bee excellent, but in ſtuffe not verye pretious. For theire veſtimentes be neither embraudered with gold, nor ſet with precious ſtones. But they be wrought ſo fynely and conningelye with diuers fethers of foules, that the eſtimation of no coſtely ſtuffe is hable to counteruaile the price of the worke. Furthermore in theſe birdes fethers, and in the dewe ordre of them, whiche is obſerued in theire ſetting, they ſaye, is conteyned certaine diuine miſteries. The interpretation whereof knowen, whiche is diligentlye taught by the prieſtes, they be put in remembraunce of the bountifull benefites of God towarde them: and of the loue and honoure whiche of theire behalfe is dewe to God: and alſo of their deuties one towarde another. When the prieſt firſt

Ceremonies.

commeth out of the veſtry thus apparelled, they fall downe incontinent euerye one reuerentlye to the ground, with ſo ſtill ſilence on euerye part, that the very faſſion of the thinge ſtriketh into them a certayne feare of God, as though he were there perſonally preſente. When they haue lien a litle ſpace on the ground, the prieſt geuethe them a ſigne for to ryſe. Then they ſing prayſes vnto God, whiche they intermixt with inſtrumentes of muſicke, for the moſte parte of other faſſions then theſe that we vſe in this parte of the worlde. And like as ſome of ours bee muche ſweter then theirs, ſo ſome of theirs doo farre paſſe ours. But in one thinge doubtles they goo exceding farre beyonde vs. For all their muſike bothe that they playe vpon inſtrumentes, and that they ſinge with mannes voyce dothe ſo reſemble and expreſſe naturall affections, the ſound and tune is ſo applied and made agreable to the thinge, that whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of mournynge, or of anger; the faſſion of the melodye dothe ſo repreſente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye moue, ſtirre, pearce, and enflame the hearers myndes. At the laſte the people and the prieſt together rehearſe ſolempne prayers in woordes, expreſlye pronounced, ſo made that euerye man maye priuatelye applye to hymſelfe that which is commonlye ſpoken of all. In theſe prayers euerye man recogniſethe and knowledgethe God to be hys maker, hys gouernoure, and the principal cauſe of all other goodnes, thankynge him for ſo many benefites receaued at his hande. But namelye that throughe the fauoure of God he hath chaunced into that publyque weale, whiche is moſte happye and welthye, and hathe choſen that religion, whyche he hopeth to be moſte true. In the whyche thinge if he doo anye thinge erre, or yf there be any other better then eyther of them is, being more acceptable to God, he deſierethe him that he wyl of his goodnes let him haue knowledge thereof, as one that

Theire churche musike.

Prayers.

is ready too followe what way ſoeuer he wyll leade hym. But yf this fourme and faſſion of a commen wealthe bee beſte, and his owne relygion moſt true and perfecte, then he deſyrethe GOD to gyue hym a conſtaunte ſtedefaſtnes in the ſame, and too brynge all other people to the ſame ordre of lyuynge, and to the ſame opinion of God onles there bee annye thinge that in this diuerſitye of religions dothe delite his vnſercheable pleaſure. To be ſhorte he prayeth hym, that after his deathe he maye come to hym. But how ſoone or late that he dare not aſſynge or determine. Howebeit, if it myght ſtande with his maieſties pleaſure, he woulde be muche gladder to dye a paynefull deathe and ſo to goo to God, then by longe lyuing in worldlye proſperitye to bee awaye from him. Whan this prayer is ſaid they fal doune to the ground again and a lytle after they ryſe vp and go to dinner. And the reſydewe of the daye they paſſe ouer in playes, and exerciſe of cheualrye.

Nowe I haue declared and deſcribed vnto you, as truelye as I coulde the fourme and ordre of that commen wealth, which verely in my iudgment is not only the beſte, but alſo that which alone of good right maye claime and take vpon it the name of a commen wealth or publique weale. For in other places they ſpeake ſtil of the commen wealth. But euery man procureth his owne priuate gaine. Here where nothinge is priuate, the commen affaires bee earneſtlye loked vpon. And truely on both partes they haue good cauſe ſo to do as they do. For in other countreys who knoweth not that he ſhall ſterue for honger, onles he make ſome ſeuerall prouiſion for himſelfe, though the commen wealthe floryſhe neuer ſo muche in ryches? And therefore he is compelled euen of verye neceſſitie to haue regarde to him ſelfe, rather then to the people, that is to ſaye, to other. Contrarywyſe there where all thinges be commen to euery man, it is not to be doubted that any man ſhal lacke anye thinge neceſſary for his priuate vſes: ſo that the commen ſtore houſes and bernes be ſufficientlye ſtored.

For there nothinge is diſtributed after a nyggyſhe ſorte, neither there is anye poore man or begger. And thoughe no man haue anye thinge, yet euerye man is ryche. For what can be more riche, then to lyue ioyfully and merely, without al griefe and penſifenes: Not caring for his owne lyuing, nor vexed or troubled with his wifes importunate complayntes, nor dreadynge pouertie to his ſonne, nor ſorrowyng for his doughters dowrey? Yea they take no care at all for the lyuyng and wealthe of themſelfes and al theirs, of theire wyfes, theire chyldren, theire nephewes, theire childrens chyldren, and all the ſucceſſion that euer ſhall followe in theire poſteritie. And yet beſydes this there is no leſſe prouiſion for them that were ones labourers, and be nowe weake and impotent, then for them that do nowe laboure and take payne. Here nowe woulde I ſee, yf anye man dare bee ſo bolde as to compare with this equytie, the iuſtice of other nations. Among whom, I forſake God, if I can fynde any ſigne or token of equitie and iuſtice. For what iuſtice is this, that a ryche goldeſmythe, or an vſurer, or to bee ſhorte anye of them, which either doo nothing at all, or els that whyche they doo is ſuch, that it is not very neceſſary to the common wealth, ſhould haue a pleaſaunte and a welthie lyuinge, either by Idlenes, or by vnneceſſarye buſines: When in the meane tyme poore labourers, carters, yronſmythes, carpenters, and plowmen, by ſo greate and continual toyle, as drawing and bearinge beaſtes be ſkant hable to ſuſteine, and againe ſo neceſſary toyle, that without it no common wealth were hable to continewe and endure one yere, ſhould yet get ſo harde and poore a lyuing, and lyue ſo wretched and miſerable a lyfe, that the ſtate and condition of the labouringe beaſtes maye ſeme muche better and welthier? For they be not put to ſoo continuall laboure, nor theire lyuinge is not muche worſe, yea to them muche pleaſaunter, takynge no thoughte in the meane ſeaſon for the tyme to come. But theſe ſeilye poore wretches be preſently tormented

with barreyne and vnfrutefull labour. And the remembraunce of theire poore indigent and beggerlye olde age kylleth them vp. For theire dayly wages is ſo lytle, that it will not ſuffice for the ſame daye, muche leſſe it yeldeth any ouerplus, that may daylye be layde vp for the relyefe of olde age. Is not this an vniuſt and an vnkynde publyque weale, whyche gyueth great fees and rewardes to gentlemen, as they call them, and to goldſmythes, and to ſuche other, whiche be either ydle perſones, or els onlye flatterers, and deuyſers of vayne pleaſures: And of the contrary parte maketh no gentle prouiſion for poore plowmen, coliars, laborers, carters, yronſmythes, and carpenters: without whome no commen wealthe can continewe? But after it hath abuſed the labours of theire luſty and flowring age, at the laſte when they be oppreſſed with olde age and ſyckenes: being nedye, poore, and indigent of all thinges, then forgettyng theire ſo manye paynefull watchinges, not remembring their ſo manye and ſo greate benefites, recompenſeth and acquyteth them moſte vnkyndly with myſerable death. And yet beſides this the riche men not only by priuate fraud, but alſo by commen lawes do euery day pluck and ſnatche awaye from the poore ſome parte of their daily liuing. So where as it ſemed before vniuſte to recompenſe with vnkindnes their paynes that haue bene beneficiall to the publique weale, nowe they haue to this their wrong and vniuſte dealinge (which is yet a muche worſe pointe) geuen the name of iuſtice, yea and that by force of a law. Therfore when I conſider and way in my mind all theſe commen wealthes, which now a dayes any where do floriſh, ſo god helpe me, I can perceaue nothing but a certein conſpiracy of riche men procuringe theire owne commodities vnder the name and title of the commen wealth. They inuent and deuiſe all meanes and craftes, firſt how to kepe ſafely, without feare of leſing, that they haue vniuſtly gathered together, and next how to hire and abuſe the worke and laboure of the poore for as litle money as may be. Theſe deuiſes, when the

riche men haue decreed to be kept and obſerued vnder coloure of the comminaltie, that is to ſaye, alſo of the pore people, then they be made lawes. But theſe moſt wicked and vicious men, when they haue by their vnſatiable couetouſnes deuided among them ſelues al thoſe thinges, whiche woulde haue ſufficed all men, yet how farre be they from the wealth and felicitie of the Utopian commen wealth? Out of the which, in that all the deſire of money with the vſe thereof is vtterly ſecluded and baniſhed, howe greate a heape of cares is cut away? How great an occaſion of wickednes and miſchiefe is plucked vp by ye rotes? For who knoweth not, that fraud, theft, rauine, brauling, quarelling, brabling, ſtriffe, chiding, contention, murder, treaſon, poiſoning, which by daily puniſhmentes are rather reuenged then refrained, do dye when money dieth. And alſo that feare, grieſe, care, laboures, and watchinges do periſh euen the very ſame moment that money periſheth? Yea pouerty it ſelfe, which only ſemed to lacke money, if money were gone, it alſo would decreaſe and vaniſhe away. And that you may perceaue this more plainly, conſider with your ſelfes ſome barein and vnfruteful yeare, wherin manye thouſandes of people haue ſtarued for honger: I dare be bolde to ſay, yat in the end of that penury ſo much corne or grain might haue bene found in the rich mens bernes, if they had bene ſearched, as being diuided among them whome famine and peſtilence then conſumed, no man at al ſhould haue felt that plague and penuri. So eaſely might men gette their liuing, if that ſame worthye princeſſe lady money did not alone ſtop vp the waye betwene vs and our lyuing, which a goddes name was very excellently deuiſed and inuented, that by her the way therto ſhould be opened. I am ſewer the ryche men perceaue this, nor they be not ignoraunte how much better it were too lacke noo neceſſarye thing, then to abunde with ouermuche ſuperfluite: to be ryd oute of innumerable cares and troubles, then to be be-

Contempte of Money.

ſeiged and encombred with great ryches. And I dowte not that either the reſpecte of euery mans priuate commoditie, or els the authority of oure ſauioure Chriſte (which for his great wiſdom could not but know what were beſt, and for his ineſtimable goodnes could not but counſel to that which he knew to be beſt) wold haue brought all the worlde longe agoo into the lawes of this weale publique, if it wer not yat one only beaſt, ye princeſſe and mother of all miſchiefe Pride, doth withſtande and let it. She meaſurethe not wealth and proſperity by her owne commodities, but by the miſerie and incommodities of other, ſhe would not by her good will be made a goddeſſe, yf there were no wretches left, ouer whom ſhe might like a ſcorneful ladie rule and triumph, ouer whoſe miſeries her felicities mighte ſhyne, whoſe pouertie ſhe myghte vexe, tormente, and encreaſe by gorgiouſlye ſettynge furthe her richeſſe. Thys hell hounde creapeth into mens hartes: and plucketh them backe from entering the right pathe of life, and is ſo depely roted in mens breſtes, that ſhe can not be plucked out. This fourme and faſhion of a weale publique, which I would gladly wiſh vnto al nations: I am glad yet that it hath chaunced to the Utopians, which haue folowed thoſe inſtitutions of life, whereby they haue laid ſuch foundations of their common wealth, as ſhal continew and laſt not only wealthely, but alſo as far as mans wit may iudge and coniecture, ſhall endure for euer. For, ſeyng the chiefe cauſes of ambition and ſedition, with other vices be plucked vp by the rootes, and abandoned at home, there can be no ieopardie of domiſticall diſſention, whiche alone hathe caſte vnder foote and brought to noughte the well fort[i]ſied and ſtronglie defenced wealthe and riches of many cities. But foraſmuch as perfect concorde remaineth, and wholſome lawes be executed at home, the enuie of al forein princes be not hable to ſhake or moue the empire, though they haue many tymes long ago gone about to do it, beyng euermore driuen backe.

A maruelous sayinge.

Pryde.

Thus when Raphaell hadde made an ende of his tale, though many thinges came to my mind, which in the maners and lawes of that people ſemed to be inſtituted and founded of no good reaſon, not onely in the faſhion of their cheualry, and in their ſacrifices and religions, and in other of their lawes, but alſo, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal foundation of al their ordinaunces, that is to ſay, in the communitie of their life and liuynge, withoute anye occupieng of money, by the whiche thinge onelye all nobilitie, magnificence, wourſhippe, honour, and maieſtie, the true ornamentes and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a common wealth, vtterlye be ouerthrowen and deſtroied: yet becauſe I knew that he was wery of talking, and was not ſure whether he coulde abyde that anye thynge ſhoulde be ſayde againſte hys mynde: ſpeciallye remembrynge that he had reprehended this faulte in other, which be aferde leſt they ſhould ſeme not to be wiſe enough, onles they could find ſome fault in other mens inuentions: therfore I praiſing both their inſtitutions and hys communication, toke him by the hand, and led him into ſupper: ſayinge that we woulde chueſe an other time to waye and examine the ſame matters, and to talke with him moore at large therin. Whiche woulde God it might ones come to paſſe. In the meane time as I can not agree and conſent to all thinges that he ſaide, beyng els without doubt a man ſingularly well learned, and alſo in all worldelye matters exactly and profoundly experienced: ſo muſt I nedes confeſſe and graunt that many thinges be in the Utopian weale publique, whiche in our cities I maye rather wiſhe for, then hope after.

¶ Thus endeth the afternoones talke of Raphael Hythlodaye concerning the lawes and instituti=ons of the Ilande of Utopia.

¶ To the right honourable Hierome Buslyde, prouost Arienn, and counselloure to the catholike kinge Charles, Peter Gyles, Citizein of Antwerpe, wisheth health and felicitie.

THomas More the ſingular ornamente of this our age, as you your ſelf (right honourable Buſlide) can witneſſe, to whome he is perfectly wel knowen, ſent vnto me this other day the ylande of Utopia, to very few as yet knowen, but moſt worthy, which as farre excelling Platoes commen wealthe, all people ſhoulde be willinge to know: ſpecially of a man moſt eloquent ſo finely ſet furth, ſo conningly painted out, and ſo euidently ſubiect to the eye, that as oft as I reade it, me thinketh that I ſee ſomwhat more, then when I heard Raphael Hythloday himſelfe (for I was preſent at that talke aſwell as maſter More) vtteryng and pronouncing his owne woordes: Yea, though the ſame man, accordinge to his pure eloquence, did ſo open and declare the matter, that he might plainely enough appeare, to reporte not thinges, which he had learned of others onelye by hearesay, but which he had with his own eyes preſently ſene, and throughly vewed, and wherin he had no ſmal time bene conuerſant and abiding: a man trulie, in mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples, and worldly experience, muche paſſinge, yea euen they very famous and renowmed trauailer Vlyſſes: and in dede ſuche a one, as for the ſpace of theſe viij. c. [eight hundred] yeres paſt I think nature into the worlde brought not furth his like: in compariſon of whome Veſpuce maye be thought to haue ſene nothing. Moreouer, wheras we be wont more effectually and pitthely to declare and expreſſe thinges that we haue ſene, then whiche we haue but onelye hearde, there was beſides that in this man a certen peculiar grace, and ſingular dexteritie to diſcriue and ſet furth a matter withall. Yet the ſelfe ſame thinges as ofte as I beholde and con-

ſider them drawen and painted oute with maſter Mores penſille, I am therwith ſo moued, ſo delited, ſo inflamed, and ſo rapt, that ſometime me think I am preſently conuerſaunt, euen in the ylande of Utopia. And I promiſe you, I can ſkante beleue that Raphael himſelfe by al that fiue yeres ſpace that he was in Utopia abiding, ſaw there ſomuch, as here in maſter Mores deſcription is to be ſene and perceaued. Whiche deſcription with ſo manye wonders, and miraculous thinges is repleniſhed, that I ſtande in great doubt wherat firſt and chieflie to muſe or marueile: whether at the excellencie of his perfect and ſuer memorie, which could welniegh worde by woorde rehearſe ſo manye thinges once onely heard: or elles at his ſingular prudence, who ſo well and wittyly marked and bare away al the originall cauſes and fountaynes (to the vulgare people commenly moſt vnknowen) wherof both yſſueth and ſpringeth the mortall confuſion and vtter decaye of a commen wealth, and alſo the auauncement and wealthy ſtate of the ſame may rieſe and growe: or elles at the efficacie and pitthe of his woordes, which in ſo fine a latin ſtile, with ſuche force of eloquence hath couched together and compriſed ſo many and diuers matters, ſpeciallie beinge a man continuallie encombred with ſo manye buſye and troubleſome cares, both publique, and priuate, as he is. Howbeit all theſe thinges cauſe you litle to maruell (righte honourable Buſlid) for that you are familiarly and throughly acquainted with the notable, yea almoſt diuine witte of the man. But nowe to procede to other matters, I ſuerly know nothing nedeful or requiſite to be adioyned vnto his writinges: Onely a meter of. iiij. verſes written in the Utopian tongue, whiche after maſter Mores departure Hythloday by chaunce ſhewed me, that haue I cauſed to be added thereto, with the Alphabete of the ſame nation, and haue alſo garniſhed the margent of the boke with certen notes. For, as touchinge the ſituation of the ylande, that is to ſaye, in what parte of the worlde Utopia ſtandeth, the ignoraunce and lacke whereof not

a litle troubleth and greueth maſter More, in dede Raphael left not that vnſpoken of. Howbeit with verie fewe wordes he lightly touched it, incidentlye by ye way paſſing it ouer, as meanyng of likelihod to kepe and reſerue that to an other place. And the ſame, I wot not how, by a certen euell and vnluckie chaunce eſcaped vs bothe. For when Raphael was ſpeaking therof, one of maſter Mores ſeruauntes came to him, and whiſpered in his eare. Wherefore I beyng then of purpoſe more earneſtly addict to heare, one of the company, by reaſon of cold taken, I thinke, a ſhippeborde, coughed out ſo loude, that he toke from my hearinge certen of his wordes. But I wil neuer ſtynte, nor reſt, vntil I haue gotte the full and exacte knowledge hereof: inſomuche that I will be hable perfectly to inſtructe you, not onely in the lōgitude or true meridian of the ylande, but alſo in the iuſt latitude therof, that is to ſay, in the ſubleuation or height of the pole in that region, if our frende Hythloday be in ſafetie, and aliue. For we heare very vncerten newes of him. Some reporte, that he died in his iorney homeworde. Some agayne affirme, that he retorned into his countrey, but partly, for that he coulde not away with the faſhions of his countrey folk, and partly for that his minde and affection was altogether ſet and fixed vpon Utopia, they ſay that he hathe taken his voyage thetherwarde agayne. Now as touching this, that the name of this yland is nowhere founde amonge the olde and auncient coſmographers, this doubte Hythloday himſelfe verie well diſſolued. For why it is poſſible enoughe (quod he) that the name, whiche it had in olde time, was afterwarde chaunged, or elles that they neuer had knowledge of this iland: foraſmuch as now in our time diuers landes be found, which to the olde Geographers were vnknowen. Howbeit, what nedeth it in this behalfe to fortifie the matter with argumentes, ſeynge maſter More is author hereof ſufficient? But whereas he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the booke, in deede herein I both commende, and alſo knowledge the

mannes modeſtie. Howbeit vnto me it ſemeth a worke moſt vnworthie to be long ſuppreſſed, and moſt worthy to go abrod into ye handes of men, yea, and vnder the title of youre name to be publyſhed to the worlde: either becauſe the ſingular endowmentes and qualities of maſter More be to no man better knowen then to you, or els bicauſe no man is more fitte and meete, then you with good counſelles to further, and auaunce the commen wealth, wherin you haue many yeares already continued and trauailed with great glory and commendation, bothe of wiſedome and knowledge, and alſo of integritie and vprightnes. Thus o liberall ſupporter of good learninge, and floure of this oure time I byd you moſte hartely well to fare. At Antwerpe .1516. the firſt daye of Nouember.

A meter of .iiij. verses in the Utopian tongue, briefely touchinge aswell the straunge beginning, as also the happie and wealthie continuance of the same common wealthe.

VTopos ha Boccas peula chama polta chamaan.
Bargol he maglomi Baccan ſoma g ymnoſophaon.
Agrama g ymnoſophon labarem bacha bodamilomin.
Voluala barchin heman la lauoluala dramme pagloni.

¶ Whiche verſes the tranſlator, accordinge to his ſimple knowledge, and meane vnderſtanding in the Utopian tongue, hath thus rudely engliſhed.

MY kinge and conquerour Utopus by name
A prince of much renowme and immortall fame
Hath made me an yle that earſt no ylande was,
Ful fraight with worldly welth with pleaſure and ſolas.
I one of all other without philoſophie
Haue ſhaped for man a philoſophicall citie.
As myne I am nothinge daungerous to imparte,
So better to receaue I am readie with al my harte.

¶ A shorte meter of Utopia, written by Anemolius poete laureate, and nephewe to Hythlodaye by his sister.

ME Utopie cleped Antiquitie,
Voyde of haunte and herboroughe,
Nowe am I like to Platoes citie,
Whose fame flieth the worlde throughe.
Yea like, or rather more likely
Platoes platte to excell and paſſe.
For what Platoes penne hathe platted briefely
In naked wordes, as in a glaſſe,
The ſame haue I perfourmed fully,
With lawes, with men, and treaſure fyttely.
Wherfore not Utopie, but rather rightely
My name is Eutopie: A place of felicitie.

¶ Gerarde Nouiomage of Utopia.

DOth pleaſure pleaſe? then place the here, and well the reſt,
Moſt pleaſaunt pleaſures thou ſhalte finde here.
Doeth profit eaſe? then here arriue, this yle is beſt.
For paſſinge profettes do here appeare.
Doeth bothe thee tempte, and woldeſt thou gripe both gaine and pleaſure?
This yle is fraight with both bounteouſly.
To ſtill thy gredie intent, reape here incomparable treas- [ure
Bothe minde and tongue to garniſhe richelie.
The hid welles and fountaines both of vice and vertue
Thou haſt them here ſubiect vnto thine eye.
Be thankful now, and thankes where thankes be due
Geue to Thomas More Londons immortal glorye.

¶ Cornelius Graphey to Reader.

VVilt thou knowe what wonders ſtraunge be in the lande that late was founde? [godly be?
Wilte thou learne thy life to leade, by diuers ways that
Wilt thou of vertue and of vice, vnderſtande the very grounde? [vanitie?
Wilt thou ſee this wretched world, how ful it is of

Then read, and marke, and beare in mind, for thy behoufe, as thou maie beft.
All thinges that in this prefent worke, that worthie clerke fir Thomas More,
With witte diuine ful learnedly, vnto the worlde hath plaine expreft,
In whom London well glory maye, for wifedome and for godly lore.

¶ The Printer to the Reader.

THe Vtopian Alphabete, good Reader, whiche in the aboue written Epiftle is promifed, hereunto I haue not now adioyned, becaufe I haue not as yet the true characters or fourmes of the Utopiane letters. And no marueill: feyng it is a tongue to vs muche ftraunger then the Indian, the Perfian, the Syrian, the Arabicke, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, the Sclauonian, the ciprian, the Scythian etc. Which tongues though they be nothing fo ftraunge among vs, as the Utopian is, yet their characters we haue not. But I truft, God willing, at the next impreffion hereof, to perfourme that, whiche nowe I can not: that is to faye: to exhibite perfectly vnto thee, the Utopian Alphabete. In the meane time accept my good wyl. And fo fare well.

¶ Imprinted at London in Paules Churche yarde, at the sygne of the Lambe, by Abraham Veale.

M.D.LVI.

Muir & Paterson, Printers, Edinburgh.

English Reprints.

GEORGE PUTTENHAM.

The Arte of English Poesie.

[June ?] 1589.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER,
Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.

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The Arte of English Poesie.

INTRODUCTION.

IT muſt ever be remembered that this Ladies' book was firſt publiſhed anonymouſly; that the printer was or feigned to be in ignorance of its Author; that ſimilarly Sir John Harington, in 1591, only refers to him as 'that vnknowne Godfather, that this laſt yeare ſaue on, viz. 1589, ſet forth a booke called the Arte of Engliſh Poeſie,' and again as that 'ſame *Ignoto*;' and laſtly, that the authorſhip of the work was never openly claimed by any of Elizabeth's contemporaries.

The treatiſe appears to have been written between June 1584, and November 1588 when it was firſt entered at Stationers' Hall. This is proved not only by the general tenour of contemporary alluſion, as by the following particulars, among other.

1. John Soowthern's '*Pandora. The Muſyque of the beautie of his miſtreſſe Diana*,' has on its title page the date 20. June 1584. Mr. J. P. Collier—in *Bibl. Cat.* ii. 367, ed. 1865—gives the reſult of his examination—while it was in the poſſeſſion of the late Mr. Heber—of the only perfect copy of this intrinſicly worthleſs work. He quotes paſſages to ſhow that Puttenham meant, though he does not name, Soowthern in his deſcription, at *p.* 259, of 'our minion' with his vice of Mingle-Mangle. That being the caſe; the preſent work was written after June 1584.

2. There is at *p.* 206 of ſome of the copies of the original edition, a remarkable ſubſtitution of one paſſage for another, reſpecting the Netherlanders. We have reprinted both paſſages at *pp.* 252-3. This ſubſtitution tells this tale. The work was compoſed at a time when the Netherlanders were in bad odour; when indeciſion marked the Queen's counſel, as to whether the long peace ſhould be broken and they ſhould be aſſiſted in the war againſt Spain. The firſt paſſage is, therefore, ſtrongly anti-Dutch. This would accord with the hiſtory of 1585.

But the work came to the preſs about March-April 1589. Meanwhile, the Armada had been defeated—the Dutch had proved themſelves worthy confederates, and had helped much in the victory. So a more friendly though ſomewhat patronizing paſſage is ſubſtituted for the former one—but not before ſome

ſheets had been printed. Thus, we obtain from this diverſity, evidence as to the original compoſition in 1585, or later.

3. In one of the cancelled pages, *ſee p.* 118, is an account of the King of Spain's eſcutcheon and its legend, *Non ſufficit orbis*, in the Governor's palace at St. Domingo. This city was taken by Drake, on New Year's Day 1586; and his great Expedition returned to Portſmouth on the 20th July 1586. Subſequent to which date, we muſt place our Author's knowledge of the fact.

4. Sidney is called *Sir* Philip Sidney (he was knighted 8th Jan. 1583). The abſence of all alluſion to his death (17 Oct. 1586) or magnificent public funeral (16 Feb. 1587), accords with an anterior compoſition of this work.

5. The correction on publication in 1589, as to events and time, is ſometimes perfect; as in bringing up the Queen's rule to 'this one and thirty yeares ſpace of your glorious raigne;'* ſometimes imperfect as 'We ourſelues haue heretoſore giuen ſome example by our *Triumphals* written in honour of her Maieſties long peace;'† a paſſage evidently written in the time of that peace.

A minute and exhauſtive analyſis of the work, tracing every contemporary alluſion to its date, would probably but confirm this general reſult—that it was written about 1585, and then as, with but few corrections and additions, it was printed in 1589.

The *occaſion* of the work appears in language, which, conſidering that great Age, and the great Worthies and Poets then living, is ſomewhat extraordinary.

But in theſe dayes (although ſome learned Princes may take delight in Poets) yet vniuerſally it is not ſo. For as well Poets as Poeſie are deſpiſed, and the name become, of honorable infamous, ſubiect to ſcorne and deriſion, and rather a reproch than a prayſe to any that vſeth it: for commonly who ſo is ſtudious in th'Arte or ſhewes him ſelfe excellent in it, they call him in disdayne a *phantaſticall:* and a light headed or phantaſticall man (by conuerſion) they call a Poet.‡

Peraduenture in this iron and malitious age of ours, Princes are leſſe delighted in it [the Arte of Poeſie] being ouer earneſtly bent and affected to the affaires of Empire and ambition. . . . So as, it is hard to find in theſe dayes of noblemen or gentlemen any good *Mathematician*, or excellent *Muſitian*, or notable *Philoſopher*, or els a cunning Poet: becauſe we find few great Princes much delighted in the ſame ſtudies. Now alſo of ſuch among the Nobilitie or gentrie as be very well ſeene in many laudable ſciences, and eſpecially in making or Poeſie, it is ſo come to paſſe that they haue no courage to write and if they haue, yet are they

* *p.* 60. † *p.* 61. ‡ *p.* 33.

loath to be a knowen of their skill. So as I know very many notable Gentlemen in the Court that haue written commendably and ſuppreſſed it agayne, or els ſuffred it to be publiſht without their names to it : as if it were a diſcredit for a Gentleman, to ſeeme learned, and to ſhew him ſelfe amorous of any good Art.*

And in her Maieſties time that now is are ſprong vp an other crew of Courtly makers Noble men and Gentlemen of her Maieſties owne ſeruauntes, who haue written excellently well as it would appeare if their doings could be found out and made publicke with the reſt.†

Which chiding, ſtrangely coming from an anonymous author,—containing as it does an important teſtimony, both as to an anterior literary fecundity, and to the maſs of contemporary literature which never reached the printing-preſs—is always to be eſtimated, in conſidering the earlier Elizabethan literature of England.

Such being the occaſion, the Author tells us of the *perſons* he had in view in writing this, the largeſt piece of Poetical Criticiſm in Elizabeth's reign.

Firſt and above all: he writes for the Queen's own perſonal information and pleaſure: whoſe portrait, in all her glorious attire, adorns the original edition, and ſpecimens of whoſe poeſie will be found at *pp.* 243, 255.

You (Madame) my moſt Honored and Gracious : if I ſhould ſeeme to offer you this my deuiſe for a diſcipline and not a delight.‡

So haue we remembred and ſet forth to your Maieſtie very briefly, all the commended formes of the auncient Poeſie . . . And we haue purpoſely omitted all nice or ſcholaſtical curioſities not meete for your Maieſties contemplation in this our vulgar arte.§

Alſo that I write to the pleaſure of a Lady and a moſt gratious Queene, and neither to Prieſtes nor to Prophetes or Philoſophers.‖

Next he wrote for the Court.

I truſt they will beare with me writing in the vulgar ſpeach and ſeeking by my nouelties to ſatisfie not the ſchoole but the Court.¶

Courtiers for whoſe inſtruction this trauaile is taken. . . . The authors owne purpoſe, which is to make of a rude rimer, a learned and a Courtly Poet.**

* *p.* 37. † *p.* 75. ‡ *p.* 21. § *p.* 72. ‖ *p.* 314. ¶ *p.* 172. ** *p.* 170.

Becauſe our chiefe purpoſe herein is for the learning of Ladies and young Gentlewomen or idle Courtiers, deſirous to become skilful in their owne mother tongue, and for their priuate recreation to make now and then ditties of pleaſure. . . .*

Specially for your Ladies and pretie miſtreſſes in Court, for whoſe learning I write.†

Neuertheleſſe becauſe we are to teache Ladies and Gentlemen to know their ſchoole points and termes appertaining to the Art.‡

[Proportion in figure] alſo fitteſt for the pretie amourets in Court to entertaine their ſeruants and the time withall, their delicate wits requiring ſome commendable exerciſe to keepe them from idleneſſe.§

So as euery ſurpluſage or prepoſterous placing or vndue iteration or darke word, or doubtfull ſpeach are not ſo narrowly to be looked vpon in a large poeme, nor ſpecially in the pretie Poeſies and deuiſes of Ladies, and gentlewoman makers, whom we would not haue too preciſe Poets leaſt with their ſhrewd wits, when they were maried they might become a little too phantaſticall wiues.‖

Laſtly, he tells us.

Our intent is to make this Art vulgar for all Engliſh mens vſe.¶

Thus, Queen, Court, Educated if it might not be the Learned as well, are thoſe for whoſe inſtruction and delight in *The Arte of Engliſh Poeſie* this work was undertaken.

What was then his purpoſe and plan? He gives us his own summary of it?

Now (moſt excellent Queene) hauing largely ſaid of Poets and Poeſie, and about what matters they be employed: then of all the commended fourmes of Poemes, thirdly of metricall proportions, ſuch as do appertaine to our vulgar arte: and laſt of all ſet forth the poeticall ornament conſiſting chiefly in the beautie and gallantneſſe of his language and ſtile, and ſo haue apparelled him to our ſeeming, in all his gorgious habilliments, and pulling him firſt from the carte to the ſchoole, and from thence to the Court, and preferred him to your Maieſties ſeruice, in that place of great honour and magnificence to geue enterteinment to Princes, Ladies of honour, Gentlewomen and Gentlemen, and by his many moodes of skill, to ſerue the many humors of men thither haunting and reſorting, ſome by way of ſolace, ſome of ſerious aduiſe, and in matters aſwell profitable as pleaſant and honeſt.**

Hitherto we have dealt with the intention of the book, its execution is too large a ſubject for conſideration here. A few points may be ſimply glanced at.

* *p.* 170. † *p.* 184. ‡ *p.* 180. § *p.* 104. ‖ *p.* 256. ¶ *p.* 40. ** *p.* 304.

The work is not exclusively confined to *English Poesie.* The First of the three bookes gives also the theory of the *origin* of the various forms of Poetry. The Second describes the ancient Classic Poetry; reports, and apparently introduces into our literature, the Tartarian and Persian forms of verse, afterwards so fashionable; and discusses the application of Greek and Latin metrical 'numerositie' to English poetry. The Third book explains the then theory of Punctuation; has a long chapter on *Language*; deals with the figures of Rhetoric as well as those of Poetry proper: and has some forty pages on a seemingly foreign subject, *Decorum*; by which we are to understand not only Courtly manners, but also apt and felicitous expression of thought, and appropriateness of dress and conduct to our condition in life.

That chapter *Of Language*, and the many criticisms on 'words' scattered through the book are most interesting. Our Author was the Archbishop Trench of his age. It is important in the history of the growth of our Tongue, to see him fixing English, as 'the vsuall speach of the Court, and the shires lying about London within sixty miles, and not much above;' defending the introduction by himself or others, into our language, of such words as *Impression*, *Scientific*, *Major-domo*, *Politician*, *Conduct*, *Idiom*, *Significative*;* to listen to his explanations of such words as *Pelf*, *Moppe* or of such proverbs as *Totnesse is turned French*, *Skarborow warning*, and the like. A man who could patiently transpose a single sentence five hundred times in search of an Anagram on his Sovereign's name; would easily delight in the refined subtilties of meaning which are enshrined in words.

A word of common occurrence in the book—*vulgar*, must oftentimes be stripped of its modern acceptation. Sometimes it is used as we use it now, for *low*, *common*: but often it refers to the then current theory of languages. People supposed that from the three ancient and dead languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, all modern Continental languages were derived. They

* The words quoted in his self-criticism will be found in the opening chapters of the first Book.

gave to theſe national living languages the common name of 'vulgar tongues.' So in many inſtances herein, vulgar ſtands for *native* or *national*: *e. g.* our *vulgar* art, may be read our *national* art, or ſometimes ſimply, *our vulgar* is equivalent to *our native tongue.*

It would be great injuſtice to overpaſs the clear ſtyle of the book. Conſidering the nature of the ſubject, and that the Author was writing for Ladies; great ſkill is ſhown in the breaking up of the book into many chapters; and in his perfect affluence of example, illuſtration, and anecdote to ſolace their 'minds with mirth after all theſe ſcholaſtical preceptes which can not but bring with them (ſpecially to Courtiers) much tedioufneſſe'; while a merry twinkling wit is conſtantly peeping out, as in his debating 'I cannot well ſay whether a man vſe to kiſſe before hee take his leaue, or take his leaue before he kiſſe, or that it be all one buſineſs.'

Another characteriſtic is his diſpaſſionate judgement. His condemnation of his own productions is without a qualm; and his praiſe of others' poetry is equally unqualified: juſt as either appear to him to neglect or conform to the principles of his *Arte.*

There yet remains a great queſtion. Who was the Author?

A large number of tantalizing ſelf-alluſions occur in the book. No leſs than twelve of the writer's previous works, not counting ſlighter pieces, are either referred to, deſcribed, or quoted in it; and ſome of them in a way, only conſiſtent with their antecedent circulation in MS. Of all theſe works, there has come down to us, but a late and imperfect copy of one,—*Partheniades*: and that copy, in accordance with the perfectly ſucceſsful reticence, has not the author's name on it.

We learn from *The Arte of Engliſh Poeſie* that it was written by an Engliſhman, born about 1532; that he was one of children in the Nurſery, and he calls his nurſe, 'the old gentlewoman'; that in due time he became a Scholar at Oxford; that in his younger days

he gave himſelf up to Poeſie; that at eighteen he 'made an Eglogue entitled *Elpine* to Edward VI; that yet in his youth he was brought up in Foreign Courts and knew them better than he did the Engliſh one; that he could ſay 'I my ſelfe hauing ſeene the Courts of Fraunce, Spaine, Italie, and that of the Empire, with many inferiour Courts;' that by early ſtudies, riper training, and foreign ſociety he was at home in Greek and Latin; well skilled in French, Italian, and Spaniſh; well read in hiſtory, eſpecially that of his own time; of great acquaintance with our national literature; and taking an eſpecial delight in Engliſh poeſy.

Further he was ſome time on the Continent between 1560-1570: and in 1579 preſented his *Partheniades* as a New Year's gift to Queen Elizabeth.

Finally, approaching ſixty years of age, he wrote the preſent work for his Sovereign's delight and inſtruction. Who is this high-born, high bred, highly cultivated, courtly Crichton?

Can he be George Puttenham, of whoſe exiſtence there is no doubt, but whoſe name is firſt poſſibly aſſociated in print with this work ſo late as 1614, in William Carew's paper *On the excellencie of the Engliſh tongue*, in the ſecond edition of Camden's *Remaines*. It is an aggravation, that gleaning as much as we do of our Author, we know ſo little otherwiſe of Puttenham's life: that we have no elements to combine with the above facts.

Our purpoſe is not to diſpoſſeſs Puttenham of the authorſhip, as to contraſt the abundant ſelf-alluſion in the work, with the weak external evidence in his favour. It is to be hoped in the exhumation of old documents ſo conſtantly going on, all or at leaſt ſome of our Author's works may be diſcovered: or if that be too great a hope, that evidence, deciſive and final, may turn up, as to whether among the good writers, either in proſe or verſe, of our Country can be enrolled the name of George Puttenham: whether it is to him that we are indebted for this original and clever book on Poetry, Rhetoric, and Good Manners.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS, &c.

of the

AUTHOR

in the present work.

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* Probable or approximate dates.

The indications of time are so rarely given, that the order is often simply haphazard: and the whole collection is but tentative.

1509. Apr. 22. Henry VIII. succeeds to the throne.

[*1529. With reference to the story at *p.* 277, Professor J. S. Brewer, a great authority as to this period, writes to me: "The Ambassador referred to can be no other than Dr. Lee, afterwards Archbp. of York, the celebrated opponent of Erasmus. He was ambassador in Spain from 1525 until the Emperor left for Italy at the commencement of 1530. During the year 1529, he was called upon to remonstrate with the Emperor for the part he took in supporting Catherine, and practising with the Pope to prevent the king's divorce. It was apparently on one of these occasions that the circumstances mentioned in the anecdote occurred. It is clear from various indications in Lee's letter, that he was not an exact Spanish or French scholar. In general the interviews between Charles and the English ambassadors were carried on in French."]

*1532. Probable date of the Author's birth.

'My mother had an old woman in her nurserie, who in the winter nights would put vs forth many prety ridles. . . The good gentlewoman would tell vs that were children . . . .' *pp.* 198, 199.

'When I was a scholler at Oxford.' *p.* 219.

'It [Poesie] was but the studie of my yonger yeares in which vanitie raigned.' *p.* 314.

'I haue set you down two little ditties which our selues in our younger yeares played vpon the [figure of the] *Antistrophe.*

Vpon the mutable loue of a Lady.

Vpon the meritorious loue of Christ our Sauiour.'

pp. 208, 209.

[JOHN EVERAERTS, also called SECUNDUS NICOLAIUS [b. 10 Nov. 1511, at the Hague; d. 8 Oct. 1536, at Tournay] was one of the great poets of the Renaissance. His works—all of them in Latin—were not published till after his death. His 19 poems, called 'Kisses,' *Basia*, were first published at Leyden in 1539. A collection of his works appeared at Utrecht in
1539-41. 1541, and again at Paris in 1582: in which among his book of poems, entituled *Sylvæ* are the *Epithalamium* referred to at *p.* 68; and 'The Palace of Money,' *Regia Pecuniæ*, the autographic copy of which is in Harl. MS. 4935, in the British Museum. Secundus wrote Elegies, Odes, Epigrams, &c.; and among other, 'A Monody on the death of Sir Thomas More.']

1547. Jan. 28. Edward VI. comes to the throne.

*1550. æt. 18. 'Also in our Eglogue intituled *Elpine*, which we made being but eighteene yeares old, to King *Edward* the sixt a Prince of great hope.' *p.* 180. [This fixes the author's birth between 1529-1535. Taking a mean date, he may be assumed to have been born within a year, either way, of 1532.]

'Specially in the Courtiers of forraine countreyes, where in my youth I was brought vp, and very well obserued their maner of life and conuersation, for of mine owne country I haue not made so great experience.' *p.* 308.

'I my selfe hauing seene the Courts of Fraunce, Spaine, Italie, and that of the Empire, with many inferior Courts.' *p.* 277.

'Being in Italy conuersant with a certain gentleman, who had long trauailed the Orientall parts of the world, and seene the Courts of the great Princes of China and Tartarie.' *p.* 104.

His foreign travels are referred to at *pp.* 216, 278, 279, 306.

1553. July 6. Mary succeeds to the crown.

1553. Oct. 5. (Thursday.) Parliament meets. By the first Motion and Nomination of Mr. Treasurer of the Queen's House, the Worshipful Mr. *John Pollard*, Esq. [who sat for *Oxfordshire* not *Yorkshire*. Willis's *Notitia Parl.* P. II. *iii.* 29, *Ed.* 1750] excellent in the Laws of this Realm, was elected speaker. *Commons Journals*, i. 27.

1553. Oct. 9. On *Monday* afternoon, Mr. Speaker made an excellent Oration before the Queen's Highness sitting in the Royal Seat in the Parliament Chamber; all the Nobles and Commons assembled. *Idem. See p.* 151.

1558. Nov. 17. Elizabeth begins to reign.

1559-1567. [?] *Margaret, Duchess of Parma, Regent of the Netherlands.* Our author 'is a beholder of the feast' given by the Regent at Brussels to Henry, Earl of Arundel, 'passing from England towards Italie by her Maiesties licence.' *p.* 278.

1560-1574. [?] *Charles IX. King of France.* 'In the time of *Charles* the ninth French king, I being at the Spaw waters, there lay a Marshall of *Fraunce* called *Monsieur de Sipier*' [who apparently dies there]. *p.* 285.

[?] 'Or else be locked into the Church by the Sexten as I my selfe was once serued reading an Epitaph in a certain cathedrall Church of England.' *p.* 71.

[?] *The Golden Knight* and the Knight called *Saint Sunday;* both living when our Author wrote. *p.* 291.

[?] 'Quoth the Iudge [apparently dead at the time of writing] what neede of such eloquent termes [as *violent persuasions*] in this place?' *p.* 153.

[At *pp.* 169-178 of Cott. MS. Vespasian E. VIII., written in a small hand, is a *copy* of 17 poems, which were printed by Mr. Haslewood in his edition of the present work in 1811. The first is headed—

The principall addresse in nature of a new years gifte, seeminge therebye the author intended not to have his name knowne.

These poems are the *Partheniades* of our author. The somewhat modern copy is apparently imperfect: as the 15th in its order is quoted as the 20th, and the 16th as the 18th. The following are also quoted—the 2d, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 12th. Three poems at least are therefore omitted, besides

some transposition of the order in the copy. In the last poem are these lines, which fix the date at 1 Jan. 1579 ;—

> 'But O, nowe twentye yeare agon,
> Forsakinge Greece for Albion,
> Where thow alone doost rule and raygne,
> Empresse and Queene of great brittrayne.']

1579. Jan. 1. Our author presented these *Partheniades* to the Queen.

1558-1579, or 1559-1564. Authorities differ as to Sir J. Throgmorton's tenure of the office of the Justice of the County Palatine of Chester. G. Ormerod, *Hist. of Chester*, i. 59, 1819, states it to be from 1558-1579. In *Chetham Misc.* ii. 30, 1856, it is stated to be only from 1559-1564. Probably the former is more correct. Our author wrote the Knight's Epitaph. *See p.* 189.

[?] 'I haue seene forraine Embassadours in the Queenes presence, laugh so dissolutely at some rare pastime or sport that hath been made there. . . .' *p.* 297.

[?] Serjeant Bendlowes saying on the Queen's progress in Huntingdonshire.' *p.* 266.

1579. Feb. 28. Sir Nicholas Bacon dies. *See p.* 152.

1580. Feb. 25. Henry, Earl of Arundel, dies. *See p.* 278.

1584. June 20. Date of John Soowthern's *Pandora*. *See p.* 3.

The author's other works anterior to the composition of this one :—

PROSE.

'And whereof it first proceeded and grew, . . . appeareth more at large in our bookes of *Ierotekni*.' *p.* 45.

'We our selues who compiled this treatise haue written for pleasure a litle brief *Romance* or historicall ditty in the English tong of the Isle of great *Britaine* in short and long meetres. . . . .' *p.* 57.

'Of all which matters, we haue more largely spoken in our bookes of the origina's and pedigree of the English tong.' *p.* 156.

'Our booke which we haue written *de Decoro*.' *p.* 283.

POETRY.

'An hympne written by vs to the Queenes Maiestie entitled (*Minerua*)' . . Quoted at *p.* 244.

'Our Comedie entitutled *Ginecocratia*.' Described, *p.* 146.

'Our Enterlude entitutled *Lustie London*.' Quoted. *pp.* 183, 208.

'Our Enterlude called *The Wo[o]er*.' Quoted, *pp.* 212, 233.

'In a worke of ours entitutled *Philo Calia*, where we entreat of the loues betwene prince *Philo* and Lady *Calia*. *p.* 256. Quoted at *p.* 110.

'Our *Triumphals* written in honour of her Maiesties long peace.' *p.* 61.

The following entry appears in the Register of the Stationers' Company :—

1588. Nov. 9. ix. of No. Tho. Orwyn. Allowed unto him to prynte etc. *The Arte of Englishe Poesie in Three Bookes, the first of Poets and Poesye, the second of Proportion, and the third of Ornamente.* *vjd.*

[This important work appeared in 1859, "Printed by Richard Field, dwelling in the Black-Friars, neere Ludgate," where he was then carrying on the business, to which he had succeeded from marrying Vautrollier's daughter. The authorship of the volume is doubtful, no name appearing in any part of the more than 250 quarto pages, although the writer over and over again mentions and quotes his own poems, and treats of the compositions of nearly all the writers of the day.—*J. P. Collier in 'Notes and Queries,' 2d S.*, xii. 143.]

A second entry occurs in the Stationers' Co.'s Registers:

1589. Feb. 3. Rich. Feild. *Thart of English Poesie*, beinge before entred for Tho. Orwin's copie, and is by his consent now put over to Rich. Field. *vjd.*

[See for the entry to Orwin, (above): the imprint of the edition, 4to, 1589, is "At London, printed by Richard Field, dwelling in the Black-Friars, neere Ludgate;" and Orwin does not appear to have had any interest in the work. Field, as already stated, was from Stratford-on-Avon, and was the typographer, employed by Shakespeare for his *Venus and Adonis*, 1593, and *Lucrece*, 1594; and by Spenser for the edit. of *The Faerie Queen*, in 1596. *J. P. Collier. Idem* p. 243.]

May 28. Date of the printer's dedication of the book to Lord Burghley, *see p.* 18.

*June. The book published.

1 Sir JOHN HARINGTON, in his Preface to *Orlando Furioso*, in English Heriocal verses. London. fol. 1591: thus refers to our Author; and controverts his opinion as to translators being no Poets.

Neither do I suppose it to be greatly behoofull for this purpose, to trouble you with the curious definitions of a Poet and Poesie, and with the subtill distinctions of their sundrie kinds; nor to dispute how high and supernatural the name of a maker is, so christened in English by that vnknowne Godfather, that this last yeare saue one, viz. 1589. set forth a booke called the Arte of English Poetrie: and least of all do I purpose to bestow any long time to argue, whether *Plato*, *Zenophon*, and *Erasmus*, writing fictions and Dialogues in prose, may iustly be called Poets, or whether *Lucan* writing a story in verse be an historiographer, or whether Mayster *Faire* translating *Virgil*, Mayster *Golding* translating *Ouids* metamorphosis, and my selfe in this worke that you see, be any more then versifiers, as the same *Ignoto* termeth all translators: for as for all, or the most part of such questions, I will refer you to Sir *Philip Sidneys* Apologie [*in MS. but not printed when Harington thus quotes it. It was first published in* 1595], who doth handle them right learnedly, or to the forenamed treatise where they are discoursed more largely, and where, as it were a whole receit of Poetrie is prescribed, with so manie new figures, as would put me in great hope in this age to come, would breed manie excellent Poets; saue for one obseruation that I gather out of the verie same book. For though the poore gentleman laboreth greatly to proue, or rather to make Poetrie an art, and reciteth as you may see in the plural number, some pluralities of patterns, and parcels of his owne Poetrie, with diuers pieces of Partheniads and hymnes in praise of the most praisworthy; yet whatsoeuer he would proue by all these, sure in my poore opinion he doth proue nothing more plainly, then that which M. *Sidney* and all the learneder sort that haue written of it, do pronounce, namely that it is a gift and not an art, I say he proueth it, because making himselfe and so manie others so cunning in the art, yet he sheweth himselfe so slender a gift in it; deseruing to be commended as *Martiall* praiseth one that he compares to *Tully*.

Carmina quod scribis et Apolline nullo
Laudari debes, hoc Ciceronis habes.

2 Mr. Haslewood [*Cens. Lit.* ii. 40. Ed. 1809] was of opinion, that FRANCIS MERES, M.A., derived from the present work (and especially Bk. I. Chap. 31) the greater portion of his *Comparative aiscourse of our English Poets, with the Greeke, Latine and Italian Poets*, at *pp.* 279–287 of his '*Palladis Tamia*, Wits Treasury,' 1598: and that W. VAUGHAN, M.A., in *The Golden Grove*, 2d Ed. 1608; in Chap. 44, Book III. *Of Poetry, and the excellencie thereof:* and HENRY PEACHAM, M.A., in *The Compleat Gentleman*, 1622; in Chap. 10 *Of Poetrie*, pp. 78-96; also borrowed unacknowledged information from the present work.

EVIDENCE in favour of

GEORGE PUTTENHAM

being the Author of this book.

*1532. Approximate date of birth of the Author.

[*1534 or *1535. Sir T. Elyot, in his dedication of *The Education or bringinge vp of children*, printed in 1535 'to his only entirely beloued syster Margaret Puttenham,' writes, 'I therefore in tymes vacant from busynes and other more serious study, as it were for my solace and recreation, have translated for you this lytell treatise entitled the Education of chyldren, and made by Plutarch the excellent philosopher and mayster of Traiane, moost vertuous and noble of all Emperours. . . . And it shall only suffice me, if I by this littel labour I may cause you myn entirely beloued syster to folowe the intente of Plutarche, in brynginge and inducynge my litell neuewes into the trayne and rule of vertue, whereby they shall fynallye attayne to honour (god so disposynge) to the inestimable comforte of theyr naturall parents, and other theyr louynge friendes: and moste specially to the high pleasure of god, commoditye and profite of theyr countray. Thus hartily fare ye well, and kepe with you this token of my tender loue to you, which with the vertue and towardnes of your children shall be continually augmented. From London the. xxvii. day of Novembre' [?1534 or 1535.]

Can George and Richard Puttenham be these 'neuewes' of Sir T. Elyot, for whom he wrote this book: and the children of Sir Thomas' 'only' entirely beloued syster Margaret, married to —— Puttenham?]

The following entry occurs in the Register of the Stationer's Company:

1588, Nov. 9. ix. of No. Tho. Orwyn. Allowed unto him to prynte etc. *The Arte of Englishe Poesie in Three Bookes, the first of Poets and Poesye, the second of Proportion, and the third of Ornamente.* *vjd.*

[The most plausible claim [to the authorship] is that of George Puttenham, who had a brother one of the Queen's Yeomen of the Guard, named Richard Puttenham, who was buried at St. Clement Danes, on 2d July 1601. There is extant, under the date of 8 Feb. 1584-5, an order from the Lords of the Queen's Council in the following form, which we give because it has hitherto been passed over, and because it refers to a man of so much literary distinction:—

"The Order of the Lords.—Whereas George Puttenham, gent., hath been a long sutor to her Matie and us to be recompensed to the value of one thousand pounds, as well in respect that he did incurre so much loss in obeying her Ma^tes commaundement, as for other causes conteyned in a scedule and order wherunto wee have sett to our hands. Now, at his humble sute and request we (having considered the equitie of the cause, and being desirouse to doe the said suppliant good aid and furtherance in his said sute in respect of his obedience) have ordered (and so require) that Mr. Secretarie in our name (and for the causes above said doe prefer to her Matie the humble sute of the said suppliant with this recomendation from us; and that her Matie may be pleased to rest satisfied with our opinion in the equitie of the cause.

'Tho. Brumley, canc., Robert Leycester,
H. Hunsden, William Burley, C. Howard,
James Croftes.'

By a long explanatory paper annexed, it appears that the dispute was between George Puttenham and his brother Richard. From the Book of Decrees of the Court of Requests, we learn that in 28 Eliz., Richard Puttenham was in most distressed circumstances, having been four years in prison, and having had to maintain 'a proud stubborn woman, his wife, in unbridled liberty:' he was thus worth no more than 'the simple garment on his back.' These particulars are as new as they are curious, and are derived from the original documents.—*Mr. J. P. Collier, in Notes and Queries, 2nd S.* xii. 143.]

[Mr. Haslewood in *Ancient Critical Essays*, i. 1 Ed. 1809, gives the following information :—"In the prerogative court of Canterbury there is a nuncupative will dated the first of September, 1590, of *George Putenham*, of London, Esquire, and probably our author, whereby, "First and principallie he bequathed his soull vnto Almighte God, and his bodie to be buried in christian buriall. Item, he gaue and bequeathed vnto Marye Symes, wydowe, his servant, as well for the good service she did him as alsoe for the money which she had laid forth for him, all and singular, his goods, chattels, leases, plate, redie money, lynnen, wollen, brasse, peuter, stuff of houshold, bills, bonds, obligations, and all other his goodes and debts whatsoeuer, due or owinge vnto him. Alsoe his goods moueable or vnmoueable, of what kind nature qualitie or condicion, and in whose hands custodye or possession theye then were in, or remained, as well within his dwellinge howse as in anie other place or places within the realme of England. In the presence of Sebastian Archibould, scrivener: James Clerke, William Johnson, and diuers others." The probate act describes the defunct of Saint Bridgett's, in Fleet Street, London, Esq. There was also a *Richard Puttenham*, Esquire, whose will accords with the above as a scrivener's form, dated 16 Oct. 1597, he being "prisoner in her Majesty's Bench:" bequeaths all his property to his "verily reported and reputed daughter Katherine Puttenham." Considering the tenor of both Wills, the want of descendants of the name of Puttenham is no longer extraordinary."]

[Harl. MS. 831 is a clearly written *copy*, apparently of the *seventeenth* century, entitled—

An apologie, or true defens of her Maiesties honorable and good renowne against all such who haue sought or shall seek to blemish the same, with any iniustice, crueltie, or other unprincely behaviour in any partes of her Maiesties proceedings against the late Scotish Queene, Be it for her first surprince, imprisonment, process attayneder or death.

By very firme reasons, authorities and examples, proveing that her Maiestie hath done nothing in the said action against the rules of honor or armes or otherwise, not warrantable by the law of God and of man.

Written by George Puttenham to the seruice of her Maiestie and for large satisfaction of all such persons both princely and private, who by ignorance of the case, or partiallitie of mind shall happen to be irresolute and not well satisfyed in the said cause.]

1. WILLIAM CAMDEN, in his *Remaines of a Greater Worke, concerning Britaine, &c.*, London, 1605, thus commences the section of *Poems*:—

'Of the dignity of Poetry much hath beene said by the worthy Sir *Philipp Sidney*, and by the gentleman which proued that Poets were the first *Politicians*, the first *Philosophers*, the first Historiographers.' Apparently Camden did not know who that gentleman was.

2. EDMUND BOLTON left behind him a MS. entitled *Hypercritica, a Rule of Judgement for writing or reading our history's*, in four addresses: the last of which is entitled *Prime Gardens for gathering English: according to the true gage or standard of the Tongue. about* 15 *or* 16 *years ago.* This address—though not published till 1722 by A. Hall—was undoubtedly written in the reign of James I., probably about 1620, not 1610, as A. à Wood thought. The year 1605 should probably be associated with the following remark:—

'Q. Elizabeth's verses, those which I have seen and read, some exstant in the elegant, witty and artificial Book of the *Art of* English *Poetry*, (the Work as the Fame is) of one of her Gentlemen Pensioners, *Puttenham*, are Princely, as her prose.'—*Sect iv., p.* 236, ed. 1722.

This is the earliest trace at present of Puttenham's name being associated with *The Arte of English Poesie.*

3. In 1614, the second edition of Camden's '*Remaines*, Reviewed, corrected and increased,' appeared. It contained a paper of ten pages on *The Excellencie of the English tongue, by R*[ichard] *C*[arew] *of* [St.] *Anthony, Esquire, to W*[illiam] *C*[amden].

CAREW, at *p.* 42, says, 'And in a word, to close vp these proofs of our copiousnesse, looke into our Imitations of all sorts of verses affoorded by any other language, and you shall finde that Sir *Philip Sydney*, Master *Putten-*

ham, Maister *Stainhurst* and diuers more haue made vse how farre wee are within compasse of a fare imagined possibilitie in that behalfe'—an allusion to Puttenham more as a versifier than a poetical critic.

This is all the evidence, by any contemporary of either Elizabeth or James.

A. à Wood, following Bolton, gives the following very short account of Puttenham:—A worthy gentleman, his [Dyer's] contemporary, called ——— Puttenham, one of the gentlemen pensioners to qu. Elizabeth, who, according to fame, was author of *The Art of English Poesie*, accounted in its time an elegant, witty, and artificial book; in which are some of the verses, made by qu. Elizabeth, extant; but whether this Puttenham was bred in Oxon I cannot yet tell. *Ath. Oxon.* i. 742. Ed. 1813.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The Arte of English Poesie.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

I. *As a separate publication.*

1 1589. London. 1 vol. 4to. *Editio princeps*: see title on opposite page. This edition has become very scarce. Messrs. Willis and Sotheran, in *Bibliotheca Curiosa*, 1867, offered a copy at £5, 5s. Mr. Joseph Lilly, in his *Bibliotheca Anglo-Curiosa*, is now offering a copy at £4, 14s. 6d. He states that copies of this edition sold at Col. Stanley's sale for £21, at Hibbert's for £13, 13s., and at the Roxburghe sale for £16, 5s. 6d.

Three copies of the original edition have been used in preparing the present reprint—Ben Jonson's copy in the Grenville Collection, and another also in the British Museum, (Press-mark 1077. f.): together with a third kindly lent me by J. P. Collier, Esq., F.S.A.

This last copy formerly belonged to Dr. Farmer. Inside its cover, are noted the following prices paid for it, long ago: which strongly contrast with the more recent figures quoted above:—

Sold at Mr. West's auction, No. 1815, for £1, 13s. Egerton, 1788, £2, 2s. While Mr. Collier bought it at Dr. Farmer's sale for £2, 14s.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

I. *As a separate publication.*

3 10 April 1869. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints*: see title at *p.* 1.

II. *With other works.*

2 1811-16. Lond. 2 vols. 4to. *Ancient Critical Essays:* Ed. by Joseph Haslewood. Puttenham occupies the whole of the first volume published in 1811. In addition to *The Arte of English Poesie* is reprinted the *Partheniades*, from the Cottonian MS.

Mr. Lilly, in offering in his *Bibliotheca Anglo-Curiosa*, a copy of this edition at £2, 12s. 6d., states, 'Only 200 copies were printed, which were published at £3, 3s. each; but the greater part of them were destroyed at the fire at Mr. Bensley's printing office.'

It may be therefore fairly assumed that there are hardly more than three hundred copies of the present work in existence in any form, anterior to the present edition.

THE ARTE
OF ENGLISH
POESIE.

Contriued into three Bookes : The firſt of Poets and Poeſie, the ſecond of Proportion, the third of Ornament.

AT LONDON
Printed by Richard Field, dwelling in the black-Friers, neere Ludgate.
1589.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR VVILLIAM CECILL KNIGHT, LORD OF BVRGHLEY, LORD HIGH TREASVRER OF ENGLAND, R. F.

Printer wiſheth health and proſperitie, with the commandement and vſe of his continuall ſeruice.

THIS Booke (right Honorable) comming to my handes, with his bare title without any Authours name or any other ordinarie addreſſe, I doubted how well it might become me to make you a preſent thereof, ſeeming by many expreſſe paſſages in the ſame at large, that it was by the Authour intended to our Soueraigne Lady the Queene, and for her recreation and ſeruice chiefly deuiſed, in which caſe to make any other perſon her highnes partener in the honour of his guift it could not ſtand with my dutie, nor be without ſome preiudice to her Maieſties interest and his merrite. Perceyuing beſides the title to purport ſo ſlender a ſubiect, as nothing almoſt could be more diſcrepant from the grauitie of your yeeres and Honorable function, whoſe contemplations are euery houre more ſeriouſly employed vpon the publicke adminiſtration and ſeruices: I thought it no condigne gratification, nor ſcarce any good ſatisfaction for ſuch a perſon as you. Yet when I conſidered, that beſtowyng vpon your Lordſhip the firſt vewe of this mine impreſſion (a feat of mine owne ſimple facultie) it could not ſcypher her Maiesties honour or prerogatiue in the guift, nor yet the Authour of his thanks: and ſeeing the thing it ſelfe to be a deuice of ſome noueltie (which commonly giueth euery good thing a ſpeciall grace) and a noueltie ſo highly tending to the moſt worthy prayſes of her Maiesties moſt excellent name (deerer to you I dare conceiue them any worldly thing beſides) mee thought I could not deuiſe to haue preſented your Lordſhip any gift more agreeable to your appetite, or fitter for my vocation and abilitie to beſtow, your Lordſhip beyng learned and a louer of learning, my preſent a Booke and my ſelfe a printer alwaies ready and deſirous to be at your Honourable commaundement. And thus I humbly take my leaue from the Blackfriers, this xxviij. of May. 1589.

Your Honours moſt humble
at commaundement,
R. F.

THE FIRST BOOKE,

Of Poets and Poeſie.

CHAP. I.

What a Poet and Poeſie is, and who may be worthily ſayd the moſt excellent Poet of our time.

A Poet is as much to ſay as a maker. And our Engliſh name well conformes with the Greeke word: for of ποιεῖν to make, they call a maker *Poeta*. Such as (by way of reſemblance and reuerently) we may ſay of God: who without any trauell to his diuine imagination, made all the world of nought, nor alſo by any paterne or mould as the Platonicks with their Idees do phantaſtically ſuppoſe. Euen ſo the very Poet makes and contriues out of his owne braine, both the verſe and matter of his poeme, and not by any foreine copie or example, as doth the tranſlator, who therefore may well be ſayd a verſifier, but not a Poet. The premiſes conſidered, it giueth to the name and profeſſion no ſmal dignitie and preheminence, aboue all other artificers, Scientificke or Me-

chanicall. And neuertheleſſe without any repugnancie at all, a Poet may in ſome ſort be ſaid a follower or imitator, becauſe he can expreſſe the true and liuely of euery thing is ſet before him, and which he taketh in hand to deſcribe: and ſo in that reſpect is both a maker and a counterfaitor: and Poeſie an art not only of making, but alſo of imitation. And this ſcience in his perfection, can not grow, but by ſome diuine inſtinct, the Platonicks call it *furor*: or by excellencie of nature and complexion: or by great ſubtiltie of the ſpirits and wit, or by much experience and obſeruation of the world, and courſe of kinde, or peraduenture by all or moſt part of them. Otherwiſe how was it poſſible that *Homer* being but a poore priuate man, and as ſome ſay, in his later age blind, ſhould ſo exactly ſet foorth and deſcribe, as if he had bene a moſt excellent Captaine or Generall, the order and array of battels, the conduct of whole armies, the ſieges and aſſaults of cities and townes? or as ſome great Princes maiordome and perfect Surueyour in Court, the order, ſumptuouſneſſe and magnificence of royal bankets, feaſts, weddings, and enteruewes? or as a Polititian very prudent, and much inured with the priuat and publique affaires, ſo grauely examine the lawes and ordinances Ciuill, or ſo profoundly diſcourſe in matters of eſtate, and formes of all politique regiment? Finally how could he ſo naturally paint out the ſpeeches, countenance and maners of Princely perſons and priuate, to wit, the wrath of *Achilles*, the magnanimitie of *Agamemnon*, the prudence of *Menelaus*, the proweſſe of *Hector*, the maieſtie of king *Priamus*, the grauitie of *Neſtor*, the pollicies and eloquence of *Vlyſſes*, the calamities of the diſtreſſed *Queenes*, and valiance of all the Captaines and aduenturous knights in thoſe lamentable warres of Troy? It is therefore of Poets thus to be conceiued, that if they be able to deuiſe and make all theſe things of them ſelues, without any ſubiect of veritie, that they be (by maner of ſpeech) as creating gods. If they do it by inſtinct diuine or naturall, then ſurely much fauoured from aboue. If by

their experience, then no doubt very wiſe men. If by any preſident or paterne layd before them, then truly the moſt excellent imitators and counterfaitors of all others. But you (Madame) my moſt Honored and Gracious: if I ſhould ſeeme to offer you this my deuiſe for a diſcipline and not a delight, I might well be reputed, of all others the moſt arrogant and iniurious: your ſelfe being alreadie, of any that I know in our time, the moſt excellent Poet. Forſooth by your Princely purſe ſauours and countenance, making in maner what ye liſt, the poore man rich, the lewd well learned, the coward couragious, and vile both noble and valiant. Then for imitation no leſſe, your perſon as a moſt cunning counterfaitor liuely repreſenting *Venus* in countenance, in life *Diana*, *Pallas* for gouernement, and *Iuno* in all honour and regall magnificence.

CHAP. II.

That there may be an Art of our Engliſh Poeſie, aſwell as there is of the Latine and Greeke.

Hen as there was no art in the world till by experience found out: ſo if Poeſie be now an Art, and of al antiquitie hath bene among the Greeks and Latines, and yet were none, vntill by ſtudious perſons faſhioned and reduced into a method of rules and precepts, then no doubt may there be the like with vs. And if th'art of Poeſie be but a skill appertaining to vtterance, why may not the ſame be with vs aſwel as with them, our language being no leſſe copious pithie and ſignificatiue then theirs, our conceipts the ſame, and our wits no leſſe apt to deuiſe and imitate then theirs were? If againe Art be but a certaine order of rules preſcribed by reaſon, and gathered by experience, why ſhould not Poeſie be a vulgar Art with vs aſwel as with the Greeks and Latines, our language admitting no fewer rules and nice diuerſities then theirs? but peraduenture moe by a peculiar, which our ſpeech hath in many things differing from theirs: and yet in the generall points of that Art, allowed to

go in common with them: ſo as if one point perchance which is their feete whereupon their meaſures ſtand, and in deede is all the beautie of their Poeſie, and which feete we haue not, nor as yet neuer went about to frame (the nature of our language and wordes not permitting it) we haue in ſtead thereof twentie other curious points in that skill more then they euer had, by reaſon of our rime and tunable concords or ſimphonie, which they neuer obſerued. Poeſie therefore may be an Art in our vulgar, and that verie methodicall and commendable.

CHAP. III.

How Poets were the firſt prieſts, the firſt prophets, the firſt Legiſlators and polititians in the world.

THe profeſſion and vſe of Poeſie is moſt ancient from the beginning, and not as manie erroniouſly ſuppoſe, after, but before any ciuil ſociety was among men. For it is written, that Poeſie was th'originall cauſe and occaſion of their firſt aſſemblies, when before the people remained in the woods and mountains, vagarant and diſperſed like the wild beaſts, lawleſſe and naked, or verie ill clad, and of all good and neceſſarie prouiſion for harbour or ſuſtenance vtterly vnfurniſhed: ſo as they litle diffred for their maner of life, from the very brute beaſts of the field. Whereupon it is fayned that *Amphion* and *Orpheus*, two Poets of the firſt ages, one of them, to wit *Amphion*, builded vp cities, and reared walles with the ſtones that came in heapes to the ſound of his harpe, figuring thereby the mollifying of hard and ſtonie hearts by his ſweete and eloquent perſwaſion. And *Orpheus* aſſembled the wilde beaſts to come in heards to harken to his muſicke, and by that meanes made them tame, implying thereby, how by his diſcreete and wholſome leſons vttered in harmonie and with melodious inſtruments, he brought the rude and ſauage people to a more ciuill and orderly life, nothing, as it ſeemeth, more preuailing or fit to redreſſe and edifie the cruell and ſturdie

courage of man then it. And as theſe two Poets and *Linus* before them, and *Muſeus* alſo and *Heſiodus* in Greece and Archadia: ſo by all likelihood had mo Poets done in other places, and in other ages before them, though there be no remembrance left of them, by reaſon of the Recordes by ſome accident of time periſhed and failing. Poets therfore are of great antiquitie. Then foraſmuch as they were the firſt that entended to the obſeruation of nature and her works, and ſpecially of the Celeſtiall courſes, by reaſon of the continuall motion of the heauens, ſearching after the firſt mouer, and from thence by degrees comming to know and conſider of the ſubſtances ſeparate and abſtract, which we call the diuine intelligences or good Angels *(Demones)* they were the firſt that inſtituted ſacrifices of placation, with inuocations and worſhip to them, as to Gods: and inuented and ſtabliſhed all the reſt of the obſeruances and ceremonies of religion, and ſo were the firſt Prieſts and miniſters of the holy miſteries. And becauſe for the better execution of that high charge and function, it behoued them to liue chaſt, and in all holines of life, and in continuall ſtudie and contemplation: they came by inſtinct diuine, and by deepe meditation, and much abſtinence (the ſame aſſubtiling and refining their ſpirits) to be made apt to receaue viſions, both waking and ſleeping, which made them vtter propheſies, and foretell things to come. So alſo were they the firſt Prophetes or ſeears, *Videntes*, for ſo the Scripture tearmeth them in Latine after the Hebrue word, and all the oracles and anſwers of the gods were giuen in meeter or verſe, and publiſhed to the people by their direction. And for that they were aged and graue men, and of much wiſedome and experience in th'affaires of the world, they were the firſt lawmakers to the people, and the firſt polititiens, deuiſing all expedient meanes for th'eſtabliſhment of Common wealth, to hold and containe the people in order and duety by force and vertue of good and wholeſome lawes, made for the preſeruation of the publique peace and tranquillitie. The

ſame peraduenture not purpoſely intended, but greatly furthered by the aw of their gods, and ſuch ſcruple of conſcience, as the terrors of their late inuented religion had led them into.

CHAP. IIII.

How Poets were the firſt Philoſophers, the firſt Aſtronomers and Hiſtoriographers and Oratours and Muſitiens of the world.

Tterance alſo and language is giuen by nature to man for perſwaſion of others, and aide of them ſelues, I meane the firſt abilite to ſpeake. For ſpeech it ſelfe is artificiall and made by man, and the more pleaſing it is, the more it preuaileth to ſuch purpoſe as it is intended for: but ſpeech by meeter is a kind of vtterance, more cleanly couched and more delicate to the eare then proſe is, becauſe it is more currant and ſlipper vpon the tongue, and withal tunable and melodious, as a kind of Muſicke, and therfore may be tearmed a muſicall ſpeech or vtterance, which cannot but pleaſe the hearer very well. Another cauſe is, for that is briefer and more compendious, and eaſier to beare away and be retained in memorie, then that which is contained in multitude of words and full of tedious ambage and long periods. It is beſide a maner of vtterance more eloquent and rethoricall then the ordinarie proſe, which we vſe in our daily talke: becauſe it is decked and ſet out with all maner of freſh colours and figures, which maketh that it ſooner inuegleth the iudgement of man, and carieth his opinion this way and that, whither ſoeuer the heart by impreſſion of the eare ſhalbe moſt affectionatly bent and directed. The vtterance in proſe is not of ſo great efficacie, becauſe not only it is dayly vſed, and by that occaſion the eare is ouerglutted with it, but is alſo not ſo voluble and ſlipper vpon the tong, being wide and loſe, and nothing numerous, nor contriued into meaſures, and ſounded with ſo gallant and harmonical accents, nor in fine alowed that figuratiue conueyance, nor ſo great licence in

choiſe of words and phraſes as meeter is. So as the Poets were alſo from the beginning the beſt perſwaders and their eloquence the firſt Rethoricke of the world. Euen ſo it became that the high myſteries of the gods ſhould be reuealed and taught, by a maner of vtterance and language of extraordinarie phraſe, and brieſe and compendious, and aboue al others ſweet and ciuill as the Metricall is. The ſame alſo was meeteſt to regiſter the liues and noble geſts of Princes, and of the great Monarkes of the world, and all other the memorable accidents of time: ſo as the Poet was alſo the firſt hiſtoriographer. Then foraſmuch as they were the firſt obſeruers of all naturall cauſes and effects in the things generable and corruptible, and from thence mounted vp to ſearch after the celeſtiall courſes and influences, and yet penetrated further to know the diuine eſſences and ſubſtances ſeparate, as is ſayd before, they were the firſt Aſtronomers and Philoſophiſts and Metaphiſicks. Finally, becauſe they did altogether endeuor them ſelues to reduce the life of man to a certaine method of good maners, and made the firſt differences betweene vertue and vice, and then tempered all theſe knowledges and skilles with the exerciſe of a delectable Muſicke by melodious inſtruments, which withall ſerued them to delight their hearers, and to call the people together by admiration, to a plauſible and vertuous conuerſation, therefore were they the firſt Philoſophers Ethick, and the firſt artificial Muſiciens of the world. Such was *Linus*, *Orpheus*, *Amphion* and *Muſeus* the moſt ancient Poets and Philoſophers, of whom there is leſt any memorie by the prophane writers. King *Dauid* alſo and *Salomon* his ſonne and many other of the holy Prophets wrate in meeters, and vſed to ſing them to the harpe, although to many of vs ignorant of the Hebrue language and phraſe, and not obſeruing it, the ſame ſeeme but a proſe. It can not bee therefore that anie ſcorne or indignitie ſhould iuſtly be offred to ſo noble, profitable, ancient and diuine a ſcience as Poeſie is.

CHAP. V.

How the wilde and ſauage people vſed a naturall Poeſie in verſicle and rime as our vulgar is.

AND the Greeke and Latine Poeſie was by verſe numerous and metricall, running vpon pleaſant feete, ſometimes ſwift, ſometime ſlow (their words very aptly ſeruing that purpoſe) but without any rime or tunable concord in th'end of their verſes, as we and all other nations now vſe. But the Hebrues and Chaldees who were more ancient then the Greekes, did not only vſe a metricall Poeſie, but alſo with the ſame a maner of rime, as hath bene of late obſerued by learned men. Wherby it appeareth, that our vulgar running Poeſie was common to all the nations of the world beſides, whom the Latines and Greekes in ſpeciall called barbarous. So as it was notwithſtanding the firſt and moſt ancient Poeſie, and the moſt vniuerſall, which two points do otherwiſe giue to all humane inuentions and affaires no ſmall credit. This is proued by certificate of marchants and trauellers, who by late nauigations haue ſurueyed the whole world, and diſcouered large countries and ſtrange peoples wild and ſauage, affirming that the American, the Peruſine and the very Canniball, do ſing and alſo ſay, their higheſt and holieſt matters in certaine riming verſicles and not in proſe, which proues alſo that our maner of vulgar Poeſie is more ancient then the artificiall of the Greeks and Latines, ours comming by inſtinct of nature, which was before Art or obſeruation, and vſed with the ſauage and vnciuill, who were before all ſcience or ciuilitie, euen as the naked by prioritie of time is before the clothed, and the ignorant before the learned. The naturall Poeſie therefore being aided and amended by Art, and not vtterly altered or obſcured, but ſome ſigne left of it, (as the Greekes and Latines haue left none) is no leſſe to be allowed and commended then theirs.

CHAP. VI.

How the riming Poesie came first to the Grecians and Latines, and had altered and almost spilt their maner of Poesie.

BVt it came to passe, when fortune fled farre from the Greekes and Latines, and that their townes florished no more in traficke, nor their Vniuersities in learning as they had done continuing those Monarchies: the barbarous conquerers inuading them with innumerable swarmes of strange nations, the Poesie metricall of the Grecians and Latines came to be much corrupted and altered, in so much as there were times that the very Greekes and Latines themselues tooke pleasure in Riming verses, and vsed it as a rare and gallant thing: Yea their Oratours proses nor the Doctors Sermons were acceptable to Princes nor yet to the common people vnlesse it went in manner of tunable rime or metricall sentences, as appeares by many of the auncient writers, about that time and since. And the great Princes, and Popes, and Sultans would one salute and greet an other sometime in frendship and sport, sometime in earnest and enmitie by ryming verses, and nothing seemed clerkly done, but must be done in ryme: Whereof we finde diuers examples from the time of th'Emperours Gracian and Valentinian downwardes: For then aboutes began the declination of the Romain Empire, by the notable inundations of the *Hunnes* and *Vandalles* in Europe, vnder the conduict of *Totila* and *Atila* and other their generalles. This brought the ryming Poesie in grace, and made it preuaile in Italie and Greece (their owne long time cast aside, and almost neglected) till after many yeares that the peace of Italie and of th'Empire Occidentall reuiued new clerkes, who recouering and perusing the bookes and studies of the ciuiler ages, restored all maner of arts, and that of the Greeke and Latine Poesie withall into their former puritie and netnes. Which neuertheleſſe did not so preuaile, but that the

ryming Poeſie of the Barbarians remained ſtill in his reputation, that one in the ſchole, this other in Courts of Princes more ordinary and allowable.

CHAP. VII.

How in the time of Charlemaine and many yeares after him the Latine Poetes wrote in ryme.

AND this appeareth euidently by the workes of many learned men, who wrote about the time of *Charlemaines* raigne in the Empire *Occidentall*, where the Chriſtian Religion, became through the exceſſiue authoritie of Popes, and deepe deuotion of Princes ſtrongly fortified and eſtabliſhed by erection of orders *Monastical*, in which many ſimple clerks for deuotion ſake and ſanctitie were receiued more then for any learning, by which occaſion and the ſolitarineſſe of their life, waxing ſtudious without diſcipline or inſtruction by any good methode, ſome of them grew to be hiſtoriographers, ſome Poets, and following either the barbarous rudenes of the time, or els their own idle inuentions, all that they wrote to the fauor or prayſe of Princes, they did it in ſuch maner of minſtrelſie, and thought themſelues no ſmall fooles, when they could make their verſes goe all in ryme as did the ſchoole of *Salerne*, dedicating their booke of medicinall rules vnto our king of England, with this beginning.

Anglorum Rege ſcripſit tota ſchola Salerni
Si vis incolumem, ſi vis te reddere ſanum
Curas tolle graues, iraſci crede prophanum
Nec retine ventrem nec ſtringas fortiter a num.

And all the reſt that follow throughout the whole booke more curiouſly then cleanely, neuertheleſſe very well to the purpoſe of their arte. In the ſame time king *Edward* the iij. him ſelfe quartering the Armes of England and France, did diſcouer his pretence and clayme to the Crowne of Fraunce, in theſe ryming verſes.

Rex ſum regnorum bina ratione duorum
Anglorum regno ſum rex ego iure paterno

Matris iure quidem Francorum nuncupor idem
Hinc eſt armorum variatio facta meorum.

Which verſes *Phillip de Valois* then poſſeſſing the Crowne as next heire male by pretexte of the law *Salique*, and holding out *Edward* the third, aunſwered in theſe other of as good ſtuffe.

Prædo regnorum qui diceris eſſe duorum
Regno materno priuaberis atque paterno
Prolis ius nullum vbi matris non fuit vllum
Hinc eſt armorum variatio ſtulta tuorum.

It is found written of Pope *Lucius*, for his great auarice and tyranny vſed ouer the Clergy thus in ryming verſes.

Lucius eſt piſcis rex et tyrannus aquarum
A quo diſcordat Lucius iſte parum
Deuorat hic homines, his piſcibus inſidiatur
Eſurit hic ſemper hic aliquando ſatur
Amborum vitam ſi laus æquata notaret
Plus rationis habet qui ratione caret.

And as this was vſed in the greateſt and gayeſt matters of Princes and Popes by the idle inuention of Monaſticall men then raigning al in their ſuperlatiue. So did euery ſcholer and ſecular clerke or verſifier, when he wrote any ſhort poeme or matter of good leſſon put it in ryme, whereby it came to paſſe that all your old Prouerbes and common ſayinges, which they would haue plauſible to the reader and eaſie to remember and beare away, were of that ſorte as theſe.

In mundo mira faciunt duo nummus et ira
Mollificant dura peruertunt omnia iura.

And this verſe in diſprayſe of the Courtiers life following the Court of Rome.

Vita palatina dura eſt animæque ruina.

And theſe written by a noble learned man.

Ire redire ſequi regum ſublimia caſtra
Eximius ſtatus eſt, ſed non ſic itur ad astra.

And this other which to the great iniurie of all women was written (no doubt by ſome forlorne louer, or els ſome old malicious Monke) for one womans ſake blemiſhing the whole ſexe.

Fallere flere nere mentiri nilque tacere
Hæc quinque vere ſtatuit Deus in muliere.

If I might haue bene his Iudge, I would haue had him for his labour, ſerued as *Orpheus* was by the women of Thrace. His eyes to be picket out with pinnes, for his ſo deadly belying of them, or worſe handled if worſe could be deuiſed. But will ye ſee how God raiſed a reuenger for the ſilly innocent women, for about the ſame ryming age came an honeſt ciuill Courtier ſomewhat bookiſh, and wrate theſe verſes againſt the whole rable of Monkes.

O Monachi veſtri ſtomachi ſunt amphora Bacchi
Vos eſtis Deus eſt teſtis turpiſſima peſtis.

Anon after came your ſecular Prieſtes as iolly rymers as the reſt, who being ſore agreeued with their Pope *Calixtus*, for that he had enioyned them from their wiues, and railed as faſt againſt him.

O bone Calixte totus mundus perodit te
Quondam Presbiteri, poterant vxoribus vti
Hoc deſtruxiſti, poſtquam tu Papa fuiſti.

Thus what in writing of rymes and regiſtring of lyes was the Clergy of that fabulous age wholly occupied.

We finde ſome but very few of theſe ryming verſes among the Latines of the ciuiller ages, and thoſe rather hapning by chaunce then of any purpoſe in the writer, as this *Diſtick* among the diſportes of *Ouid.*

Quot cœlum ſtellas tot habet tua Roma puellas
Paſcua quotque hædos tot habet tua Roma Cynædos,

The poſteritie taking pleaſure in this manner of *Simphonie* had leaſure as it ſeemes to deuiſe many other knackes in their verſifying that the auncient and ciuill Poets had not vſed before, whereof one was to make euery word of a verſe to begin with the ſame letter, as did *Hugobald* the Monke who made a large poeme to the honour of *Carolus Caluus*, euery word beginning with *C.* which was the firſt letter of the king name thus.

Carmina clariſonæ Caluis cantate camenæ.

And this was thought no ſmall peece of cunning, being in deed a matter of ſome difficultie to finde out

ſo many wordes beginning with one letter as might make a iuſt volume, though in truth it were but a phantaſticall deuiſe and to no purpoſe at all more then to make them harmonicall to the rude eares of thoſe barbarous ages.

Another of their pretie inuentions was to make a verſe of ſuch wordes as by their nature and manner of conſtruction and ſituation might be turned backward word by word, and make another perfit verſe, but of quite contrary ſence as the gibing Monke that wrote of Pope *Alexander* theſe two verſes.

Laus tua non tua fraus, virtus non copia rerum,
Scandere te faciunt hoc decus eximium.

Which if ye will turne backwards they make two other good verſes, but of a contrary ſence, thus.

Eximium decus hoc faciunt te ſcandere, rerum
Copia, non virtus, fraus tua non tua laus.

And they called it *Verſe Lyon.*

Thus you may ſee the humors and appetites of men how diuers and chaungeable they be in liking new faſhions, though many tymes worſe then the old, and not onely in the manner of their life and vſe of their garments, but alſo in their learninges and arts and ſpecially of their languages.

CHAP. VIII.

In what reputation Poeſie and Poets were in old time with Princes and otherwiſe generally, and how they be now become contemptible and for what cauſes.

For the reſpectes aforeſayd in all former ages and in the moſt ciuill countreys and commons wealthes, good Poets and Poeſie were highly eſteemed and much fauoured of the greateſt Princes. For proofe whereof we read how much *Amyntas* king of *Macedonia* made of the Tragicall Poet *Euripides.* And the *Athenians* of *Sophocles.* In what price the noble poemes of *Homer* were holden with *Alexander* the great, in ſo much as euery night they were layd vnder his pillow, and by day were carried in

the rich iewell cofer of *Darius* lately before vanquiſhed by him in battaile. And not onely *Homer* the father and Prince of the Poets was ſo honored by him, but for his ſake all other meaner Poets, in ſo much as *Cherillus* one no very great good Poet had for euery verſe well made a *Phillips* noble of gold, amounting in value to an angell Engliſh, and ſo for euery hundreth verſes (which a cleanely pen could ſpeedely diſpatch) he had a hundred angels. And ſince *Alexander* the great how *Theocritus* the Greeke poet was fauored by *Tholomee* king of Egipt and Queene *Berenice* his wife, *Ennius* likewiſe by *Scipio* Prince of the *Romaines*, *Virgill* alſo by th'Emperour *Auguſtus*. And in later times how much were *Iehan de Mehune* and *Guillaume de Loris* made of by the French kinges, and *Geffrey Chaucer* father of our Engliſh Poets by *Richard* the ſecond, who as it was ſuppoſed gaue him the maner of new Holme in Oxfordſhire. And *Govver* to *Henry* the fourth, and *Harding* to *Edvvard* the fourth. Alſo how *Francis* the Frenche king made *Sangelais*, *Salmonius*, *Macrinus*, and *Clement Marot* of his priuy Chamber for their excellent ſkill in vulgare and Latine Poeſie. And king *Henry* the 8. her *Maieſties* father for a few Pſalmes of *Dauid* turned into Engliſh meetre by Sternhold, made him groome of his priuy chamber, and gaue him many other good gifts. And one *Gray* what good eſtimation did he grow vnto with the ſame king *Henry*, and afterward with the Duke of Sommerſet Protectour, for making certaine merry Ballades, whereof one chiefly was *The hunte it* [*is*?] *vp*, *the hunte is vp*. And Queene *Mary* his daughter for one *Epithalamie* or nuptiall ſong made by *Vargas* a Spaniſh Poet at her mariage with king *Phillip* in Wincheſter gaue him during his life two hundred Crownes penſion: nor this reputation was giuen them in auncient times altogether in reſpect that Poeſie was a delicate arte, and the Poets them ſelues cunning Princepleaſers, but for that alſo they were thought for their vniuerſall knowledge to be very ſufficient men for the greateſt charges in their common

wealthes, were it for counſell or for conduct, whereby no man neede to doubt but that both ſkilles may very well concurre and be moſt excellent in one perſon. For we finde that *Iulius Cæſar* the firſt Emperour and a moſt noble Captaine, was not onely the moſt eloquent Orator of his time, but alſo a very good Poet, though none of his doings therein be now extant. And *Quintus Catulus* a good Poet, and *Cornelius Gallus* treaſurer of Egipt, and *Horace* the moſt delicate of all the Romain *Lyrickes*, was thought meete and by many letters of great inſtance prouoked to be Secretarie of eſtate to *Auguſtus* th'Emperour, which neuertheleſſe he refuſed for his vnhealthfulneſſe ſake, and being a quiet mynded man and nothing ambitious of glory: *non voluit accedere ad Rempublicam*, as it is reported. And *Ennius* the Latine Poet was not as ſome perchaunce thinke, onely fauored by *Scipio* the *Africane* for his good making of verſes, but vſed as his familiar and Counſellor in the warres for his great knowledge and amiable conuerſation. And long before that *Antimenides* and other Greeke Poets, as *Ariſtotle* reportes in his Politiques, had charge in the warres. And *Firtæus* the Poet being alſo a lame man and halting vpon one legge, was choſen by the Oracle of the gods from the *Athenians* to be generall of the *Lacedemonians* armie, not for his Poetrie, but for his wiſedome and graue perſwaſions, and ſubtile Stratagemes whereby he had the victory ouer his enemies. So as the Poets ſeemed to haue ſkill not onely in the ſubtilties of their arte, but alſo to be meete for all maner of functions ciuill and martiall, euen as they found fauour of the times they liued in, inſomuch as their credit and eſtimation generally was not ſmall. But in theſe dayes (although ſome learned Princes may take delight in them) yet vniuerſally it is not ſo. For as well Poets as Poeſie are deſpiſed, and the name become, of honorable infamous, ſubiect to ſcorne and deriſion, and rather a reproch than a prayſe to any that vſeth it: for commonly who ſo is ſtudious in th'Arte or ſhewes him ſelfe excellent

in it, they call him in difdayne a *phantaſticall:* and a light headed or phantaſticall man (by conuerſion) they call a Poet. And this proceedes through the barbarous ignoraunce of the time, and pride of many Gentlemen, and others, whoſe groſſe heads not being brought vp or acquainted with any excellent Arte, nor able to contriue, or in manner conceiue any matter of ſubtiltie in any buſineſſe or ſcience, they doe deride and ſcorne it in all others as ſuperfluous knowledges and vayne ſciences, and whatſoeuer deuiſe be of rare inuention they terme it *phantaſticall*, conſtruing it to the worſt ſide: and among men ſuch as be modeſt and graue, and of litle conuerſation, nor delighted in the buſie life and vayne ridiculous actions of the popular, they call him in ſcorne a *Philoſopher* or *Poet*, as much to ſay as a phantaſticall man, very iniurioufly (God wot) and to the manifeſtation of their own ignoraunce, not making difference betwixt termes. For as the euill and vicious diſpoſition of the braine hinders the ſounde iudgement and diſcourſe of man with buſie and diſordered phantaſies, for which cauſe the Greekes call him φαντάσικος, ſo is that part being well affected, not onely nothing diſorderly or confuſed with any monſtruous imaginations or conceits, but very formall, and in his much multiformitie *vniforme*, that is well proportioned, and ſo paſſing cleare, that by it as by a glaſſe or mirrour, are repreſented vnto the ſoule all maner of bewtifull viſions, whereby the inuentiue parte of the mynde is ſo much holpen, as without it no man could deuiſe any new or rare thing: and where it is not excellent in his kind, there could be no politique Captaine, nor any witty enginer or cunning artificer, nor yet any law maker or counſellor of deepe diſcourſe, yea the Prince of Philoſophers ſtickes not to ſay *animam non intelligere abſque phantaſmate* which text to another purpoſe *Alexander Aphrodiſcus* well noteth, as learned men know. And this phantaſie may be reſembled to a glaſſe as hath bene ſayd, whereof there be many tempers and manner of makinges, as the *perſpectiues* doe

acknowledge, for ſome be falſe glaſſes and ſhew thinges otherwiſe than they be in deede, and others right as they be in deede, neither fairer nor fouler, nor greater nor ſmaller. There be againe of theſe glaſſes that ſhew thinges exceeding faire and comely, others that ſhew figures very monſtruous and illfauored. Euen ſo is the phantaſticall part of man (if it be not diſordered) a repreſenter of the beſt, moſt comely and bewtifull images or apparances of thinges to the ſoule and according to their very truth. If otherwiſe, then doth it breede *Chimeres* and monſters in mans imaginations, and not onely in his imaginations, but alſo in all his ordinarie actions and life which enſues. Wherefore ſuch perſons as be illuminated with the brighteſt irradiations of knowledge and of the veritie and due proportion of things, they are called by the learned men not *phantaſtici* but *euphantaſiote*, and of this ſorte of phantaſie are all good Poets, notable Captaines ſtratagematique, all cunning artificers and enginers, all Legiſlators Polititiens and Counſellours of eſtate, in whoſe exerciſes the inuentiue part is moſt employed and is to the ſound and true iudgement of man moſt needful. This diuerſitie in the termes perchance euery man hath not noted, and thus much be ſaid in defence of the Poets honour, to the end no noble and generous minde be diſcomforted in the ſtudie thereof, the rather for that worthy and honorable memoriall of that noble woman twiſe French Queene, Lady *Anne* of Britaine, wife firſt to king *Charles* the viij. and after to *Lewes* the xij. who paſſing one day from her lodging toward the kinges ſide, ſaw in a gallerie *Maiſter Allaine Chartier* the kings Secretarie, an excellent maker or Poet leaning on a tables end a ſleepe, and ſtooped downe to kiſſe him, ſaying thus in all their hearings, we may not of Princely courteſie paſſe by and not honor with our kiſſe the mouth from whence ſo many ſweete ditties and golden poems haue iſſued. But me thinks at theſe words I heare ſome ſmilingly ſay, I would be loath to lacke liuing of my own till the Prince gaue me a maner of new

Elme for my riming. And another to ſay I haue read that the Lady *Cynthia* came once downe out of her skye to kiſſe the faire yong lad *Endimion* as he lay a ſleep: and many noble Queenes that haue beſtowed kiſſes vpon their Princes paramours, but neuer vpon any Poets. The third me thinks ſhruggingly ſaith, I kept not to ſit ſleeping with my Poeſie till a Queene came and kiſſed me. But what of all this? Princes may giue a good Poet ſuch conuenient countenaunce and alſo benefite as are due to an excellent artificer, though they neither kiſſe nor cokes them, and the discret Poet lookes for no ſuch extraordinarie fauours, and aſwell doth he honour by his pen the iuſt, liberall, or magnanimous Prince, as the valiaunt, amiable or bewtifull though they be euery one of them the good giftes of God. So it ſeemes not altogether the ſcorne and ordinarie diſgrace offered vnto Poets at theſe dayes, is cauſe why few Gentlemen do delight in the Art, but for that liberalitie, is come to fayle in Princes, who for their largeſſe were wont to be accompted th'onely patrons of learning, and firſt founders of all excellent artificers. Beſides it is not perceiued, that Princes them ſelues do take any pleaſure in this ſcience, by whoſe example the ſubiect is commonly led, and allured to all delights and exerciſes be they good or bad, according to the graue ſaying of the hiſtorian. *Rex multitudinem religione impleuit, quæ ſemper regenti ſimilis eſt.* And peraduenture in this iron and malitious age of ours, Princes are leſſe delighted in it, being ouer earneſtly bent and affected to the affaires of Empire and ambition, whereby they are as it were inforced to indeuour them ſelues to armes and practiſes of hoſtilitie, or to entend to the right pollicing of their ſtates, and haue not one houre to beſtow vpon any other ciuill or delectable Art of naturall or morall doctrine: nor ſcarce any leiſure to thincke one good thought in perfect and godly contemplation, whereby their troubled mindes might be moderated and brought to tranquillitie. So as, it is hard to find in theſe dayes of noblemen or

gentlemen any good *Mathematician*, or excellent *Muſitian*, or notable *Philoſopher*, or els a cunning Poet: becauſe we find few great Princes much delighted in the ſame ſtudies. Now alſo of ſuch among the Nobilitie or gentrie as be very well ſeene in many laudable ſciences, and eſpecially in making or Poeſie, it is ſo come to paſſe that they haue no courage to write and if they haue, yet are they loath to be a knowen of their skill. So as I know very many notable Gentlemen in the Court that haue written commendably and ſuppreſſed it agayne, or els ſuffred it to be publiſht without their owne names to it: as if it were a diſcredit for a Gentleman, to ſeeme learned, and to ſhew him ſelfe amorous of any good Art. In other ages it was not ſo, for we read that Kinges and Princes haue written great volumes and publiſht them vnder their owne regall titles. As to begin with *Salomon* the wiſeſt of Kings, *Iulius Cæſar* the greateſt of Emperours, *Hermes Trismegiſtus* the holieſt of Prieſtes and Prophetes, *Euax* king of *Arabia* wrote a booke of precious ſtones in verſe, Prince *Auicenna* of Phiſicke and Philoſophie, *Alphonſus* king of Spaine his Aſtronomicall Tables, *Almanſor* a king of *Marrocco* diuerſe Philoſophicall workes, and by their regall example our late ſouueraigne Lord king *Henry* the eight wrate a booke in defence of his faith, then perſwaded that it was the true and Apoſtolicall doctrine, though it hath appeared otherwiſe ſince, yet his honour and learned zeale was nothing leſſe to be allowed. Queenes alſo haue bene knowen ſtudious, and to write large volumes, as Lady *Margaret* of Fraunce Queene of *Nauarre* in our time. But of all others the Emperour *Nero* was ſo well learned in Muſique and Poeſie, as when he was taken by order of the Senate and appointed to dye, he offered violence to him ſelfe and ſayd, *O quantus artifex pereo!* as much as to ſay, as, how is it poſſible a man of ſuch ſcience and learning as my ſelfe, ſhould come to this ſhamefull death? Th'emperour *Octauian* being made executor to *Virgill*, who had left by his laſt will and teſta-

ment, that his bookes of the *Æneidos* ſhould be committed to the fire as things not perfited by him, made his excuſe for infringing the deads will, by a nomber of verſes moſt excellently written, whereof theſe are part.

Frangatur potiùs legum veneranda poteſtas,
Quàm tot congeſtos noctéſque diéſque labores
Hauſerit vna dies. And put his name to them. And before him his vncle and father adoptiue *Iulius Cæſar*, was not aſhamed to publiſh vnder his owne name, his Commentaries of the French and Britaine warres. Since therefore ſo many noble Emperours, Kings and Princes haue bene ſtudious of Poeſie and other ciuill arts, and not aſhamed to bewray their skils in the ſame, let none other meaner perſon deſpiſe learning, nor (whether it be in proſe or in Poeſie, if they them ſelues be able to write, or haue written any thing well or of rare inuention) be any whit ſqueimiſh to let it be publiſht vnder their names, for reaſon ſerues it, and modeſtie doth not repugne.

CHAP. IX.

How Poeſie ſhould not be imployed vpon vayne conceits or vicious or infamous.

Therefore the Nobilitie and dignitie of the Art conſidered aſwell by vniuerſalitie as antiquitie and the naturall excellence of it ſelfe, Poeſie ought not to be abaſed and imployed vpon any vnworthy matter and ſubiect, nor vſed to vaine purpoſes, which neuertheleſſe is dayly ſeene, and that is to vtter conceits infamous and vicious or ridiculous and fooliſh, or of no good example and doctrine. Albeit in merry matters (not vnhoneſt) being vſed for mans ſolace and recreation it may be well allowed, for as I ſaid before, Poeſie is a pleaſant maner of vtteraunce varying from the ordinarie of purpoſe to refreſh the mynde by the eares delight. Poeſie alſo is not only laudable, becauſe I ſaid it was a metricall ſpeach vſed by the firſt men, but

becauſe it is a metricall ſpeach corrected and reformed by diſcreet iudgements, and with no leſſe cunning and curioſitie then the Greeke and Latine Poeſie, and by Art bewtified and adorned, and brought far from the primitiue rudeneſſe of the firſt inuentors, otherwiſe it may be ſayd to me that *Adam* and *Eues* apernes were the gayeſt garmentes, becauſe they were the firſt, and the ſhepheardes tente or pauillion, the beſt houſing, becauſe it was the moſt auncient and moſt vniuerſall: which I would not haue ſo taken, for it is not my meaning but that Art and cunning concurring with nature, antiquitie and vniuerſalitie, in things indifferent, and not euill, doe make them more laudable. And right ſo our vulgar riming Poeſie, being by good wittes brought to that perfection we ſee, is worthily to be preferred before any other maner of vtterance in proſe, for ſuch vſe and to ſuch purpoſe as it is ordained, and ſhall hereafter be ſet downe more particularly.

CHAP. X.

The ſubiect or matter of Poeſie.

HAuing ſufficiently ſayd of the dignitie of Poets and Poeſie, now it is tyme to ſpeake of the matter or ſubiect of Poeſie, which to myne intent is, what ſoeuer wittie and delicate conceit of man meet or worthy to be put in written verſe, for any neceſſary vſe of the preſent time, or good inſtruction of the poſteritie. But the chief and principall is: the laud honour and glory of the immortall gods (I ſpeake now in phraſe of the Gentiles.) Secondly the worthy geſts of noble Princes: the memoriall and regiſtry of all great fortunes, the praiſe of vertue and reproofe of vice, the inſtruction of morall doctrines, the reuealing of ſciences naturall and other profitable Arts, the redreſſe of boiſtrous and ſturdie courages by perſwaſion, the conſolation and repoſe of temperate myndes, finally the common ſolace of mankind in all his trauails and cares of this tranſitorie life. And in this laſt ſort being vſed

for recreation onely, may allowably beare matter not alwayes of the graueſt, or of any great commoditie or profit, but rather in ſome ſort, vaine, diſſolute, or wanton, ſo it be not very ſcandalous and of euill example. But as our intent is to make this Art vulgar for all Engliſh mens vſe, and therefore are of neceſſitie to ſet downe the principal rules therein to be obſerued: ſo in mine opinion it is no leſſe expedient to touch briefly all the chief points of this auncient Poeſie of the Greeks and Latines, ſo far forth as it conformeth with ours. So as it may be knowen what we hold of them as borrowed, and what as of our owne peculiar. Wherefore now that we haue ſaid, what is the matter of Poeſie, we will declare the manner and formes of poemes vſed by the auncients.

CHAP. XI.

Of poemes and their ſundry formes and how thereby the auncient Poets receaued ſurnames.

AS the matter of Poeſie is diuers, ſo was the forme of their poemes and maner of writing, for all of them wrote not in one ſort, euen as all of them wrote not vpon one matter. Neither was euery Poet alike cunning in all as in ſome one kinde of Poeſie, nor vttered with like felicitie. But wherein any one moſt excelled, thereof he tooke a ſurname, as to be called a Poet *Heroick*, *Lyrick*, *Elegiack*, *Epigrammatiſt* or otherwiſe. Such therefore as gaue themſelues to write long hiſtories of the noble geſts of kings and great Princes entermedling the dealings of the gods, halfe gods or *Heroes* of the gentiles, and the great and waighty conſequences of peace and warre, they called Poets *Heroick*, whereof *Homer* was chief and moſt auncient among the Greeks, *Virgill* among the Latines: Others who more delighted to write ſongs or ballads of pleaſure, to be ſong with the voice, and to the harpe, lute, or citheron and ſuch other muſical, inſtruments, they were called melodious Poets [*melici*] or by a more common

name *Lirique* Poets, of which ſort was *Pindarus*, *Anacreon* and *Callimachus* with others among the Greeks: *Horace* and *Catullus* among the Latines. There were an other ſort, who ſought the fauor of faire Ladies, and coueted to bemone their eſtates at large, and the perplexities of loue in a certain pitious verſe called *Elegie*, and thence were called *Eligiack:* ſuch among the Latines were *Ouid*, *Tibullus*, and *Propertius*. There were alſo Poets that wrote onely for the ſtage, I meane playes and interludes, to rec[r]eate the people with matters of diſporte, and to that intent did ſet forth in ſhewes pageants, accompanied with ſpeach the common behauiours and maner of life of priuate perſons, and ſuch as were the meaner ſort of men, and they were called *Comicall* Poets, of whom among the Greekes *Menander* and *Ariſtophanes* were moſt excellent, with the Latines *Terence* and *Plautus*. Beſides thoſe Poets *Comick* there were other who ſerued alſo the ſtage, but medled not with ſo baſe matters: For they ſet forth the doleſull falles of infortunate and afflicted Princes, and were called Poets *Tragicall*. Such were *Euripides* and *Sophocles* with the Greeks, *Seneca* among the Latines. There were yet others who mounted nothing ſo high as any of them both, but in baſe and humble ſtile by maner of Dialogue, vttered the priuate and familiar talke of the meaneſt ſort of men, as ſhepheards, heywards and ſuch like, ſuch was among the Greekes *Theocritus:* and *Virgill* among the Latines, their poems were named *Eglogues* or ſhepheardly talke. There was yet another kind of Poet, who intended to taxe the common abuſes and vice of the people in rough and bitter ſpeaches, and their inuectiues were called *Satyres*, and them ſelues *Satyricques*. Such were *Lucilius*, *Iuuenall* and *Perſius* among the Latines, and with vs he that wrote the booke called Piers plowman. Others of a more fine and pleaſant head were giuen wholly to taunting and ſcoffing at vndecent things, and in ſhort poemes vttered pretie merry conceits, and theſe men were called *Epigram-*

matiſtes. There were others that for the peoples good inſtruction, and triall of their owne witts vſed in places of great aſſembly, to ſay by rote nombers of ſhort and ſententious meetres, very pithie and of good edification, and thereupon were called Poets *Mimiſtes:* as who would ſay, imitable and meet to be followed for their wiſe and graue leſſons. There was another kind of poeme, inuented onely to make ſport, and to refreſh the company with a maner of buffonry or counterfaiting of merry ſpeaches, conuerting all that which they had hard ſpoken before, to a certaine deriſion by a quite contrary ſence, and this was done, when *Comedies* or *Tragedies* were a playing, and that betweene the actes when the players went to make ready for another, there was great ſilence, and the people waxt weary, then came in theſe maner of conterfaite vices, they were called *Pantomimi*, and all that had before bene ſayd, or great part of it, they gaue a croſſe conſtruction to it very ridiculouſly. Thus haue you how the names of the Poets were giuen them by the formes of their poemes and maner of writing.

CHAP. XII.

In what forme of Poeſie the gods of the Gentiles were prayſed and honored.

He gods of the Gentiles were honoured by their Poetes in hymnes, which is an extraordinarie and diuine praiſe, extolling and magnifying them for their great powers and excellencie of nature in the higheſt degree of laude, and yet therein their Poets were after a ſort reſtrained: ſo as they could not with their credit vntruly praiſe their owne gods, or vſe in their lauds any maner of groſſe adulation or vnueritable report. For in any writer vntruth and flatterie are counted moſt great reproches. Wherfore to praiſe the gods of the Gentiles, for that by authoritie of their owne fabulous records, they had fathers and mothers, and kinred

and allies, and wiues and concubines: the Poets firſt commended them by their genealogies or pedegrees, their mariages and aliances, their notable exploits in the world for the behooſe of mankind, and yet as I ſayd before, none otherwiſe then the truth of their owne memorials might beare, and in ſuch ſort as it might be well auouched by their old written reports, though in very deede they were not from the beginning all historically true, and many of them verie fictions, and ſuch of them as were true, were grounded vpon ſome part of an hiſtorie or matter of veritie, the reſt altogether figuratiue and miſticall, couertly applied to ſome morall or natural ſenſe, as *Cicero* ſetteth it foorth in his bookes *de natura deorum.* For to ſay that *Iupiter* was ſonne to *Saturne*, and that he maried his owne ſiſter *Iuno*, might be true, for ſuch was the guiſe of all great Princes in the Orientall part of the world both at thoſe dayes and now is. Againe that he loued *Danae*, *Europa*, *Leda*, *Caliſto* and other faire Ladies daughters to kings, beſides many meaner women, it is likely enough, becauſe he was reported to be a very incontinent perſon, and giuen ouer to his luſtes, as are for the moſt part all the greateſt Princes, but that he ſhould be the higheſt god in heauen, or that he ſhould thunder and lighten, and do manie other things very vnnaturally and abſurdly: alſo that *Saturnus* ſhould geld his father *Celius*, to th'intent to make him vnable to get any moe children, and other ſuch matters as are reported by them, it ſeemeth to be ſome wittie deuiſe and fiction made for a purpoſe, or a very noble and impudent lye, which could not be reaſonably ſuſpected by the Poets, who were otherwiſe diſcreete and graue men, and teachers of wiſedome to others. Therefore either to tranſgreſſe the rules of their primitiue records, or to ſeeke to giue their gods honour by belying them (otherwiſe then in that ſence which I haue alledged) had bene a ſigne not onely of an vnskilfull Poet, but alſo of a very impudent and leude man. For vntrue praiſe neuer giueth any true reputation. But with vs Chriſt-

ians, who be better diſciplined, and do acknowledge but one God Almightie, euerlaſting, and in euery reſpect ſelfe ſuffizant [*autharcos*] repoſed in all perfect reſt and ſoueraigne bliſſe, not needing or exacting any forreine helpe or good. To him we can not exhibit ouermuch praiſe, nor belye him any wayes, vnleſſe it be in abaſing his excellencie by ſcarſitie of praiſe, or by miſconceauing his diuine nature, weening to praiſe him, if we impute to him ſuch vaine delights and peeuiſh affections, as commonly the fraileſt men are reproued for. Namely to make him ambitious of honour, iealous and difficult in his worſhips, terrible, angrie, vindicatiue, a louer, a hater, a pitier, and indigent of mans worſhips: finally ſo paſſionate as in effect he ſhold be altogether *Anthropopathis.* To the gods of the Gentiles they might well attribute theſe infirmities, for they were but the children of men, great Princes and famous in the world, and not for any other reſpect diuine, then by ſome reſemblance of vertue they had to do good, and to benefite many. So as to the God of the Chriſtians, ſuch diuine praiſe might be verified: to th'other gods none, but figuratiuely or in miſticall ſenſe as hath bene ſaid. In which ſort the ancient Poets did in deede giue them great honors and praiſes, and made to them ſacrifices, and offred them oblations of ſundry ſortes, euen as the people were taught and perſwaded by ſuch placations and worſhips to receaue any helpe, comfort or benefite to them ſelues, their wiues, children, poſſeſſions or goods. For if that opinion were not, who would acknowledge any God? the verie *Etimologie* of the name with vs of the North partes of the world declaring plainely the nature of the attribute, which is all one as if we ſayd good, [*bonus*] or a giuer of good things. Therfore the Gentiles prayed for peace to the goddeſſe *Pallas:* for warre (ſuch as thriued by it) to the god *Mars:* for honor and empire to the god *Iupiter:* for riches and wealth to *Pluto:* for eloquence and gayne to *Mercurie:* for ſafe nauigation to *Neptune:* for faire weather and proſperous

windes to *Eolus:* for skill in muſick and leechcraft to *Apollo:* for free life and chaſtitie to *Diana:* for bewtie and good grace, as alſo for iſſue and proſperitie in loue to *Venus:* for plenty of crop and corne to *Ceres:* for ſeaſonable vintage to *Bacchus:* and for other things to others. So many things as they could imagine good and deſirable, and to ſo many gods as they ſuppoſed to be authors thereof, in ſo much as *Fortune* was made a goddeſſe, and the feuer quartaine had her aulters, ſuch blindnes and ignorance raigned in the harts of men at that time, and whereof it firſt proceeded and grew, beſides th'opinion hath bene giuen, appeareth more at large in our bookes of *Ierotekni*, the matter being of another conſideration then to be treated of in this worke. And theſe hymnes to the gods was the firſt forme of Poeſie and the higheſt and the ſtatelieſt, and they were ſong by the Poets as prieſts, and by the people or whole congregation as we ſing in our Churchs the Pſalmes of *Dauid*, but they did it commonly in ſome ſhadie groues of tall tymber trees: In which places they reared aulters of green turfe, and beſtrewed them all ouer with flowers, and vpon them offred their oblations and made their bloudy ſacrifices, (for no kinde of gift can be dearer then life) of ſuch quick cattaille, as euery god was in their conceit moſt delighted in, or in ſome other reſpect moſt fit for the miſterie: temples or churches or other chappels then theſe they had none at thoſe dayes.

CHAP. XIII.

In what forme of Poeſie vice and the common abuſes of mans life was reprehended.

Ome perchance would thinke that next after the praiſe and honoring of their gods, ſhould commence the worſhippings and praiſe of good men, and ſpecially of great Princes and gouernours of the earth in ſoueraignety and function next vnto the gods. But it

is not ſo, for before that came to paſſe, the Poets or holy Prieſts, chiefly ſtudied the rebuke of vice, and to carpe at the common abuſes, ſuch as were moſt offenſiue to the publique and priuate, for as yet for lacke of good ciuility and wholeſome doctrines, there was greater ſtore of lewde lourdaines then of wiſe and learned Lords, or of noble and vertuous Princes and gouernours. So as next after the honours exhibited to their gods, the Poets finding in man generally much to reproue and litle to praiſe, made certaine poems in plaine meetres, more like to ſermons or preachings then otherwiſe, and when the people were aſſembled togither in thoſe hallowed places dedicate to their gods, becauſe they had yet no large halles or places of conuenticle, nor had any other correction of their faults, but ſuch as reſted onely in rebukes of wiſe and graue men, ſuch as at theſe dayes make the people aſhamed rather then afeared, the ſaid auncient Poets vſed for that purpoſe, three kinds of poems reprehenſiue, to wit, the *Satyre*, the *Comedie*, and the *Tragedie:* and the firſt and moſt bitter inuectiue againſt vice and vicious men, was the *Satyre*· which to th'intent their bitterneſſe ſhould breede none ill will, either to the Poets, or to the recitours (which could not haue bene choſen if they had bene openly knowen) and beſides to make their admonitions and reproofs ſeeme grauer and of more efficacie, they made wiſe as if the gods of the woods, whom they called *Satyres* or *Siluanes*, ſhould appeare and recite thoſe verſes of rebuke, whereas in deede they were but diſguiſed perſons vnder the ſhape of *Satyres* as who would ſay, theſe terrene and baſe gods being conuerſant with mans affaires, and ſpiers out of all their ſecret faults: had ſome great care ouer man, and deſired by good admonitions to reforme the euill of their life, and to bring the bad to amendment by thoſe kinde of preachings, whereupon the Poets inuentours of the deuiſe were called *Satyriſtes.*

CHAP. XIIII.

How vice was afterward reproued by two other maner of poems, better reformed then the Satyre, whereof the first was Comedy, the second Tragedie.

BVt when these maner of solitary speaches and recitals of rebuke, vttered by the rurall gods out of bushes and briers, seemed not to the finer heads sufficiently perswasiue, nor so popular as if it were reduced into action of many persons, or by many voyces liuely represented to the eare and eye, so as a man might thinke it were euen now a doing. The Poets deuised to haue many parts played at once by two or three or foure persons, that debated the matters of the world, sometimes of their owne priuate affaires, sometimes of their neighbours, but neuer medling with any Princes matters nor such high personages, but commonly of marchants, souldiers, artificers, good honest housholders, and also of vnthrifty youthes, yong damsels, old nurses, bawds, brokers, ruffians and parasites, with such like, in whose behauiors, lyeth in effect the whole course and trade of mans life, and therefore tended altogither to the good amendment of man by discipline and example. It was also much for the solace and recreation of the common people by reason of the pageants and shewes. And this kind of poeme was called *Comedy*, and followed next after the *Satyre*, and by that occasion was somwhat sharpe and bitter after the nature of the *Satyre*, openly and by expresse names taxing men more maliciously and impudently then became, so as they were enforced for feare of quarell and blame to disguise their players with strange apparell, and by colouring their faces and carying hatts and capps of diuerse fashions to make them selues lesse knowen. But as time and experience do reforme euery thing that is amisse, so this bitter poeme called the old *Comedy*, being disused and taken away, the new *Comedy* came in place, more ciuill and pleasant a great deale and not touch-

ing any man by name, but in a certaine generalitie glancing at euery abuſe, ſo as from thenceforth ſearing none illwill or enmitie at any bodies hands, they left aſide their diſguiſings and played bare face, till one *Roſcius Gallus* the moſt excellent player among the Romaines brought vp theſe vizards, which we ſee at this day vſed, partly to ſupply the want of players, when there were moe parts than there were perſons, or that it was not thought meet to trouble and peſter princes chambers with too many folkes. Now by the chaunge of a vizard one man might play the king and the carter, the old nurſe and the yong damſell, the marchant and the ſouldier or any other part he liſted very conueniently. There be that ſay *Roſcius* did it for another purpoſe, for being him ſelfe the beſt *Hiſtrien* or buffon that was in his dayes to be found, inſomuch as *Cicero* ſaid *Roſcius* contended with him by varietie of liuely geſtures, to ſurmount the copy of his ſpeach, yet becauſe he was ſquint eyed and had a very vnpleaſant countenance, and lookes which made him ridiculous or rather odious to the preſence, he deuiſed theſe vizards to hide his owne ilfauored face. And thus much touching the *Comedy*.

CHAP. XV.

In vvhat forme of Poeſie the euill and outragious behauiours of Princes vvere reprehended.

Vt becauſe in thoſe dayes when the Poets firſt taxed by *Satyre* and *Comedy*, there was no great ſtore of Kings or Emperors or ſuch high eſtats (al men being yet for the moſt part rude, and in a maner popularly egall) they could not ſay of them or of their behauiours any thing to the purpoſe, which caſes of Princes are ſithens taken for the higheſt and greateſt matters of all. But after that ſome men among the moe became mighty and famous in the world, ſouer-aignetie and dominion hauing learned them all maner of luſts and licentiouſnes of life, by which occaſions alſo their high eſtates and felicities fell many times into

moſt lowe and lamentable fortunes: whereas before in their great proſperities they were both feared and reuerenced in the higheſt degree, after their deathes when the poſteritie ſtood no more in dread of them, their infamous life and tyrannies were layd open to all the world, their wickednes reproched, their follies and extreme inſolencies derided, and their miſerable ends painted out in playes and pageants, to ſhew the mutabilitie of fortune, and the iuſt puniſhment of God in reuenge of a vicious and euill life. Theſe matters were alſo handled by the Poets, and repreſented by action as that of the *Comedies*: but becauſe the matter was higher then that of the *Comedies* the Poets ſtile was alſo higher and more loftie, the prouiſion greater, the place more magnificent: for which purpoſe alſo the players garments were made more rich and coſtly and ſolemne, and euery other thing apperteining, according to that rate: So as where the *Satyre* was pronounced by ruſticall and naked *Syluanes* ſpeaking out of a buſh, and the common players of interludes called *Plampedes*, played barefoote vpon the floore: the later *Comedies* vpon ſcaffolds, and by men well and cleanely hoſed and ſhod. Theſe matters of great Princes were played vpon lofty ſtages, and the actors thereof ware vpon their legges buskins of leather called *Cothurni*, and other ſolemne habits, and for a ſpeciall preheminence did walke vpon thoſe high corked ſhoes or pantofles, which now they call in Spaine and Italy *Shoppini*. And becauſe thoſe buſkins and high ſhoes were commonly made of goats ſkinnes very finely tanned, and dyed into colours: or for that as ſome ſay the beſt players reward, was a goate to be giuen him, or for that as other thinke, a goate was the peculiar ſacrifice of the god *Pan*, king of all the gods of the woodes: foraſmuch as a goate in Greeke is called *Tragos*, therfore theſe ſtately playes were called *Tragedies*. And thus haue ye foure ſundry formes of Poeſie *Drammatick* reprehenſiue, and put in execution by the feate and dexteritie of mans body, to wit, the *Satyre*, old *Comedie*, new *Comedie*, and *Tragedie*,

whereas all other kinde of poems except *Eglogue* whereof ſhalbe entreated hereafter, were onely recited by mouth or ſong with the voyce to ſome melodious inſtrument.

CHAP. XVI.

In what forme of Poeſie the great Princes and dominators of the world were honored.

BVt as the bad and illawdable parts of all eſtates and degrees were taxed by the Poets in one ſort or an other, and thoſe of great Princes by Tragedie in eſpecial, (and not till after their deaths) as hath bene before remembred, to th'intent that ſuch exemplifying (as it were) of their blames and aduerſities, being now dead, might worke for a ſecret reprehenſion to others that were aliue, liuing in the ſame or like abuſes. So was it great reaſon that all good and vertuous perſons ſhould for their well doings be rewarded with commendation, and the great Princes aboue all others with honors and praiſes, being for many reſpects of greater moment, to haue them good and vertuous then any inferior ſort of men. Wherfore the Poets being in deede the trumpetters of all praiſe and alſo of ſlaunder (not ſlaunder, but well deſerued reproch) were in conſcience and credit bound next after the diuine praiſes of the immortall gods, to yeeld a like ratable honour to all ſuch amongſt men, as moſt reſembled the gods by excellencie of function, and had a certaine affinitie with them, by more then humane and ordinarie vertues ſhewed in their actions here vpon earth. They were therfore praiſed by a ſecond degree of laude: ſhewing their high eſtates, their Princely genealogies and pedegrees, mariages, aliances, and ſuch noble exploites, as they had done in th'affaires of peace and of warre to the benefit of their people and countries, by inuention of any noble ſcience, or profitable Art, or by making wholſome lawes or enlarging of their dominions by honorable and iuſt conqueſts, and many other wayes. Such perſonages among the Gentiles were *Bacchus*,

Ceres, *Perſeus*, *Hercules*, *Theſeus* and many other, who thereby came to be accompted gods and halfe gods or goddeſſes [*Heroes*] and had their commendations giuen by Hymne accordingly or by ſuch other poems as their memorie was therby made famous to the poſteritie for euer after, as ſhal be more at large ſayd in place conuenient. But firſt we will ſpeake ſomewhat of the playing places, and prouiſions which were made for their pageants and pomps repreſentatiue before remembred.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the places where their enterludes or poemes drammaticke vvere repreſented to the people.

AS it hath bene declared, the *Satyres* were firſt vttered in their hallowed places within the woods where they honoured their gods vnder the open heauen, becauſe they had no other houſing fit for great aſſemblies. The old comedies were plaid in the broad ſtreets vpon wagons or carts vncouered, which carts were floored with bords and made for remouable ſtages to paſſe from one ſtreete of their townes to another, where all the people might ſtand at their eaſe to gaze vpon the ſights. Their new comedies or ciuill enterludes were played in open pauilions or tents of linnen cloth or lether, halfe diſplayed that the people might ſee. Afterward when Tragidies came vp they deuiſed to preſent them upon ſcaffoldes or ſtages of timber, ſhadowed with linen or lether as the other, and theſe ſtages were made in the forme of a *Semicircle*, wherof the bow ſerued for the beholders to ſit in, and the ſtring or forepart was appointed for the floore or place where the players vttered, and had in it ſundrie little diuiſions by curteins as trauerſes to ſerue for ſeueral roomes where they might repaire vnto and change their garments and come in againe, as their ſpeaches and parts were to be renewed. Alſo there was place appointed for muſiciens to ſing or to play vpon their inſtrumentes at the end of euery ſcene, to the intent

the people might be refreſhed, and kept occupied. This maner of ſtage in halfe circle, the Greekes called *theatrum*, as much to ſay as a beholding place, which was alſo in ſuch ſort contriued by benches and greeces to ſtand or ſit vpon, as no man ſhould empeach anothers ſight. But as ciuilitie and withall wealth encreaſed, ſo did the minde of man growe dayly more haultie and ſuperfluous in all his deuiſes, ſo as for their *theaters* in halfe circle, they came to be by the great magnificence of the Romain princes and people ſomptuouſly built with marble and ſquare ſtone in forme all round, and were called *Amphitheaters*, whereof as yet appears one among the ancient ruines of Rome, built by *Pompeius Magnus*, for capaſitie able to receiue at eaſe fourſcore thouſand perſons as it is left written, and ſo curiouſly contriued as euery man might depart at his pleaſure, without any annoyance to other. It is alſo to be knowne that in thoſe great *Amphitheaters*, were exhibited all maner of other ſhewes and diſports for the people, as their fence playes, or digladiations of naked men, their wraſtlings, runnings, leapings and other practiſes of actiuitie and ſtrength, alſo their baitings of wild beaſts, as Elephants, Rhinoceros[es], Tigers, Leopards and others, which ſights much delighted the common people, and therefore the places required to be large and of great content.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Shepheards or paſtorall Poeſie called Eglogue, and to vvhat purpoſe it vvas firſt inuented and vſed.

Ome be of opinion, and the chiefe of thoſe who haue written in this Art among the Latines, that the paſtorall Poeſie which we commonly call by the name of *Eglogue* and *Bucolick*, a tearme brought in by the Sicilian Poets, ſhould be the firſt of any other, and before the *Satyre* comedie or tragedie, becauſe, ſay they, the ſhepheards and haywards aſſemblies and meetings when they kept their cattell and heards in the common fields and foreſts, was the firſt familiar con-

uerſation, and their babble and talk vnder buſhes and ſhadie trees, the firſt diſputation and contentious reaſoning, and their fleſhly heates growing of eaſe, the firſt idle wooings, and their ſongs made to their mates or paramours either vpon ſorrow or iolity of courage, the firſt amorous muſicks, ſometime alſo they ſang and played on their pipes for wagers, ſtriuing who ſhould get the beſt game, and be counted cunningeſt. All this I do agree vnto, for no doubt the ſhepheards life was the firſt example of honeſt felowſhip, their trade the firſt art of lawfull acquiſition or purchaſe, for at theſe daies robbery was a manner of purchaſe. So ſaith *Aristotle* in his bookes of the Politiques, and that paſturage was before tillage, or fiſhing or fowling, or any other predatory art or cheuiſance. And all this may be true, for before there was a ſhepheard keeper of his owne, or of ſome other bodies flocke, there was none owner in the world, quick cattel being the firſt property of any forreine poſſeſſion. I ſay forreine, becauſe alway men claimed property in their apparell and armour, and other like things made by their owne trauel and induſtry, nor thereby was there yet any good towne or city or Kings palace, where pageants and pompes might be ſhewed by Comedies or Tragedies. But for all this, I do deny that the *Eglogue* ſhould be the firſt and moſt auncient forme of artificiall Poeſie, being perſwaded that the Poet deuiſed the *Eglogue* long after the other *drammatick* poems, not of purpoſe to counterfait or repreſent the ruſticall manner of loues and communication: but vnder the vaile of homely perſons, and in rude ſpeeches to inſinuate and glaunce at greater matters, and ſuch as perchance had not bene ſafe to haue beene diſcloſed in any other ſort, which may be perceiued by the Eglogues of *Virgill*, in which are treated by figure matters of greater importance then the loues of *Titirus* and *Corydon*. Theſe Eglogues came after to containe and enforme morall diſcipline, for the amendment of mans behauiour, as be thoſe of *Mantuan* and other moderne Poets.

CHAP. XIX.

Of historicall Poesie, by which the famous acts of Princes and the vertuous and worthy liues of our forefathers were reported.

THere is nothing in man of all the potential parts of his mind (reason and will except) more noble or more necessary to the actiue life then memory: because it maketh most to a sound iudgement and perfect worldly wisedome, examining and comparing the times past with the present, and by them both considering the time to come, concludeth with a stedfast resolution, what is the best course to be taken in all his actions and aduices in this world: it came vpon this reason, experience to be so highly commended in all consultations of importance, and preferred before any learning or science, and yet experience is no more than a masse of memories assembled, that is, such trials as man hath made in time before. Right so no kinde of argument in all the Oratorie craft, doth better perswade and more vniuersally satisfie then example, which is but the representation of old memories, and like successes happened in times past. For these regards the Poesie historicall is of all other next the diuine most honorable and worthy, as well for the common benefit as for the speciall comfort euery man receiueth by it. No one thing in the world with more delectation reuiuing our spirits then to behold as it were in a glasse the liuely image of our deare forefathers, their noble and vertuous maner of life, with other things autentike, which because we are not able otherwise to attaine to the knowledge of, by any of our sences, we apprehend them by memory, whereas the present time and things so swiftly passe away, as they giue vs no leasure almost to looke into them, and much lesse to know and consider of them throughly. The things future, being also euents very vncertaine, and such as can not possibly be knowne because they be not yet, can not be vsed for example

nor for delight otherwiſe then by hope. Though many promiſe the contrary, by vaine and deceitfull arts taking vpon them to reueale the truth of accidents to come, which if it were ſo as they ſurmiſe, are yet but ſciences meerely coniecturall, and not of any benefit to man or to the common wealth, where they be vſed or profeſſed. Therefore the good and exemplarie things and actions of the former ages, were reſerued only to the hiſtoricall reportes of wiſe and graue men: thoſe of the preſent time left to the fruition and iudgement of our ſences: the future as hazards and incertaine euentes vtterly neglected and layd aſide for Magicians and mockers to get their liuings by: ſuch manner of men as by negligence of Magiſtrates and remiſſes of lawes euery countrie breedeth great ſtore of. Theſe hiſtorical men neuertheleſſe vſed not the matter ſo preciſely to wiſh that al they wrote ſhould be accounted true, for that was not needefull nor expedient to the purpoſe, namely to be vſed either for example or for pleaſure: conſidering that many times it is ſeene a fained matter or altogether fabulous, beſides that it maketh more mirth than any other, works no leſſe good concluſions for example then the moſt true and veritable: but often times more, becauſe the Poet hath the handling of them to faſhion at his pleaſure, but not ſo of th' other which muſt go according to their veritie and none otherwiſe without the writers great blame. Againe as ye know mo and more excellent examples may be fained in one day by a good wit, then many ages through mans frailtie are able to put in vre, which made the learned and wittie men of thoſe times to deuiſe many hiſtoricall matters of no veritie at all, but with purpoſe to do good and no hurt, as vſing them for a maner of diſcipline and preſident of commendable life. Such was the common wealth of *Plato*, and Sir *Thomas Moores Vtopia*, reſting all in deuiſe, but neuer put in execution, and eaſier to be wiſhed then to be performed. And you ſhall perceiue that hiſtories were of three ſortes, wholly true and wholly falſe, and a

third holding part of either, but for honeſt recreation, and good example they were all of them. And this may be apparant to vs not onely by the Poeticall hiſtories, but alſo by thoſe that be written in proſe: for as *Homer* wrate a fabulous or mixt report of the ſiege of Troy, and another of *Uliſſes* errors or wandrings, ſo did *Muſeus* compile a true treatiſe of the life and loues of *Leander* and *Hero*, both of them *Heroick*, and to none ill edification. Alſo as *Theucidides* wrate a worthy and veritable hiſtorie, of the warres betwixt the *Athenians* and the *Peloponeſes*: ſo did *Zenophon*, a moſt graue Philoſopher, and well trained courtier and counſellour make another (but fained and vntrue) of the childhood of *Cyrus* king of *Perſia*, neuertheles both to one effect, that is for example and good information of the poſteritie. Now becauſe the actions of meane and baſe perſonages, tend in very few caſes to any great good example: for who paſſeth to follow the ſteps, and maner of life of a craftes man, ſhepheard or ſailer, though he were his father or deareſt frend? yea how almoſt is it poſſible that ſuch maner of men ſhould be of any vertue other then their profeſſion requireth? Therefore was nothing committed to hiſtorie, but matters of great and excellent perſons and things that the ſame by irritation of good courages (ſuch as emulation cauſeth) might worke more effectually, which occaſioned the ſtory writer to chuſe an higher ſtile fit for his ſubiect, the Proſaicke in proſe, the Poet in meetre, and the Poets was by verſe exameter for his grauitie and ſtatelineſſe moſt allowable: neither would they intermingle him with any other ſhorter meaſure, vnleſſe it were in matters of ſuch qualitie, as became beſt to be ſong with the voyce, and to ſome muſicall inſtrument, as were with the Greeks, all your Hymnes and *Encomia* of *Pindarus* and *Callimachus*, not very hiſtories but a maner of hiſtoricall reportes in which caſes they made thoſe poemes in variable meaſures, and coupled a ſhort verſe with a long to ſerue that purpoſe the better, and we our ſelues who compiled this treatiſe

haue written for pleaſure a litle brief *Romance* or hiſtoricall ditty in the Engliſh tong of the Iſle of great *Britaine* in ſhort and long meetres, and by breaches or diuiſions to be more commodiouſly ſong to the harpe in places of aſſembly, where the company ſhalbe deſirous to heare of old aduentures and valiaunces of noble knights in times paſt, as are thoſe of king *Arthur* and his knights of the round table, Sir *Beuys* of *Southampton*, *Guy* of *Warwicke* and others like. Such as haue not premonition hereof, and conſideration of the cauſes alledged, would peraduenture reproue and diſgrace euery *Romance*, or ſhort hiſtoricall ditty for that they be not written in long meeters or verſes *Alexandrins*, according to the nature and ſtile of large hiſtories, wherin they ſhould do wrong for they be ſundry formes of poems and not all one.

CHAP. XX.

In what forme of Poeſie vertue in the inferiour ſort was commended.

IN euerie degree and ſort of men vertue is commendable, but not egally: not onely becauſe mens eſtates are vnegall, but for that alſo vertue it ſelfe is not in euery reſpect of egall value and eſtimation. For continence in a king is of greater merit, then in a carter, th'one hauing all opportunities to allure him to luſts, and abilitie to ſerue his appetites, th'other partly, for the baſeneſſe of his eſtate wanting ſuch meanes and occaſions, partly by dread of lawes more inhibited, and not ſo vehemently caried away with vnbridled affections, and therfore deſerue not in th'one and th'other like praiſe nor equall reward, by the very ordinarie courſe of diſtributiue iuſtice. Euen ſo parſimonie and illiberalitie are greater vices in a Prince then in a priuate perſon, and puſillanimitie and iniuſtice likewiſe: for to th'one, fortune hath ſupplied inough to maintaine them in the contrarie vertues, I meane, fortitude, iuſtice. liberalitie, and magnanimitie: the Prince hauing

all plentie to vſe largeſſe by, and no want or neede to driue him to do wrong. Alſo all the aides that may be to lift vp his courage, and to make him ſtout and feareleſſe (*augent animos fortunæ*) ſaith the *Mimiſt*, and very truly, for nothing pulleth downe a mans heart ſo much as aduerſitie and lacke. Againe in a meane man prodigalitie and pride are faultes more reprehenſible then in Princes, whoſe high eſtates do require in their countenance, ſpeech and expence, a certaine extraordinary, and their functions enforce them ſometime to exceede the limites of mediocritie not excuſable in a priuat perſon, whoſe manner of life and calling hath no ſuch exigence. Beſides the good and bad of Princes is more exemplarie, and thereby of greater moment then the priuate perſons. Therfore it is that the inferiour perſons, with their inferiour vertues haue a certaine inferiour praiſe, to guerdon their good with, and to comfort them to continue a laudable courſe in the modeſt and honeſt life and behauiour. But this lyeth not in written laudes ſo much as ordinary reward and commendation to be giuen them by the mouth of the ſuperiour magiſtrate. For hiſtories were not intended to ſo generall and baſe a purpoſe, albeit many a meane ſouldier and other obſcure perſons were ſpoken of and made famous in ſtories, as we finde of *Irus* the begger, and *Therſites* the glorious noddie, whom *Homer* maketh mention of. But that happened (and ſo did many like memories of meane men) by reaſon of ſome greater perſonage or matter that it was long of, which therefore could not be an vniuerſall caſe nor chaunce to euery other good and vertuous perſon of the meaner ſort. Wherefore the Poet in praiſing the maner of life or death of anie meane perſon, did it by ſome litle dittie or Epigram or Epitaph in fewe verſes and meane ſtile conformable to his ſubiect. So haue you how the immortall gods were praiſed by hymnes, the great Princes and heroicke perſonages by ballades of praiſe called *Encomia*, both of them by hiſtoricall reports of great grauitie and maieſtie, the inferiour perſons by other ſlight poemes.

CHAP. XXI.

The forme wherein honeſt and profitable Artes and ſciences were treated.

THe profitable ſciences were no leſſe meete to be imported to the greater number of ciuill men for inſtruction of the people and increaſe of knowledge, then to be reſerued and kept for clerkes and great men onely. So as next vnto the things hiſtoricall ſuch doctrines and arts as the common wealth fared the better by, were eſteemed and allowed. And the ſame were treated by Poets in verſe *Exameter* ſauouring the *Heroicall*, and for the grauitie and comelineſſe of the meetre moſt vſed with the Greekes and Latines to ſad purpoſes. Such were the Philoſophicall works of *Lucretius Carus* among the Romaines, the Aſtronomicall of *Aratus* and *Manilius*, one Greeke th'other Latine, the Medicinall of *Nicander*, and that of *Oprianus* of hunting and fiſhes, and many moe that were too long to recite in this place.

CHAP. XXII.

In what forme of Poeſie the amorous affections and allurements were vttered.

THe firſt founder of all good affections is honeſt loue, as the mother of all the vicious is hatred. It was not therefore without reaſon that ſo commendable, yea honourable a thing as loue well meant, were it in Princely eſtate or priuate, might in all ciuil common wealths be vttered in good forme and order as other laudable things are. And becauſe loue is of all other humane affections the moſt puiſſant and paſſionate, and moſt generall to all ſortes and ages of men and women, ſo as whether it be of the yong or old or wiſe or holy, or high eſtate or low, none euer could truly bragge of any exemption in that caſe: it requireth a forme of Poeſie variable, inconſtant, affected, curi-

ous and moſt witty of any others, whereof the ioyes were to be vttered in one ſorte, the ſorrowes in an other, and by the many formes of Poeſie, the many moodes and pangs of louers, throughly to be diſcouered: the poore ſoules ſometimes praying, beſeeching, ſometime honouring, auancing, praiſing: an other while railing, reuiling, and curſing: then ſorrowing, weeping, lamenting: in the ende laughing, reioyſing and ſolacing the beloued againe, with a thouſand delicate deuiſes, odes, ſongs, elegies, ballads, ſonets and other ditties, moouing one way and another to great compaſſion.

CHAP. XXIII.

The forme of Poeticall reioyſings.

Leaſure is the chiefe parte of mans felicity in this world, and alſo (as our Theologians ſay) in the world to come. Therefore while we may (yea alwaies if it coulde be) to reioyce and take our pleaſures in vertuous and honeſt ſort, it is not only allowable, but alſo neceſſary and very naturall to man. And many be the ioyes and conſolations of the hart: but none greater, than ſuch as he may vtter and diſcouer by ſome conuenient meanes: euen as to ſuppreſſe and hide a mans mirth, and not to haue therein a partaker, or at leaſt wiſe a witnes, is no little griefe and infelicity. Therfore nature and ciuility haue ordained (beſides the priuate ſolaces) publike reioiſings for the comfort and recreation of many. And they be of diuerſe ſorts and vpon diuerſe occaſions growne: one and the chiefe was for the publike peace of a countrie the greateſt of any other ciuill good. And wherein your Maieſtie (my moſt gracious Soueraigne) haue ſhewed your ſelfe to all the world for this one and thirty yeares ſpace of your glorious raigne, aboue all other Princes of Chriſtendome, not onely fortunate, but alſo moſt ſufficient vertuous and worthy of Empire. An other is for iuſt and honourable victory atchieued againſt the forraine enemy. A third at ſolemne feaſts and pompes of coronations

and enſtallments of honourable orders. An other for iollity at weddings and marriages. An other at the births of Princes children. An other for priuate entertainements in Court, or other ſecret diſports in chamber, and ſuch ſolitary places. And as theſe reioyſings tend to diuers effects, ſo do they alſo carry diuerſe formes and nominations: for thoſe of victorie and peace are called *Triumphall*, whereof we our ſelues haue heretofore giuen ſome example by our *Triumphals* written in honour of her Maieſties long peace. And they were vſed by the auncients in like manner, as we do our generall proceſſions or Letanies with bankets aad bonefires and all manner of ioyes. Thoſe that were to honour the perſons of great Princes or to ſolemniſe the pompes of any inſtallment were called *Encomia*, we may call them carols of honour. Thoſe to celebrate marriages were called ſongs nuptiall or *Epithalamies*, but in a certaine miſticall ſenſe as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. Others for magnificence at the natiuities of Princes children, or by cuſtome vſed yearely vpon the ſame dayes, are called ſongs natall or *Genethliaca*. Others for ſecret recreation and paſtime in chambers with company or alone were the ordinary Muſickes amorous, ſuch as might be ſong with voice or to the Lute, Citheron or Harpe, or daunced by meaſures as the Italian Pauan and galliard are at theſe daies in Princes Courts and other places of honourable or ciuill aſſembly, and of all theſe we will ſpeake in order and very briefly.

CHAP. XXIIII.

The forme of Poeticall lamentations.

LAmenting is altogether contrary to reioiſing, euery man ſaith ſo, and yet is it a peece of ioy to be able to lament with eaſe, and freely to poure forth a mans inward ſorrowes and the greefs wherewith his minde is ſurcharged. This was a very neceſſary deuiſe of the Poet and a fine, beſides his poetrie to play alſo

the Phiſitian, and not onely by applying a medicine to the ordinary ſicknes of mankind, but by making the very greef it ſelfe (in part) cure of the diſeaſe. Nowe are the cauſes of mans ſorrowes many: the death of his parents, frends, allies, and children: (though many of the barbarous nations do reioyce at their burials and ſorrow at their birthes) the ouerthrowes and diſcomforts in battell, the ſubuerſions of townes and cities, the deſolations of countreis, the loſſe of goods and worldly promotions, honour and good renowne: finally the trauails and torments of loue forlorne or ill beſtowed, either by diſgrace, deniall, delay, and twenty other wayes, that well experienced louers could recite. Such of theſe greefs as might be refrained or holpen by wiſedome, and the parties owne good endeuour, the Poet gaue none order to ſorrow them: for firſt as to the good renowne it is loſt, for the more part by ſome default of the owner, and may be by his well doings recouered againe. And if it be vniuſtly taken away, as by vntrue and famous libels, the offenders recantation may ſuffiſe for his amends: ſo did the Poet *Steſichorus*, as it is written of him in his *Palinodie* vpon the diſprayſe of *Helena*, and recouered his eye ſight. Alſo for worldly goods they come and go, as things not long proprietary to any body, and are not yet ſubiect vnto fortunes dominion ſo, but that we our ſelues are in great part acceſſarie to our own loſſes and hinderaunces, by ouerſight and miſguiding of our ſelues and our things, therefore why ſhould we bewaile our ſuch voluntary detriment? But death the irrecouerable loſſe, death the dolefull departure of frendes, that can neuer be recontinued by any other meeting or new acquaintance. Beſides our vncertaintie and ſuſpition of their eſtates and welfare in the places of their new abode, ſeemeth to carry a reaſonable pretext of iuſt ſorrow. Likewiſe the great ouerthrowes in battell and deſolations of countreys by warres, aſwell for the loſſe of many liues and much libertie as for that it toucheth the whole ſtate, and euery priuate

man hath his portion in the damage: Finally for loue, there is no frailtie in flesh and bloud so excusable as it, no comfort or discomfort greater then the good and bad successe thereof, nothing more naturall to man, nothing of more force to vanquish his will and to inuegle his iudgement. Therefore of death and burials, of th'aduersities by warres, and of true loue lost or ill bestowed, are th'onely sorrowes that the noble Poets sought by their arte to remoue or appease, not with any medicament of a contrary temper, as the *Galenistes* vse to cure [*contraria contrarijs*] but as the *Paracelsians*, who cure [*similia similibus*] making one dolour to expell another, and in this case, one short sorrowing the remedie of a long and grieuous sorrow. And the lamenting of deathes was chiefly at the very burialls of the dead, also at monethes mindes and longer times, by custome continued yearely, when as they vsed many offices of seruice and loue towardes the dead, and thereupon are called *Obsequies* in our vulgare, which was done not onely by cladding the mourners their friendes and seruauntes in blacke vestures, of shape dolefull and sad, but also by wofull countenaunces and voyces, and besides by Poeticall mournings in verse. Such funerall songs were called *Epicedia* if they were song by many, and *Monodia* if they were vttered by one alone, and this was vsed at the enterment of Princes and others of great accompt, and it was reckoned a great ciuilitie to vse such ceremonies, as at this day is also in some countrey vsed. In Rome they accustomed to make orations funerall and commendatorie of the dead parties in the publique place called *Procostris*: and our *Theologians*, in stead thereof vse to make sermons, both teaching the people some good learning, and also saying well of the departed. Those songs of the dolorous discomfits in battaile, and other desolations in warre, or of townes saccaged and subuerted, were song by the remnant of the army ouerthrowen, with great skrikings and outcries, holding the wrong end of their weapon vpwards in signe of sorrow

and diſpaire. The cities alſo made generall mournings and offred ſacrifices with Poeticall ſongs to appeaſe the wrath of the martiall gods and goddeſſes. The third ſorrowing was of loues, by long lamentation in *Elegie:* ſo was their ſong called, and it was in a pitious maner of meetre, placing a limping *Pentameter*, after a luſty *Exameter*, which made it go dolouroufly more then any other meeter.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the ſolemne reioyſings at the natiuitie of Princes children.

TO returne from ſorrow to reioyſing it is a very good hap and no vnwiſe part for him that can do it, I ſay therefore, that the comfort of iſſue and procreation of children is ſo naturall and ſo great, not onely to all men but ſpecially to Princes, as duetie and ciuilitie haue made it a common cuſtome to reioyſe at the birth of their noble children, and to keepe thoſe dayes hallowed and feſtiuall for euer once in the yeare, during the parentes or childrens liues: and that by publique order and conſent. Of which reioyſings and mirthes the Poet miniſtred the firſt occaſion honorable, by preſenting of ioyfull ſongs and ballades, prayſing the parentes by proofe, the child by hope, the whole kinred by report, and the day it ſelfe with wiſhes of all good ſucceſſe, long life, health and proſperitie for euer to the new borne. Theſe poemes were called in Greeke *Genetliaca*, with vs they may be called natall or birth ſongs.

CHAP. XXVI.

The maner of reioyſings at mariages and vveddings.

AS the conſolation of children well begotten is great, no leſſe but rather greater ought to be that which is occaſion of children, that is honorable matrimonie, a loue by al lawes allowed, not mutable nor encomb-

red with ſuch vaine cares and paſſions, as that other loue, whereof there is no aſſurance, but looſe and fickle affection occaſioned for the moſt part by ſodaine ſights and acquaintance of no long triall or experience, nor vpon any other good ground wherein any ſuretie may be conceiued: wherefore the Ciuill Poet could do no leſſe in conſcience and credit, then as he had before done to the ballade of birth: now with much better deuotion to celebrate by his poeme the chearefull day of mariages aſwell Princely as others, for that hath alwayes bene accompted with euery countrey and nation of neuer ſo barbarous people, the higheſt and holieſt, of any ceremonie apperteining to man: a match forſooth made for euer and not for a day, a ſolace prouided for youth, a comfort for age, a knot of alliance and amitie indiſſoluble: great reioyſing was therefore due to ſuch a matter and to ſo gladſome a time. This was done in ballade wiſe as the natall ſong, and was ſong very ſweetely by Muſitians at the chamber dore of the Bridegroome and Bride at ſuch times as ſhalbe hereafter declared and they were called *Epithalamies* as much to ſay as ballades at the bedding of the bride: for ſuch as were ſong at the borde at dinner or ſupper were other Muſickes and not properly *Epithalamies*. Here, if I ſhall ſay that which apperteineth to th'arte, and diſcloſe the miſterie of the whole matter, I muſt and doe with all humble reuerence beſpeake pardon of the chaſte and honorable eares, leaſt I ſhould either offend them with licentious ſpeach, or leaue them ignorant of the ancient guiſe in old times vſed at weddings (in my ſimple opinion) nothing reproueable. This *Epithalamie* was deuided by breaches into three partes to ſerue for three ſeuerall ſits or times to be ſong. The firſt breach was ſong at the firſt parte of the night when the ſpouſe and her husband were brought to their bed and at the very chamber dore, where in a large vtter roome vſed to be (beſides the muſitiens) good ſtore of ladies or gentlewomen of their kinſefolkes, and others who came to honor the mariage, and the tunes

of the ſongs were very loude and ſhrill, to the intent there might no noiſe be hard out of the bed chamber by the skreeking and outcry of the young damoſell feeling the firſt forces of her ſtiffe and rigorous young man, ſhe being as all virgins tender and weake, and vnexpert in thoſe maner of affaires. For which purpoſe alſo they vſed by old nurſes (appointed to that ſeruice) to ſuppreſſe the noiſe by caſting of pottes full of nuttes round about the chamber vpon the hard floore or pauement, for they vſed no mattes nor ruſhes as we doe now. So as the Ladies and gentlewomen ſhould haue their eares ſo occupied what with Muſicke, and what with their handes wantonly ſcambling and catching after the nuttes, that they could not intend to harken after any other thing. This was as I ſaid to diminiſh the noiſe of the laughing lamenting ſpouſe. The tenour of that part of the ſong was to congratulate the firſt acquaintance and meeting of the young couple, allowing of their parents good diſcretions in making the match, then afterward to ſound cherfully to the onſet and firſt encounters of that amorous battaile, to declare the comfort of children, and encreaſe of loue by that meane cheifly cauſed : the bride ſhewing her ſelf euery waies well diſpoſed and ſtill ſupplying occaſions of new luſtes and loue to her busband, by her obedience and amorous embracings and all other allurementes. About midnight or one of the clocke, the Muſicians came again to the chamber dore (all the Ladies and other women as they were of degree, hauing taken their leaue, and being gone to their reſt.) This part of the ballade was to refreſh the faint and weried bodies and ſpirits, and to animate new appetites with cherefull wordes, encoraging them to the recontinuance of the ſame entertainments, praiſing and commending (by ſuppoſall) the good conformities of them both, and their deſire one to vanquiſh the other by ſuch frendly conflictes : alledging that the firſt embracementes neuer bred barnes, by reaſon of their ouermuch affection and heate, but onely made paſſage for children and en-

forced greater liking to the late made match. That the ſecond aſſaultes, were leſſe rigorous, but more vigorous and apt to auance the purpoſe of procreation, that therefore they ſhould perſiſt in all good appetite with an inuincible courage to the end. This was the ſecond part of the *Epithalamie.* In the morning when it was faire broad day, and that by liklyhood all tournes were ſufficiently ſerued, the laſt actes of the enterlude being ended, and that the bride muſt within few hours ariſe and apparrell her ſelfe, no more as a virgine, but as a wife, and about dinner time muſt by order come forth *Sicut ſponſa de thalamo*, very demurely and ſtately to be ſene and acknowledged of her parents and kinsfolkes whether ſhe were the ſame woman or a changeling, or dead or aliue, or maimed by any accident nocturnall. The ſame Muſicians came againe with this laſt part, and greeted them both with a Pſalme of new applauſions, for that they had either of them ſo well behaued them ſelues that night, the husband to rob his ſpouſe of her maidenhead and ſaue her life, the bride ſo luſtely to ſatisfie her husbandes loue and ſcape with ſo litle daunger of her perſon, for which good chaunce that they ſhould make a louely truce and abſtinence of that warre till next night ſealing the placard of that louely league, with twentie maner of ſweet kiſſes, then by good admonitions enformed them to the frugall and thriftie life all the reſt of their dayes. The good man getting and bringing home, the wife ſauing that which her huſband ſhould get, therewith to be the better able to keepe good hoſpitalitie, according to their eſtates, and to bring vp their children, (if God ſent any) vertuouſly, and the better by their owne good example. Finally to perſeuer all the reſt of their life in true and inuiolable wedlocke. This ceremony was omitted when men maried widowes or ſuch as had taſted the frutes of loue before, (we call them well experienced young women) in whom there was no feare of daunger to their perſons, or of any outcry at all, at the time of thoſe terrible approches. Thus much touching the

vſage of *Epithalamie* or bedding ballad of the ancient times, in which if there were any wanton or laſciuious matter more then ordinarie which they called *Ficenina licentia* it was borne withal for that time becauſe of the matter no leſſe requiring. *Catullus* hath made of them one or two very artificiall and ciuil: but none more excellent then of late yeares a young noble man of Germanie as I take it *Iohannes ſecundus* who in that and in his poeme *De baſis*, paſſeth any of the auncient or moderne Poetes in my iudgment.

CHAP. XXVII.

The manner of Poeſie by which they vttered their bitter taunts, and priuy nips, or witty ſcoffes and other merry conceits.

Vt all the world could not keepe, nor any ciuill ordinance to the contrary ſo preuaile, but that men would and muſt needs vtter their ſplenes in all ordinarie matters alſo: or elſe it ſeemed their bowels would burſt, therefore the poet deuiſed a prety faſhioned poeme ſhort and ſweete (as we are wont to ſay) and called it *Epigramma* in which euery mery conceited man might without any long ſtudie or tedious ambage, make his frend ſport, and anger his foe, and giue a prettie nip, or ſhew a ſharpe conceit in few verſes: for this *Epigramme* is but an inſcription or writting made as it were vpon a table, or in a windowe, or vpon the wall or mantell of a chimney in ſome place of common reſort, where it was allowed euery man might come, or be ſitting to chat and prate, as now in our tauernes and common tabling houſes, where many merry heades meete, and ſcrible with ynke, with chalke, or with a cole ſuch matters as they would euery man ſhould know, and deſcant vpon. Afterward the ſame came to be put in paper and in bookes, and vſed as ordinarie miſſiues, ſome of frendſhip, ſome of defiaunce, or as other meſſages of mirth: *Martiall* was the cheife of this skil among the Latines, and at theſe days the beſt Epigrammes we

finde, and of the ſharpeſt conceit are thoſe that haue bene gathered among the reliques of the two muet *Satyres* in Rome, *Paſquill* and *Marphorir*, which in time of *Sede vacante*, when merry conceited men lifted to gibe and ieſt at the dead Pope, or any of his Cardinales, they faſtened them vpon thoſe Images which now lie in the open ſtreets, and were tollerated, but after that terme expired they were inhibited againe. Theſe inſcriptions or Epigrammes at their begining had no certaine author that would auouch them, ſome for feare of blame, if they were ouer ſaucy or ſharpe, others for modeſtie of the writer as was that *diſticke* of *Virgil* which he ſet vpon the pallace gate of the emperour *Auguſtus*, which I will recite for the breifnes and quicknes of it, and alſo for another euente that fell out vpon the mater worthy to be remembred. Theſe were the verſes.

Nocte pluit tota, redeunt ſpectacula mane
Diuiſum imperium cum Ioue Cæſar habet.

Which I haue thus Engliſhed,

It raines all night, early the ſhewes returne
God and Cæſar, do raigne and rule by turne.

As much to ſay, God ſheweth his power by the night raines. Cæſar his magnificence by the pompes of the day.

Theſe two verſes were very well liked, and brought to th'Emperours Maieſtie, who tooke great pleaſure in them, and willed the author ſhould be knowen. A ſauſie courtier profered him ſelfe to be the man, and had a good reward giuen him: for the Emperour him ſelf was not only learned, but of much munificence toward all learned men: whereupon *Virgill* ſeing him ſelf by his ouermuch modeſtie defrauded of the reward, that an impudent had gotten by abuſe of his merit, came the next night, and faſtened vpon the ſame place this halfe metre, foure times iterated. Thus.

Sic vos non vobis
Sic vos non vobis
Sic vos non vobis
Sic vos non vobis

And there it remained a great while becauſe no man wiſt what it meant, till *Virgill* opened the whole fraude by this deuiſe. He wrote aboue the ſame halfe metres this whole verſe *Exameter.*

Hos ego verſiculos feci tulit alter honores.

And then finiſhed the foure half metres, thus.

Sic vos non vobis *Fertis aratra boues*
Sic vos non vobis *Vellera fertis oues*
Sic vos non vobis *Mellificatis apes*
Sic vos non vobis *Indificatis aues.*

And put to his name *Publius Virgilius Maro.* This matter came by and by to Th'emperours eare, who taking great pleaſure in the deuiſe called for *Virgill*, and gaue him not onely a preſent reward, with a good allowance of dyet a bonche in court as we vſe to call it: but alſo held him for euer after vpon larger triall he had made of his learning and vertue in ſo great reputation, as he vouchſafed to giue him the name of a frend (*amicus*) which among the Romanes was ſo great an honour and ſpeciall ſauour, as all ſuch perſons were allowed to the Emperours table, or to the Senatours who had receiued them (as frendes) and they were the only men that came ordinarily to their boords, and ſolaced with them in their chambers, and gardins when none other could be admitted.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the poeme called Epitaph vſed for memoriall of the dead.

N Epitaph is but a kind of Epigram only applied to the report of the dead perſons eſtate and degree, or of his other good or bad partes, to his commendation or reproch: and is an inſcription ſuch as a man may commodiouſly write or engraue vpon a tombe in few verſes, pithie, quicke and ſententious for the paſſer by to peruſe, and iudge vpon without any long tariaunce: So as if it exceede the meaſure of an Epigram, it is then (if the verſe be correſpondent) rather an Elegie

then an Epitaph which errour many of theſe baſtard rimers commit, becauſe they be not learned, nor (as we are wont to ſay) catſtes [craſtes?] maſters, for they make long and tedious diſcourſes, and write them in large tables to be hanged vp in Churches and chauncells ouer the tombes of great men and others, which be ſo exceeding long as one muſt haue halfe a dayes leaſure to reade one of them, and muſt be called away before he come halfe to the end, or elſe be locked into the Church by the Sexten as I my ſelfe was once ſerued reading an Epitaph in a certain cathedrall Church of England. They be ignorant of poeſie that call ſuch long tales by the name of Epitaphes, they might better call them Elegies, as I ſaid before, and then ought neither to be engrauen nor hanged vp in tables. I haue ſeene them neuertheles vpon many honorable tombes of theſe late times erected, which doe rather diſgrace then honour either the matter or maker.

CHAP. XXIX.

A certaine auncient forme of poeſie by which men did vſe to reproch their enemies.

AS frendes be a rich and ioyfull poſſeſſion, ſo be foes a continuall torment and canker to the minde of man, and yet there is no poſſible meane to auoide this inconuenience, for the beſt of vs all, and he that thinketh he liues moſt blameleſſe, liues not without enemies, that enuy him for his good parts, or hate him for his euill. There be wiſe men, and of them the great learned man *Plutarch* tooke vpon them to perſwade the benefite that men receiue by their enemies, which though it may be true in manner of *Paradoxe*, yet I finde mans frailtie to be naturally ſuch, and alwayes hath beene, that he cannot conceiue it in his owne caſe, nor ſhew that patience and moderation in ſuch greifs, as becommeth the man perfite and accompliſht in all vertue: but either in deede or by word, he will ſeeke reuenge againſt them that malice him, or practiſe his harmes,

ſpecially ſuch foes as oppoſe themſelues to a mans loues. This made the auncient Poetes to inuent a meane to rid the gall of all ſuch Vindicatiue men: ſo as they might be a wrecked of their wrong, and neuer bely their enemie with ſlaunderous vntruthes. And this was done by a maner of imprecation, or as we call it by curſing and banning of the parties, and wiſhing all euill to a light vpon them, and though it neuer the ſooner happened, yet was it great eaſment to the boiling ſtomacke: They were called *Diræ*, ſuch as *Virgill* made ag[a]inſt *Battarus*, and *Ouide* againſt *Ibis:* we Chriſtians are for bidden to vſe ſuch vncharitable faſhions, and willed to referre all our reuenges to God alone.

CHAP. XXX.
Of ſhort Epigrames called Poſies.

Here be alſo other like Epigrammes that were ſent vſually for new yeares giftes or to be Printed or put vpon their banketting diſhes of ſuger plate, or of march paines, and ſuch other dainty meates as by the curteſie and cuſtome euery geſt might carry from a common feaſt home with him to his owne houſe, and were made for the nonce, they were called *Nenia* or *apophoreta*, and neuer contained aboue one verſe, or two at the moſt, but the ſhorter the better, we call them Poſies, and do paint them now a dayes vpon the backe ſides of our fruite trenchers of wood, or vſe them as deuiſes in rings and armes and about ſuch courtly purpoſes. So haue we remembred and ſet forth to your Maieſtie very briefly, all the commended fourmes of the auncient Poeſie, which we in our vulgare makings do imitate and vſe vnder theſe common names: enterlude, ſong, ballade, carroll and ditty: borrowing them alſo from the French al ſauing this word (ſong) which is our naturall Saxon Engliſh word. The reſt, ſuch as time and vſurpation by cuſtome haue allowed vs out of the primitiue Greeke and Latine, as Comedie, Tragedie, Ode, Epitaphe, Elegie, Epigramme, and other moe.

And we haue purpofely omitted all nice or fcholafticall curiofities not meete for your Maiefties contemplation in this our vulgare arte, and what we haue written of the auncient formes of Poemes, we haue taken from the beft clerks writing in the fame arte. The part that next followeth to wit of proportion, becaufe the Greeks nor Latines neuer had it in vfe nor made any obferuation, no more then we doe of their feete, we may truly affirme, to haue bene the firft deuifers thereof our felues, as αὐτοδίδακτοι, and not to haue borrowed it of any other by learning or imitation, and thereby trufting to be holden the more excufable if any thing in this our labours happen either to miflike, or to come fhort of th'authors purpofe, becaufe commonly the firft attempt in any arte or engine artificiall is amendable, and in time by often experiences reformed. And fo no doubt may this deuife of ours be, by others that fhall take the penne in hand after vs.

CHAP. XXXI.

Who in any age haue bene the moft commended writers in our Englifh Poefie, and the Authors cenfure giuen vpon them.

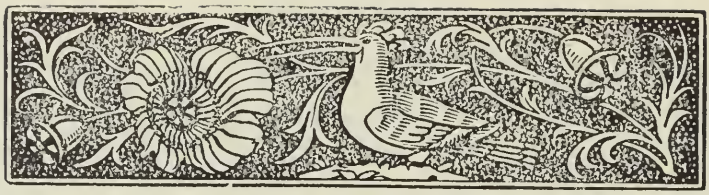
IT appeareth by fundry records of bookes both printed and written, that many of our countreymen haue painfully trauelled in this part: of whofe works fome appeare to be but bare tranflations, other fome matters of their owne inuention and very commendable, whereof fome recitall fhall be made in this place, to th'intent chiefly that their names fhould not be defrauded of fuch honour as feemeth due to them for hauing by their thankefull ftudies fo much beautified our Englifh tong, as at this day it will be found our nation is in nothing inferiour to the French or Italian for copie of language, fubtiltie of deuice, good method and proportion in any forme of poeme, but that they may compare with the moft, and perchance paffe a great many of them. And I will not reach aboue the

time of king *Edward* the third, and *Richard* the ſecond for any that wrote in Engliſh meeter: becauſe before their times by reaſon of the late Normane conqueſt, which had brought into this Realme much alteration both of our langage and lawes, and there withall a certain martiall barbarouſnes, whereby the ſtudy of all good learning was ſo much decayd, as long time after no man or very few entended to write in any laudable ſcience: ſo as beyond that time there is litle or nothing worth commendation to be founde written in this arte. And thoſe of the firſt age were *Chaucer* and *Gower* both of them as I ſuppoſe Knightes. After whom followed *Iohn Lydgate* the monke of Bury, and that nameles, who wrote the *Satyre* called Piers Plowman, next him followed *Harding* the Chronicler, then in king *Henry* th' eight times *Skelton*, (I wot not for what great worthines) ſurnamed the Poet *Laureat*. In the latter end of the ſame kings raigne ſprong vp a new company of courtly makers, of whom Sir *Thomas Wyat* th'elder and *Henry* Earle of Surrey were the two chieftaines, who hauing trauailed into Italie, and there taſted the ſweete and ſtately meaſures and ſtile of the Italian Poeſie as nouices newly crept out of the ſchooles of *Dante Arioſte* and *Petrarch*, they greatly polliſhed our rude and homely maner of vulgar Poeſie, from that it had bene before, and for that cauſe may iuſtly be ſayd the firſt reformers of our Engliſh meetre and ſtile. In the ſame time or not long after was the Lord *Nicholas Vaux*, a man of much facilitie in vulgar makings. Afterward in king *Edward* the ſixths time came to be in reputation for the ſame facultie *Thomas Sternehold*, who firſt tranſlated into Engliſh certaine Pſalmes of Dauid, and *Iohn Hoywood* the Epigrammatiſt who for the myrth and quickneſſe of his conceits more then for any good learning was in him came to be well benefited by the king. But the principall man in this profeſſion at the ſame time was Maiſter *Edward Ferrys* a man of no leſſe mirth and felicitie that way, but of much more skil, and magnificence in his meeter, and therefore wrate

for the moſt part to the ſtage, in Tragedie and ſometimes in Comedie or Enterlude, wherein he gaue the king ſo much good recreation, as he had thereby many good rewardes. In Queenes *Maries* time floriſhed aboue any other Doctour *Phaer* one that was well learned and excellently well tranſlated into Engliſh verſe Heroicall certaine bookes of *Virgils Æneidos.* Since him followed Maiſter *Arthure Golding*, who with no leſſe commendation turned into Engliſh meetre the Metamorphoſis of *Ouide*, and that other Doctour, who made the ſupplement to thoſe bookes of *Virgils Æneidos*, which Maiſter *Phaer* left vndone. And in her Maieſties time that now is are ſprong vp an other crew of Courtly makers Noble men and Gentlemen of her Maieſties owne ſeruauntes, who haue written excellently well as it would appeare if their doings could be found out and made publicke with the reſt, of which number is firſt that noble Gentleman *Edward* Earle of Oxford. *Thomas* Lord of Bukhurſt, when he was young, *Henry* Lord Paget, Sir *Philip Sydney*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Maſter *Edward Dyar*, Maiſter *Fulke Greuell*, *Gaſcon*, *Britton*, *Turberuille* and a great many other learned Gentlemen, whoſe names I do not omit for enuie, but to auoyde tedioufneſſe, and who haue deſerued no little commendation. But of them all particularly this is myne opinion, that *Chaucer*, with *Gower*, *Lidgat* and *Harding* for their antiquitie ought to haue the firſt place, and *Chaucer* as the moſt renowmed of them all, for the much learning appeareth to be in him aboue any of the reſt. And though many of his bookes be but bare tranſlations out of the Latin and French, yet are they wel handled, as his bookes of *Troilus* and *Creſſeid*, and the Romant of the Roſe, whereof he tranſlated but one halfe, the deuice was *Iohn de Mehunes* a French Poet, the Canterbury tales were *Chaucers* owne inuention as I ſuppoſe, and where he ſheweth more the naturall of his pleaſant wit, then in any other of his workes, his ſimilitudes compariſons and all other deſcriptions are ſuch as can not be amended. His

meetre Heroicall of *Troilus* and *Creſſeid* is very graue and ſtately, keeping the ſtaffe of ſeuen, and the verſe of ten, his other verſes of the Canterbury tales be but riding ryme, neuertheleſſe very well becomming the matter of that pleaſaunt pilgrimage in which euery mans part is playd with much decency. *Gower* ſauing for his good and graue moralities, had nothing in him highly to be commended, for his verſe was homely and without good meaſure, his wordes ſtrained much deale out of the French writers, his ryme wreſted, and in his inuentions ſmall ſubtillitie: the applications of his moralities are the beſt in him, and yet thoſe many times very groſſely beſtowed, neither doth the ſubſtance of his workes ſufficiently aunſwere the ſubtilitie of his titles. *Lydgat* a tranſlatour onely and no deuiſer of that which he wrate, but one that wrate in good verſe. *Harding* a Poet Epick or Hiſtoricall, handled himſelfe well according to the time and maner of his ſubiect. He that wrote the Satyr of Piers Ploughman, ſeemed to haue bene a malcontent of that time, and therefore bent himſelfe wholy to taxe the diſorders of that age, and ſpecially the pride of the Romane Clergy, of whoſe fall he ſeemeth to be a very true Prophet, his verſe is but looſe meetre, and his termes hard and obſcure, ſo as in them is litle pleaſure to be taken. *Skelton* a ſharpe Satiriſt, but with more rayling and ſcoffery then became a Poet Lawreat, ſuch among the Greekes were called *Pantomimi*, with vs Buffons, altogether applying their wits to Scurrillities and other ridiculous matters. *Henry* Earle of Surrey and Sir *Thomas Wyat*, betweene whom I finde very litle difference, I repute them (as before) for the two chief lanternes of light to all others that haue ſince employed their pennes vpon Engliſh Poeſie, their conceits were loftie, their ſtiles ſtately, their conueyance cleanely, their termes proper, their meetre ſweete and well proportioned, in all imitating very naturally and ſtudiouſly their Maiſter *Francis Petrarcha*. The Lord *Vaux* his commendation lyeth chiefly in the facilitie of his meetre, and the aptneſſe

of his deſcriptions ſuch as he taketh vpon him to make, namely in ſundry of his Songs, wherein he ſheweth the counterfait action very liuely and pleaſantly. Of the later ſort I thinke thus. That for Tragedie, the Lord of Buckhurſt, and Maiſter *Edward Ferrys* for ſuch doings as I haue ſene of theirs do deſerue the hyeſt price: Th'Earle of Oxford and Maiſter *Edwardes* of her Maieſties Chappell for Comedy and Enterlude. For Eglogue and paſtorall Poeſie, Sir *Philip Sydney* and Maiſter *Challenner*, and that other Gentleman who wrate the late ſhepheardes Callender. For dittie and amourous *Ode* I finde Sir *Walter Rawleyghs* vayne moſt loftie, inſolent, and paſſionate. Maiſter *Edward Dyar*, for Elegie moſt ſweete, ſolempne and of high conceit. *Gaſcon* for a good meeter and for a plentifull vayne. *Phaer* and *Golding* for a learned and well corrected verſe, ſpecially in tranſlation cleare and very faithfully anſwering their authours intent. Others haue alſo written with much facillitie, but more commendably perchance if they had not written ſo much nor ſo popularly. But laſt in recitall and firſt in degree is the Queene our ſoueraigne Lady, whoſe learned, delicate, noble Muſe, eaſily ſurmounteth all the reſt that haue written before her time or ſince, for ſence, ſweetneſſe and ſubtillitie, be it in Ode, Elegie, Epigram, or any other kinde of poeme Heroick or Lyricke, wherein it ſhall pleaſe her Maieſtie to employ her penne, euen by as much oddes as her owne excellent eſtate and degree exceedeth all the reſt of her moſt humble vaſſalls.



THE SECOND BOOKE,

OF PROPORTION POETICALL.

CHAP. I.
Of Proportion Poeticall.

IT is ſaid by ſuch as profeſſe the Mathematicall ſciences, that all things ſtand by proportion, and that without it nothing could ſtand to be good or beautiful. The Doctors of our Theologie to the ſame effect, but in other termes, ſay: that God made the world by number, meaſure and weight: ſome for weight ſay tune, and peraduenture better. For weight is a kind of meaſure or of much conueniencie with it: and therefore in their deſcriptions be alwayes coupled together *(ſtatica et metrica)* weight and meaſures. Hereupon it ſeemeth the Philoſopher gathers a triple proportion, to wit, the Arithmeticall, the Geometricall, and the Muſicall. And by one of theſe three is euery other proportion guided of the things that haue conueniencie by relation, as the viſible by light colour and ſhadow: the audible by ſtirres, times and accents: the odorable by ſmelles of ſundry temperaments: the taſtible by ſauours to the rate: the tangible by his obiectes in this

or that regard. Of all which we leaue to ſpeake, returning to our poeticall proportion, which holdeth of the Muſical, becauſe as we ſayd before Poeſie is a skill to ſpeake and write harmonically: and verſes or rime be a kind of Muſicall vtterance, by reaſon of a certaine congruitie in ſounds pleaſing the eare, though not perchance ſo exquiſitely as the harmonicall concents of the artificial Muſicke, conſiſting in ſtrained tunes, as is the vocall Muſike, or that of melodious inſtruments, as Lutes, Harpes, Regals, Records and ſuch like. And this our proportion Poeticall reſteth in fiue points: Staffe, Meaſure, Concord, Scituation and figure all which ſhall be ſpoken of in their places.

CHAP. II.
Of proportion in Staffe.

Taffe in our vulgare Poeſie I know not why it ſhould be ſo called, vnleſſe it be for that we vnderſtand it for a bearer or ſupporter of a ſong or ballad, not vnlike the old weake bodie, that is ſtayed vp by his ſtaffe, and were not otherwiſe able to walke or to ſtand vpright. The Italian called it *Stanza*, as if we ſhould ſay a reſting place: and if we conſider well the forme of this Poeticall ſtaffe, we ſhall finde it to be a certaine number of verſes allowed to go altogether and ioyne without any intermiſſion, and doe or ſhould finiſh vp all the ſentences of the ſame with a full period, vnleſſe it be in ſom ſpecial caſes, and there to ſtay till another ſtaffe follow of like ſort: and the ſhorteſt ſtaffe conteineth not vnder foure verſes, nor the longeſt aboue ten, if it paſſe that number it is rather a whole ditty then properly a ſtaffe. Alſo for the more part the ſtaues ſtand rather vpon the euen nomber of verſes then the odde, though there be of both ſorts. The firſt proportion then of a ſtaffe is by *quadrien* or foure verſes. The ſecond of fiue verſes, and is ſeldome vſed. The third by *ſizeine* or ſixe verſes, and is not only moſt vſual, but alſo very pleaſant to th'eare.

The fourth is in ſeuen verſes, and is the chiefe of our ancient proportions vſed by any rimer writing any thing of hiſtorical or graue poeme, as ye may ſee in *Chaucer* and *Lidgate* th'one writing the loues of *Troylus* and *Creſſeida*, th'other of the fall of Princes: both by them tranſlated not deuiſed. The firſt [fifth?] proportion is of eight verſes very ſtately and *Heroicke*, and which I like better then that of ſeuen, becauſe it receaueth better band. The ſixt is of nine verſes, rare but very graue. The ſeuenth proportion is of tenne verſes, very ſtately, but in many mens opinion too long: neuertheleſſe of very good grace and much grauitie. Of eleuen and twelue I find none ordinary ſtaues vſed in any vulgar language, neither doth it ſerue well to continue any hiſtoricall report and ballade, or other ſong: but is a dittie of it ſelf, and no ſtaffe, yet ſome moderne writers haue vſed it but very ſeldome. Then laſt of all haue ye a proportion to be vſed in the number of your ſtaues, as to a caroll and a ballade, to a ſong, and a round, or virelay. For to an hiſtoricall poeme no certain number is limited, but as the matter fals out: alſo a *diſtick* or couple of verſes is not to be accompted a ſtaffe, but ſerues for a continuance as we ſee in Elegie, Epitaph, Epigramme or ſuch mcetres, of plaine concord not harmonically entertangled, as ſome other ſongs of more delicate muſick be.

A ſtaffe of foure verſes containeth in it ſelfe matter ſufficient to make a full periode or complement of ſence, though it doe not alwayes ſo, and therefore may go by diuiſions.

A ſtaffe of fiue verſes, is not much vſed becauſe he that can not comprehend his periode in foure verſes, will rather driue it into ſix then leaue it in fiue, for that the euen number is more agreable to the eare then the odde is.

A ſtaffe of ſixe verſes, is very pleaſant to the eare, and alſo ſerueth for a greater complement then the inferiour ſtaues, which maketh him more commonly to be vſed.

A ſtaffe of ſeuen verſes, moſt vſuall with our auncient makers, alſo the ſtaffe of eight, nine and ten of larger complement then the reſt, are onely vſed by the later makers, and vnleſſe they go with very good bande, do not ſo well as the inferiour ſtaues. Therefore if ye make your ſtaffe of eight, by two ſowers not entertangled, it is not a huitaine or a ſtaffe of eight, but two quadreins, ſo is it in ten verſes, not being entertangled they be but two ſtaues of fiue.

CHAP. III.
Of proportion in meaſure.

Eeter and meaſure is all one, for what the Greekes called μετρον, the Latines call *Menſura*, and is but the quantitie of a verſe, either long or ſhort. This quantitie with them conſiſteth in the number of their feete: and with vs in the number of ſillables, which are comprehended in euery verſe, not regarding his feete, otherwiſe then that we allow in ſcanning our verſe, two ſillables to make one ſhort portion (ſuppoſe it a foote) in euery verſe. And after that ſort ye may ſay, we haue feete in our vulgare rymes, but that is improperly: for a foote by his ſence naturall is a member of office and function, and ſerueth to three purpoſes, that is to ſay, to go, to runne, and to ſtand ſtill: ſo as he muſt be ſometimes ſwift, ſometimes ſlow, ſometime vnegally marching or peraduenture ſteddy. And if our feete Poeticall want theſe qualities it can not be ſayd a foote in ſence tranſlatiue as here. And this commeth to paſſe, by reaſon of the euident motion and ſtirre, which is perceiued in the ſounding of our wordes not alwayes egall: for ſome aske longer, ſome ſhorter time to be vttered in, and ſo by the Philoſophers definition, ſtirre is the true meaſure of time. The Greekes and Latines becauſe their wordes hapned to be of many ſillables, and very few of one ſillable, it fell out right with them to conceiue and alſo to perceiue, a notable diuerſitie of motion and times in the pronuntiation of their wordes,

and therefore to euery *biſſillable* they allowed two times, and to a *triſſilable* three times, and to euery *poliſillable* more, according to his quantitie, and their times were ſome long, ſome ſhort according as their motions were ſlow or ſwift. For the ſound of ſome ſillable ſtayd the eare a great while, and others ſlid away ſo quickly, as if they had not bene pronounced, then euery ſillable being allowed one time, either ſhort or long, it fell out that euery *tretraſillable* had foure times, euery *triſſillable* three, and the *biſſillable* two, by which obſeruation euery word, not vnder that ſiſe, as he ranne or ſtood in a verſe, was called by them a foote of ſuch and ſo many times, namely the *biſſillable* was either of two long times as the *ſpondeus*, or two ſhort, as the *pirchius*, or of a long and a ſhort as the *trocheus*, or of a ſhort and a long as the *iambus:* the like rule did they ſet vpon the word *triſſillable*, calling him a foote of three times: as the *dactilus* of a long and two ſhort: the *molloſſus* of three long, the *tribracchus* of three ſhort, the *amphibracchus* of two long and a ſhort, the *amphimacer* of two ſhort and a long. The word of foure ſillables they called a foote of foure times, ſome or all of them, either long or ſhort: and yet not ſo content they mounted higher, and becauſe their wordes ſerued well thereto, they made feete of ſixe times: but this proceeded more of curioſitie, then otherwiſe: for whatſoeuer foote paſſe the *triſſiliable* is compounded of his inferiour as euery number Arithmeticall aboue three, is compounded of the inferiour number as twiſe two make foure, but the three is made of one number, videl. of two and an vnitie. Now becauſe our naturall and primitiue language of the *Saxon Engliſh*, beares not any wordes (at leaſt very few) of moe ſillables then one (for whatſoeuer we ſee exceede, commeth to vs by the alterations of our language growen vpon many conqueſtes and otherwiſe) there could be no ſuch obſeruation of times in the ſound of our wordes, and for that cauſe we could not haue the feete which the Greeks and Latines haue in their meetres: but of this ſtirre and motion of their deuiſed

feete, nothing can better ſhew the qualitie then theſe runners at common games, who ſetting forth from the firſt goale, one giueth the ſtart ſpeedely and perhaps before he come half way to th'other goale, decayeth his pace, as a man weary and fainting : another is ſlow at the ſtart, but by amending his pace keepes euen with his fellow or perchance gets before him : another one while gets ground, another while loſeth it again, either in the beginning, or middle of his race, and ſo proceedes vnegally ſometimes ſwift ſomtimes ſlow as his breath or forces ſerue him : another ſort there be that plod on, and will neuer change their pace, whether they win or loſe the game : in this maner doth the Greeke *dactilus* begin ſlowly and keepe on ſwifter till th'end, for his race being deuided into three parts, he ſpends one, and that is the firſt ſlowly, the other twaine ſwiftly : the *anapeſtus* his two firſt parts ſwiftly, his laſt ſlowly : the *Moloſſus* ſpends all three parts of his race ſlowly and egally. *Bacchius* his firſt part ſwiftly, and two laſt parts ſlowly. The *tribrachus* all his three parts ſwiftly : the *antibacchius* his two firſt partes ſlowly, his laſt and third ſwiftly : the *amphimacer*, his firſt and laſt part ſlowly and his middle part ſwiftly : the *amphibracus* his firſt and laſt parts ſwiftly but his midle part ſlowly, and ſo of others by like proportion. This was a pretie phantaſticall obſeruation of them, and yet brought their meetres to haue a maruelous good grace, which was in Greeke called ἐυθμός : whence we haue deriued this word ryme, but improperly and not wel becauſe we haue no ſuch feete or times or ſtirres in our meeters, by whoſe *ſimpathie*, or pleaſant conueniencie with th'eare, we could take any delight : this *rithmus* of theirs, is not therfore our rime, but a certaine muſicall numeroſitie in vtterance, and not a bare number as that of the Arithmeticall computation is, which therfore is not called *rithmus* but *arithmus*. Take this away from them, I meane the running of their feete, there is nothing of curioſitie among them more then with vs nor yet ſo much.

CHAP. III. [*IV.*]

How many ſorts of meaſures we vſe in our vulgar.

TO returne from rime to our meaſure againe, it hath bene ſayd that according to the number of the ſillables contained in euery verſe, the ſame is ſayd a long or ſhort meeter, and his ſhorteſt proportion is of foure ſillables, and his longeſt of twelue, they that vſe it aboue, paſſe the bounds of good proportion. And euery meeter may be aſwel in the odde as in the euen ſillable, but better in the euen, and one verſe may begin in the euen, and another follow in the odde, and ſo keepe a commendable proportion. The verſe that containeth but two ſilables, which may be in one word, is not vſuall: therefore many do deny him to be a verſe, ſaying that it is but a foot, and that a meeter can haue no leſſe then two feete at the leaſt, but I find it otherwiſe aſwell among the beſt Italian Poets, as alſo with our vulgar makers, and that two ſillables ſerue wel for a ſhort meaſure in the firſt place, and midle, and end of a ſtaffe: and alſo in diuerſe ſcituations and by ſundry diſtances, and is very paſſionate and of good grace, as ſhalbe declared more at large in the Chapter of proportion by ſcituation.

The next meaſure is of two feete or of foure ſillables, and then one word *tetraſillable* diuided in the middeſt makes vp the whole meeter, as thus

Rēuē rēntlīe

Or a triſſillable and one monoſillable thus. *Souueraine God*, or two biſſillables and that is pleſant thus, *Reſtore againe*, or with foure monoſſillables, and that is beſt of all thus, *When I doe thinke*, I finde no fauour in a meetre of three ſillables nor in effect in any odde, but they may be vſed for varietie ſake, and ſpecially being enterlaced with others the meetre of ſix ſillables is very ſweete and delicate as thus.

O God vvhen I behold
This bright heauen ſo hye

By thine owne hands of old
Contriud ſo cunningly.

The meter of ſeuen ſillables is not vſual, no more is that of nine and eleuen, yet if they be well compoſed, that is, their *Ceſure* well appointed, and their laſt accent which makes the concord, they are commendable inough, as in this ditty where one verſe is of eight an other is of ſeuen, and in the one the accent vpon the laſt, in the other vpon the laſt ſaue on[e].

The ſmoakie ſighes, the bitter teares
That I in vaine haue waſted
The broken ſleepes, the woe and feares
That long in me haue laſted
Will be my death, all by thy guilt
And not by my deſeruing
Since ſo inconſtantly thou wilt
Not loue but ſtill be ſweruing.

And all the reaſon why theſe meeters in all ſillable are alowable is, for that the ſharpe accent falles vpon the *penultima* or laſt ſaue one ſillable of the verſe, which doth ſo drowne the laſt, as he ſeemeth to paſſe away in maner vnpronounced, and ſo make the verſe ſeeme euen: but if the accent fall vpon the laſt and leaue two flat to finiſh the verſe, it will not ſeeme ſo: for the odnes will more notorioufly appeare, as for example in the laſt verſe before recited *Not loue but ſtill be ſweruing*, ſay thus *Loue it is a maruelous thing.* Both verſes be of egall quantitie, vidz. ſeauen ſillables a peece, and yet the firſt ſeemes ſhorter then the later, who ſhewes a more odneſſe then the former by reaſon of his ſharpe accent which is vpon the laſt ſillable, and makes him more audible then if he had ſlid away with a flat accent, as the word *ſwéruing.*

Your ordinarie rimers vſe very much their meaſures in the odde as nine and eleuen, and the ſharpe accent vpon the laſt ſillable, which therefore makes him go ill fauouredly and like a minſtrels muſicke. Thus ſayd one in a meeter of eleuen very harſhly in mine eare, whether it be for lacke of good rime or of good reaſon, or of both I wot not.

Now ſucke childe and ſleepe childe, thy mothers owne ioy
Her only ſweete comfort, to drowne all annoy
For beauty ſurpaſſing the azured skie
I loue thee my darling, as ball of mine eye.

This ſort of compoſition in the odde I like not, vnleſſe it be holpen by the *Ceſure* or by the accent as I ſayd before.

The meeter of eight is no leſſe pleaſant then that of ſixe, and the *Ceſure* fals iuſt in the middle, as this of the Earle of Surreyes.

When raging loue, with extreme payne.

The meeter of ten ſillables is very ſtately and Heroicall, and muſt haue his *Ceſure* fall vpon the fourth ſillable, and leaue ſixe behinde him thus.

I ſerue at eaſe, and gouerne all with woe.

This meeter of twelue ſillables the French man calleth a verſe *Alexandrine*, and is with our moderne rimers moſt vſuall: with the auncient makers it was not ſo. For before Sir *Thomas Wiats* time they were not vſed in our vulgar, they be for graue and ſtately matters fitter than for any other ditty of pleaſure. Some makers write in verſes of foureteene ſillables, giuing the *Ceſure* at the firſt eight, which proportion is tedious, for the length of the verſe kepeth the eare too long from his delight, which is to heare the cadence or the tuneable accent in the ende of the verſe. Neuertheleſſe that of twelue if his *Ceſure* be iuſt in the middle, and that ye ſuffer him to runne at full length, and do not as the common rimers do, or their Printer for ſparing of paper, cut them of in the middeſt, wherin they make in two verſes but halfe rime. They do very wel as wrote the Earle of Surrey tranſlating the booke of the preacher.

Salomon Dauids ſonne, king of Ieruſalem.

This verſe is very good *Alexandrine*, but perchaunce woulde haue founded more muſically, if the firſt word had bene a diſſillable, or two monoſillables and not a triſſillable: hauing this ſharpe accent vppon the *Ante-penultima* as it hath, by which occaſion it runnes like a

Dactill, and carries the two later ſillables away ſo ſpeedily as it ſeemes but one foote in our vulgar meaſure, and by that meanes makes the verſe ſeeme but of eleuen ſillables, which odneſſe is nothing pleaſant to the eare. Iudge ſome body whether it would haue done better (if it might) haue bene ſayd thus,

Robóham Dauids ſonne king of Ierúſalem.

Letting the ſharpe accent fall vpon *bo*, or thus

Reſtóre king Dáuids ſónne vntó Ierúſalém

For now the ſharpe accent falles vpon *bo*, and ſo doth it vpon the laſt in *reſtóre*, which was not in th'other verſe. But becauſe we haue ſeemed to make mention of *Ceſure*, and to appoint his place in euery meaſure, it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſay ſomewhat more of it, and alſo of ſuch pauſes as are vſed in vtterance, and what commoditie or delectation they bring either to the ſpeakers or to the hearers.

CHAP. IIII. [*V.*]
Of Ceſure.

There is no greater difference betwixt a ciuill and brutiſh vtteraunce then cleare diſtinction of voices: and the moſt laudable languages are alwaies moſt plaine and diſtinct, and the barbarous moſt confuſe and indiſtinct: it is therefore requiſit that leaſure be taken in pronuntiation, ſuch as may make our wordes plaine and moſt audible and agreable to the eare: alſo the breath aſketh to be now and then releeued with ſome pauſe or ſtay more or leſſe: beſides that the very nature of ſpeach (becauſe it goeth by clauſes of ſeuerall conſtruction and ſence) requireth ſome ſpace betwixt them with intermiſſion of ſound, to th'end they may not huddle one vpon another ſo rudly and ſo faſt that th' eare may not perceiue their difference. For theſe reſpectes the auncient reformers of language, inuented, three maner of pauſes, one of leſſe leaſure then another, and ſuch ſeuerall intermiſſions of ſound to ſerue (beſides

eafment to the breath) for a treble diftinction of fentences or parts of fpeach, as they happened to be more or leffe perfect in fence. The fhorteft paufe or intermiffion they called *comma* as who would fay a peece of a fpeach cut of. The fecond they called *colon*, not a peece but as it were a member for his larger length, becaufe it occupied twife as much time as the *comma*. The third they called *periodus*, for a complement or full paufe, and as a refting place and perfection of fo much former fpeach as had bene vttered, and from whence they needed not to paffe any further vnles it were to renew more matter to enlarge the tale. This cannot be better reprefented then by example of thefe common trauailers by the hie ways, where they feeme to allow themfelues three maner of ftaies or eafements: one a horfebacke calling perchaunce for a cup of beere or wine, and hauing dronken it vp rides away and neuer lights: about noone he commeth to his Inne, and there baites him felfe and his horfe an houre or more: at night when he can conueniently trauaile no further, he taketh vp his lodging, and refts him felfe till the morrow: from whence he followeth the courfe of a further voyage, if his bufineffe be fuch. Euen fo our Poet when he hath made one verfe, hath as it were finifhed one dayes iourney, and the while eafeth him felfe with one baite at the leaft, which is a *Comma* or *Cefure* in the mid way, if the verfe be euen and not odde, otherwife in fome other place, and not iuft in the middle. If there be no *Cefure* at all, and the verfe long, the leffe is the makers skill and hearers delight. Therefore in a verfe of twelue fillables the *Cefure* ought to fall right vpon the fixt fillable: in a verfe of eleuen vpon the fixt alfo leauing fiue to follow. In a verfe of ten vpon the fourth, leauing fixe to follow. In a verfe of nine vpon the fourth, leauing fiue to follow. In a verfe of eight iuft in the middeft, that is, vpon the fourth. In a verfe of feauen, either vpon the fourth or none at all, the meeter very ill brooking any paufe. In a verfe of fixe fillables and vnder is needefull no *Cefure*

at all, becauſe the breath asketh no reliefe: yet if ye giue any *Comma*, it is to make diſtinction of ſenſe more then for any thing elſe: and ſuch *Ceſure* muſt neuer be made in the middeſt of any word, if it be well appointed. So may you ſee that the vſe of theſe pawſes or diſtinctions is not generally with the vulgar Poet as it is with the Proſe writer becauſe the Poetes cheife Muſicke lying in his rime or concorde to heare the Simphonie, he maketh all the haſt he can to be at an end of his verſe, and delights not in many ſtayes by the way, and therefore giueth but one *Ceſure* to any verſe: and thus much for the ſounding of a meetre. Neuertheleſſe he may vſe in any verſe both his *comma*, *colon*, and *interrogatiue* point, as well as in proſe. But our auncient rymers, as *Chaucer*, *Lydgate* and others, vſed theſe *Ceſures* either very ſeldome, or not at all, or elſe very licentiouſly, and many times made their meetres (they called them riding ryme) of ſuch vnſhapely wordes as would allow no conuenient *Ceſure*, and therefore did let their rymes runne out at length, and neuer ſtayd till they came to the end: which maner though it were not to be miſliked in ſome ſort of meetre, yet in euery long verſe the *Ceſure* ought to be kept preciſely, if it were but to ſerue as a law to correct the licentiouſneſſe of rymers, beſides that it pleaſeth the eare better, and ſheweth more cunning in the maker by following the rule of his reſtraint. For a rymer that will be tyed to no rules at all, but range as he liſt, may eaſily vtter what he will: but ſuch maner of Poeſie is called in our vulgar, ryme dogrell, with which rebuke we will in no caſe our maker ſhould be touched. Therfore before all other things let his ryme and concordes be true, cleare and audible with no leſſe delight, then almoſt the ſtrayned note of a Muſicians mouth, and not darke or wrenched by wrong writing as many doe to patch vp their meetres, and ſo follow in their arte neither rule, reaſon nor ryme. Much more might be ſayd for the vſe of your three pauſes, *comma*, *colon*, and *periode*, for perchance it be not all a matter to vſe many *com-*

mas, and few, nor *colons* likewiſe, or long or ſhort *periodes*, for it is diuerſly vſed, by diuers good writers. But becauſe it apperteineth more to the oratour or writer in proſe then in verſe, I will ſay no more in it, then thus, that they be vſed for a commodious and ſenſible diſtinction of clauſes in proſe, ſince euery verſe is as it were a clauſe of it ſelfe, and limited with a *Ceſure* howſoeuer the ſence beare, perfect or imperfect, which difference is obſeruable betwixt the proſe and the meeter.

CHAP. V. [*VI.*]
Of Proportion in Concord, called Symphonie or rime.

BEcauſe we vſe the word rime (though by maner of abuſion) yet to helpe that fault againe we apply it in our vulgar Poeſie another way very commendably and curiouſly. For wanting the currantneſſe of the Greeke and Latine feete, in ſtead thereof we make in th' ends of our verſes a certaine tunable ſound: which anon after with another verſe reaſonably diſtant we accord together in the laſt fall or cadence: the eare taking pleaſure to heare the like tune reported, and to feele his returne. And for this purpoſe ſerue the *monoſillables* of our Engliſh Saxons excellently well, becauſe they do naturally and indifferently receiue any accent, and in them if they finiſh the verſe, reſteth the ſhriil accent of neceſſitie, and ſo doth it not in the laſt of euery *biſſillable*, nor of euery *poliſillable* word: but to the purpoſe, *ryme* is a borrowed word from the Greeks by the Latines and French, from them by vs Saxon angles, and by abuſion as hath bene ſayd, and therefore it ſhall not do amiſſe to tell what this *rithmos* was with the Greekes, for what is it with vs hath bene alreadyſayd. There is an accomptable number which we call *arithmeticall (arithmos)* as one, two, three. There is alſo a muſicall or audible number, faſhioned by ſtirring of tunes and their ſundry times in the vtterance of our wordes, as when the voice goeth high or low, or ſharpe or

flat, or ſwift or flow: and this is called *rithmos* or numeroſitie, that is to ſay, a certaine flowing vtteraunce by ſlipper words and ſillables, ſuch as the toung eaſily vtters, and the eare with pleaſure receiueth, and which flowing of wordes with much volubilitie ſmoothly proceeding from the mouth is in ſome ſort *harmonicall* and breedeth to th'eare a great compaſſion. This point grew by the ſmooth and delicate running of their ſeete, which we haue not in our vulgare, though we vſe as much as may be the moſt flowing words and ſlippery ſillables, that we can picke out: yet do not we call that by the name of ryme, as the Greekes did: but do giue the name of ryme onely to our concordes, or tunable conſentes in the latter end of our verſes, and which concordes the Greekes nor Latines neuer vſed in their Poeſie till by the barbarous ſouldiers out of the campe, it was brought into the Court and thence to the ſchoole, as hath bene before remembred: and yet the Greekes and Latines both vſed a maner of ſpeach, by clauſes of like termination, which they called ὁμοιοτέλευτον, and was the neareſt that they approched to our ryme: but is not our right concord: ſo as we in abuſing this terme (*ryme*) be neuertheleſſe excuſable applying it to another point in Poeſie no leſſe curious then their *rithme* or numeroſitie which in deede paſſed the whole verſe throughout, whereas our concordes keepe but the latter end of euery verſe, or perchaunce the middle and the end in meetres that be long.

CHAP. VI. [VII.]

Of accent, time and ſtir perceiued euidently in the distinction of mans voice, and which makes the flowing of a meeter.

Owe becauſe we haue ſpoken of accent, time and ſtirre or motion in wordes, we will ſet you downe more at large what they be. The auncient Greekes and Latines by reaſon their ſpeech fell out originally to be faſhioned with words of many ſillables for the

moſt part, it was of neceſſity that they could not vtter euery ſillable with one like and egall ſounde, nor in like ſpace of time, nor with like motion or agility: but that one muſt be more ſuddenly and quickely forſaken, or longer pawſed vpon then another: or ſounded with a higher note and clearer voyce then another, and of neceſſitie this diuerſitie of ſound, muſt fall either vpon the laſt ſillable, or vpon the laſt ſaue one, or vpon the third and could not reach higher to make any notable difference, it cauſed them to giue vnto three different ſounds, three ſeuerall names: to that which was higheſt lift vp and moſt eleuate or ſhrilleſt in the eare, they gaue the name of the ſharpe accent, to the loweſt and moſt baſe becauſe it ſeemed to fall downe rather then to riſe vp, they gaue the name of the heauy accent, and that other which ſeemed in part to lift vp and in part to fall downe, they called the circumflex, or compaſt accent: and if new termes were not odious, we might very properly call him the (windabout) for ſo is the Greek word. Then bycauſe euery thing that by nature fals down is ſaid heauy, and whatſoeuer naturally mounts vpward is ſaid light, it gaue occaſion to ſay that there were diuerſities in the motion of the voice, as ſwift and ſlow, which motion alſo preſuppoſes time, bycauſe time is *menſura motus*, by the Philoſopher: ſo haue you the cauſes of their primitiue inuention and vſe in our arte of Poeſie, all this by good obſeruation we may perceiue in our vulgar wordes if they be of mo ſillables then one, but ſpecially if they be *triſſillables*, as for example in theſe wordes [*altitude*] and [*heauineſſe*] the ſharpe accent falles vpon [*al*] and [*he*] which be the *antepenultimaes*: the other two fall away ſpeedily as if they were ſcarſe ſounded in this *triſſilable* [*forſaken*] the ſharp accent fals vpon [*ſa*] which is the *penultima*, and in the other two is heauie and obſcure. Againe in theſe *biſſillables*, *endúre*, *vnſúre*, *demúre*: *aſpíre*, *deſíre*, *retíre*, your ſharpe accent falles vpon the laſt ſillable: but in words *monoſillable* which be for the more part our naturall Saxon Engliſh, the accent is in-

different, and may be vſed for ſharp or flat and heauy at our pleaſure. I ſay Saxon Engliſh, for our Normane Engliſh alloweth vs very many *biſſillables*, and alſo *triſſillables* as, *reuerence*, *diligence*, *amorous*, *deſirous*, and ſuch like.

CHAP. VII. [*VIII.*]

Of your Cadences by which your meeter is made Symphonicall when they be ſweeteſt and moſt ſolemne in a verſe.

AS the ſmoothneſſe of your words and ſillables running vpon feete of ſundrie quantities, make with the Greekes and Latines the body of their verſes numerous or Rithmicall, ſo in our vulgar Poeſie, and of all other nations at this day, your verſes anſwering eche other by couples, or at larger diſtances in good [*cadence*] is it that maketh your meeter ſymphonicall. This cadence is the fal of a verſe in euery laſt word with a certaine tunable ſound which being matched with another of like ſound, do make a [*concord.*] And the whole cadence is contained ſometime in one ſillable, ſometime in two, or in three at the moſt: for aboue the *antepenultima* there reacheth no accent (which is chiefe cauſe of the cadence) vnleſſe it be by vſurpation in ſome Engliſh words, to which we giue a ſharpe accent vpon the fourth as, *Hónorable*, *mátrimonie*, *pátrimonie*, *míſerable*, and ſuch other as would neither make a ſweete cadence, nor eaſily find any word of like quantitie to match them. And the accented ſillable with all the reſt vnder him make the cadence, and no ſillable aboue, as in theſe words, *Agíllitie*, *facíllitie*, *ſubiéction*, *diréction*, and theſe biſſilables, *Ténder*, *ſlénder*, *trúſtie*, *lúſtie*, but alwayes the cadence which falleth vpon the laſt ſillable of a verſe is ſweeteſt and moſt commendable: that vpon the *penultima* more light, and not ſo pleaſant: but falling vpon the *antepenultima* is moſt vnpleaſant of all, becauſe they make your meeter too light and triuiall, and are fitter for the Epigrammatiſt or Comicall

Poet then for the Lyrick and Elegiack, which are accompted the ſweeter Muſickes. But though we haue ſayd that (to make good concord) your ſeuerall verſes ſhould haue their cadences like, yet muſt there be ſome difference in their orthographie, though not in their ſound, as if one cadence be [*conſtraíne*] the next [*reſtraíne*] or one [*aſpire*] another [*reſpire*] this maketh no good concord, becauſe they are all one, but if ye will exchange both theſe conſonants of the accented ſillable, or voyde but one of them away, then will your cadences be good and your concord to, as to ſay, *reſtraine*, *refraine*, *remaine : aſpire*, *deſire*, *retire :* which rule neuertheleſſe is not well obſerued by many makers for lacke of good iudgement and delicate eare. And this may ſuffiſe to ſhew the vſe and nature of your cadences, which are in effect all the ſweetneſſe and cunning in our vulgar Poeſie.

CHAP. VIII. [*IX.*]

How the good maker will not wrench his word to helpe his rime, either by falſifying his accent, or by vntrue orthographie.

Ow there can not be in a maker a fowler fault, then to falſifie his accent to ſerue his cadence, or by vntrue orthographie to wrench his words to helpe his rime, for it is a ſigne that ſuch a maker is not copious in his owne language, or (as they are wont to ſay) not halfe his crafts maiſter: as for example, if one ſhould rime to this word [*Reſtore*] he may not match him with [*Doore*] or [*Poore*] for neither of both are of like terminant, either by good orthography or in naturall ſound, therfore ſuch rime is ſtrained, ſo is it to this word [*Ram*] to ſay [*came*] or to [*Beane*] [*Den*] for they ſound not nor be written a like, and many other like cadences which were ſuperfluous to recite, and are vſuall with rude rimers who obſerue not preciſely the rules of [*proſodie*] neuertheleſſe in all ſuch caſes (if neceſſitie conſtrained) it is ſomewhat more tollerable

to help the rime by falſe orthographie, then to leaue an vnpleſant diſſonance to the eare, by keeping trewe orthographie and looſing the rime, as for example it is better to rime [*Doˋre*] with [*Reſtore*] then in his truer orthographie, which is [*Doore*] and to this word [*Deſire*] to ſay [*Fier*] then fyre though it be otherwiſe better written *fire*. For ſince the cheife grace of our vulgar Poeſie conſiſteth in the Symphonie, as hath bene already ſayd, our maker muſt not be too licentious in his concords, but ſee that they go euen, iuſt and melodious in the eare, and right ſo in the numeroſitie or currantneſſe of the whole body of his verſe, and in euery other of his proportions. For a licentious maker is in truth but a bungler and not a Poet. Such men were in effect the moſt part of all your old rimers and ſpecially *Gower*, who to make vp his rime would for the moſt part write his terminant ſillable with falſe orthographie, and many times not ſticke to put in a plaine French word for an Engliſh, and ſo by your leaue do many of our common rimers at this day: as he that by all likelyhood, hauing no word at hand to rime to this word [*ioy*] he made his other verſe ende in [*Roy*] ſaying very impudently thus,

O mightie Lord of loue, dame Venus onely ioy
Who art the higheſt God of any heauenly Roy.

Which word was neuer yet receiued in our language for an Engliſh word. Such extreme licentiouſneſſe is vtterly to be baniſhed from our ſchoole, and better it might haue bene borne with in old riming writers, bycauſe they liued in a barbarous age, and were graue morall men but very homely Poets, ſuch alſo as made moſt of their workes by tranſlation out of the Latine and French toung, and few or none of their owne engine as may eaſely be knowen to them that liſt to looke vpon the Poemes of both languages.

Finally as ye may ryme with wordes of all ſortes, be they of many ſillables or few, ſo neuertheleſſe is there a choiſe by which to make your cadence (before remembred) moſt commendable, for ſome wordes of exceeding great length, which haue bene fetched from the

Latine inkhorne or borrowed of ſtrangers, the vſe of them in ryme is nothing pleaſant, ſauing perchaunce to the common people, who reioyſe much to be at playes and enterludes, and beſides their naturall ignoraunce, haue at all ſuch times their eares ſo attentiue to the matter, and their eyes vpon the ſhewes of the ſtage, that they take little heede to the cunning of the rime, and therefore be as well ſatisfied with that which is groſſe, as with any other finer and more delicate.

CHAP. IX. [*X.*]

Of concorde in long and ſhort meaſures, and by neare or farre diſtaunces, and which of them is moſt commendable.

BVt this ye muſt obſerue withall, that bycauſe your concordes containe the chief part of Muſicke in your meetre, their diſtaunces may not be too wide or ſarre a ſunder, leſt th'eare ſhould looſe the tune, and be defrauded of his delight, and whenſoeuer ye ſee any maker vſe large and extraordinary diſtaunces, ye muſt thinke he doth intende to ſhew himſelfe more artificiall then popular, and yet therein is not to be diſcommended, for reſpects that ſhalbe remembred in ſome other place of this booke.

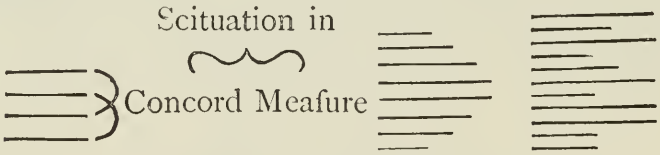
Note alſo that rime or concorde is not commendably vſed both in the end and middle of a verſe, vnleſſe it be in toyes and trifling Poeſies, for it ſheweth a certaine lightneſſe either of the matter or of the makers head, albeit theſe common rimers vſe it much, for as I ſayd before, like as the Symphonie in a verſe of great length, is (as it were) loſt by looking after him, and yet may the meetre be very graue and ſtately: ſo on the other ſide doth the ouer buſie and too ſpeedy returne of one maner of tune, too much annoy and as it were glut the eare, vnleſſe it be in ſmall and popular Muſickes ſong by theſe *Cantabanqui* vpon benches and barrels heads where they haue none other audience then boys or countrey fellowes that paſſe by them in the ſtreete, or

elſe by blind harpers or ſuch like tauerne minſtrels that giue a fit of mirth for a groat, and their matters being for the moſt part ſtories of old time, as the tale of Sir *Topas*, the reportes of *Beuis* of *Southampton*, *Guy* of *Warwicke*, *Adam Bell*, and *Clymme* of the *Clough* and ſuch other old Romances or hiſtoricall rimes, made purpoſely for recreation of the common people at Chriſtmaſſe diners and brideales, and in tauernes and alehouſes and ſuch other places of baſe reſort, alſo they be vſed in Carols and rounds and ſuch light or laſciuious Poemes, which are commonly more commodiouſly vttered by theſe buffons or vices in playes then by any other perſon. Such were the rimes of *Skelton* (vſurping the name of a Poet Laureat) being in deede but a rude rayling rimer and all his doings ridiculous, he vſed both ſhort diſtaunces and ſhort meaſures pleaſing onely the popular eare: in our courtly maker we baniſh them vtterly. Now alſo haue ye in euery ſong or ditty concorde by compaſſe and concorde entertangled and a mixt of both, what that is and how they be vſed ſhalbe declared in the chapter of proportion by *ſcituation.*

CHAP. X. [*XI.*]
Of proportion by ſituation.

THis proportion conſiſteth in placing of euery verſe in a ſtaffe or ditty by ſuch reaſonable diſtaunces, as may beſt ſerue the eare for delight, and alſo to ſhew the Poets art and variety of Muſick, and the proportion is double. One by marſhalling the meetres, and limiting their diſtaunces hauing regard to the rime or concorde how they go and returne: another by placing euery verſe, hauing a regard to his meaſure and quantitie onely, and not to his concorde as to ſet one ſhort meetre to three long, or foure ſhort and two long, or a ſhort meaſure and a long, or of diuers lengthes with relation one to another, which maner of *Situation*, euen without reſpect of the rime, doth alter the nature of

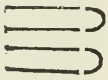
the Poeſie, and make it either lighter or grauer, or more merry, or mournfull, and many wayes paſſionate to the eare and hart of the hearer, ſeeming for this point that our maker by his meaſures and concordes of ſundry proportions doth counterfait the harmonicall tunes of the vocall and inſtrumentall Muſickes. As the *Dorien* becauſe his falls, ſallyes and compaſſe be diuers from thoſe of the *Phrigien*, the *Phrigien* likewiſe from the *Lydien*, and all three from the *Eolien*, *Miolidien* and *Ionien*, mounting and falling from note to note ſuch as be to them peculiar, and with more or leſſe leaſure or precipation. Euen ſo by diuerſitie of placing and ſcituation of your meaſures and concords, a ſhort with a long, and by narrow or wide diſtances, or thicker or thinner beſtowing of them your proportions differ, and breedeth a variable and ſtrange harmonie not onely in the eare, but alſo in the conceit of them that heare it: whereof this may be an ocular example.



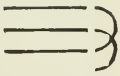
Where ye ſee the concord or rime in the third diſtance, and the meaſure in the fourth, ſixth or ſecond diſtaunces, whereof ye may deuiſe as many other as ye liſt, ſo the ſtaffe be able to beare it. And I ſet you downe an occular example: becauſe ye may the better conceiue it. Likewiſe it ſo falleth out moſt times your occular proportion doeth declare the nature of the audible: for if it pleaſe the eare well, the ſame repreſented by delineation to the view pleaſeth the eye well and *è conuerſo:* and this is by a naturall *ſimpathie*, betweene the eare and the eye, and betweene tunes and colours, even as there is the like betweene the other ſences and their obiects of which it apperteineth not here to ſpeake. Now for the diſtances vſually obſerued in our vulgar Poeſie, they be in the firſt ſecond

third and fourth verſe, or if the verſe be very ſhort in the fift and ſixt and in ſome maner of Muſickes farre aboue.

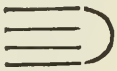
And the firſt diſtance for the moſt part goeth all by *diſtick* or couples of verſes agreeing in one cadence, and do paſſe ſo ſpeedily away and ſo often returne agayne, as their tunes are neuer loſt, nor out of the eare, one couple ſupplying another ſo nye and ſo ſuddenly, and this is the moſt vulgar proportion of diſtance or ſituation, ſuch as vſed *Chaucer* in his Canterbury tales, and *Govver* in all his workes.



Second diſtance is, when ye paſſe ouer one verſe, and ioyne the firſt and the third, and ſo continue on till an other like diſtance fall in, and this is alſo vſuall and common, as



Third diſtaunce is, when your rime falleth vpon the firſt and fourth verſe ouerleaping two, this maner is not ſo common but pleaſant and allowable inough.



In which caſe the two verſes ye leaue out are ready to receiue their concordes by the ſame diſtaunce or any other ye like better. The fourth diſtaunce is by ouerskipping three verſes and lighting vpon the fift, this maner is rare and more artificiall then popular, vnleſſe it be in ſome ſpeciall caſe, as when the meetres be ſo little and ſhort as they make no ſhew of any great delay before they returne, ye ſhall haue example of both.

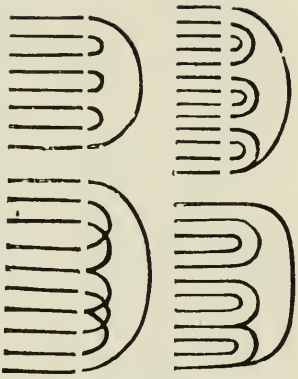
And theſe ten litle meeters make but one *Exameter* at length.

--, --, --, --, --, --, --, --, --, --,

There be larger diſtances alſo, as when the firſt concord falleth vpon the ſixt verſe, and is very pleaſant if they be ioyned with other diſtances not ſo large, as

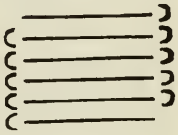
There be alſo, of the ſeuenth, eight, tenth, and twe[l]fth diſtance, but then they may not go thicke, but two or three ſuch diſtances ſerue to proportion a

whole ſong, and all betweene muſt be of other leſſe diſtances, and theſe wide diſtaunces ſerue for coupling of ſtaues, or for to declare high and paſſionate or graue matter, and alſo for art: *Petrarch* hath giuen vs examples hereof in his *Canzoni*, and we by lines of ſundry lengths and diſtances as followeth,



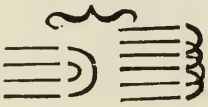
And all that can be obiected againſt this wide diſtance is to ſay that the eare by looſing his concord is not ſatisfied. So is in deede the rude and popular eare but not the learned, and therefore the Poet muſt know to whoſe eare he maketh his rime, and accommodate himſelfe thereto, and not giue ſuch muſicke to the rude and barbarous, as he would to the learned and delicate eare.

There is another ſort of proportion vſed by *Petrarche* called the *Seizino*, not riming as other ſongs do, but by chuſing ſixe wordes out of which all the whole dittie is made, euery of thoſe ſixe commencing and ending his verſe by courſe, which reſtraint to make the dittie ſenſible will try the makers cunning, as thus.

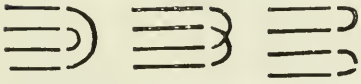


Beſides all this there is in *Situation* of the concords two other points, one that it go by plaine and cleere compaſſe not intangled: another by enterweauing one with another by knots, or as it were by band, which is more or leſſe buſie and curious, all as the maker will double or redouble his rime or concords, and ſet his diſtances farre or nigh, of all which I will giue you ocular examples, as thus.

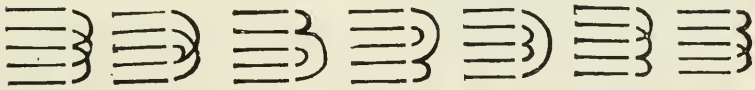
Concord in

Plaine compaſſe  Entertangle.

And firſt in a *Quadreine* there are but two proportions, for foure verſes in this laſt ſort coupled, are but two *Diſticks*, and not a ſtaffe *quadreine* or of foure.

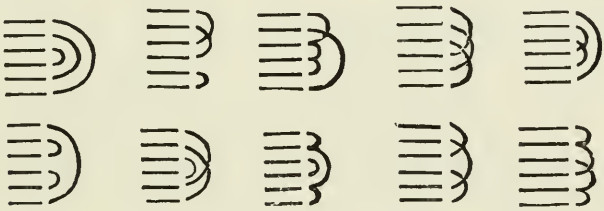


The ſtaffe of fiue hath ſeuen proportions as,

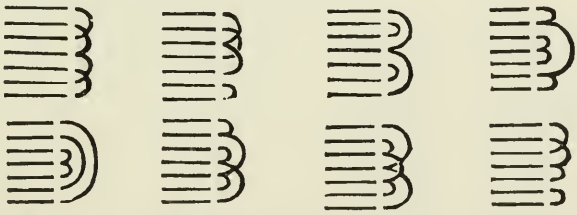


whereof ſome of them be harſher and vnpleaſaunter to the eare then other ſome be.

The *Sixaine* or ſtaffe of ſixe hath ten proportions, wherof ſome be vſuall, ſome not vſuall, and not ſo ſweet one as another.



The ſtaffe of ſeuen verſes hath ſeuen proportions, whereof one onely is the vſuall of our vulgar, and kept by our old Poets *Chaucer* and other in their hiſtoricall reports and other ditties: as in the laſt part of them that follow next.



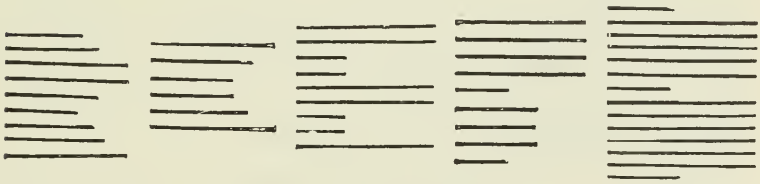
The *huitain* or ſtaffe of eight verſes, hath eight proportions ſuch as the former ſtaffe, and becauſe he is longer, he hath one more than the *ſettaine.*

The ſtaffe of nine verſes hath yet moe then the eight, and the ſtaffe of ten more then the ninth and the twelfth, if ſuch were allowable in ditties, more

then any of them all, by reaſon of his largeneſſe receiuing moe compaſſes and enterweauings, alwayes conſidered that the very large diſtances be more artificiall, then popularly pleaſant, and yet do giue great grace and grauitie, and moue paſſion and affections more vehemently, as it is well to be obſerued by *Petrarcha* his *Canzoni*.

Now ye may perceiue by theſe proportions before deſcribed, that there is a band to be giuen euery verſe in a ſtaffe, ſo as none fall out alone or vncoupled, and this band maketh that the ſtaffe is ſayd faſt and not looſe: euen as ye ſee in buildings of ſtone or bricke the maſon giueth a band, that is a length to two breadths, and vpon neceſſitie diuers other ſorts of bands to hold in the worke faſt and maintaine the perpendicularitie of the wall: ſo in any ſtaffe of ſeuen or eight or more verſes, the coupling of the moe meeters by rime or concord, is the faſter band: the fewer the looſer band, and therfore in a *huiteine* he that putteth foure verſes in one concord and foure in another concord, and in a *dizaine* fiue, ſheweth him ſelfe more cunning, and alſo more copious in his owne language. For he that can find two words of concord, can not find foure or fiue or ſixe, vnleſſe he haue his owne language at will. Sometime alſo ye are driuen of neceſſitie to cloſe and make band more then ye would, leſt otherwiſe the ſtaffe ſhould fall aſunder and ſeeme two ſtaues: and this is in a ſtaffe of eight and ten verſes: whereas without a band in the middle, it would ſeeme two *quadriens* or two *quintaines*, which is an error that many makers ſlide away with. Yet *Chaucer* and others in the ſtaffe of ſeuen and ſixe do almoſt as much a miſſe, for they ſhut vp the ſtaffe with a *diſticke*, concording with none other verſe that went before, and maketh but a looſe rime, and yet bycauſe of the double cadence in the laſt two verſes ſerue the eare well inough. And as there is in euery ſtaffe, band, giuen to the verſes by concord more or leſſe buſie: ſo is there in ſome caſes a band

giuen to euery ſtaffe, and that is by one whole verſe running alone throughout the ditty or ballade, either in the middle or end of euery ſtaffe. The Greekes called ſuch vncoupled verſe *Epimonie*, the Latines *Verſus intercalaris*. Now touching the ſituation of meaſures, there are as manie or more proportions of them which I referre to the makers phantaſie and choiſe, contented with two or three ocular examples and no moe.



Which maner of proportion by ſituation of meaſures giueth more efficacie to the matter oftentimes then the concords them ſelues, and both proportions concurring together as they needes muſt, it is of much more beautie and force to the hearers mind.

To finiſh the learning of this diuiſion, I will ſet you downe one example of a dittie written extempore with this deuiſe, ſhewing not onely much promptneſſe of wit in the maker, but alſo great arte and a notable memorie. Make me faith this writer to one of the companie, ſo many ſtrokes or lines with your pen as ye would haue your ſong containe verſes: and let euery line beare his ſeuerall length, euen as ye would haue your verſe of meaſure. Suppoſe of foure, fiue, ſixe or eight or more ſillables, and ſet a figure of euerie number at th'end of the line, whereby ye may knowe his meaſure. Then where you will haue your rime or concord to fall, marke it with a compaſt ſtroke or ſemicircle paſſing ouer thoſe lines, be they farre or neare in diſtance, as ye haue ſeene before deſcribed. And bycauſe ye ſhall not thinke the maker hath premeditated beforehand any ſuch faſhioned ditty, do ye your ſelfe make one verſe whether it be of perfect or imperfect ſenſe, and giue it him for a theame to

make all the reſt vpon : if ye ſhall perceiue the maker do keepe the meaſures and rime as ye haue appointed him, and beſides do make his dittie ſenſible and enſuant to the firſt verſe in good reaſon, then may ye ſay he is his crafts maiſter. For if he were not of a plentiful diſcourſe, he could not vpon the ſudden ſhape an entire dittie vpon your imperfect theame or propoſition in one verſe. And if he were not copious in his language, he could not haue ſuch ſtore of wordes at commaundement, as ſhould ſupply your concords. And if he were not of a maruelous good memory he could not obſerue the rime and meaſures after the diſtances of your limitation, keeping with all grauitie and good ſenſe in the whole dittie.

CHAP. XI. [*XII.*]
Of Proportion in figure.

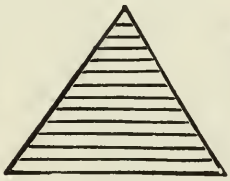
Our laſt proportion is that of figure, ſo called for that it yelds an ocular repreſentation, your meeters being by good ſymmetrie reduced into certaine Geometricall figures, whereby the maker is reſtrained to keepe him within his bounds, and ſheweth not onely more art, but ſerueth alſo much better for briefeneſſe and ſubtiltie of deuice. And for the ſame reſpect are alſo fitteſt for the pretie amourets in Court to entertaine their ſeruants and the time withall, their delicate wits requiring ſome commendable exerciſe to keepe them from idleneſſe. I find not of this proportion vſed by any of the Greeke or Latine Poets, or in any vulgar writer, ſauing of that one forme which they cal *Anacreens egge.* But being in Italie conuerſant with a certaine gentleman, who had long trauailed the Orientall parts of the world, and ſeene the Courts of the great Princes of China and Tartarie. I being very inquiſitiue to know of the ſubtillities of thoſe countreyes, and eſpecially in matter of learning and of their vulgar Poeſie, he told me that they are in all their inuentions moſt wittie, and haue the vſe of Poeſie or riming, but

do not delight ſo much as we do in long tedious deſcriptions, and therefore when they will vtter any pretie conceit, they reduce it into metricall feet, and put it in forme of a *Lozange* or ſquare, or ſuch other figure, and ſo engrauen in gold, ſiluer or iuorie, and ſometimes with letters of ametiſt, rubie, emeralde or topas curioufely cemented and peeced together, they ſende them in chaines, bracelets, collars and girdles to their miſtreſſes to weare for a remembrance. Some fewe meaſures compoſed in this ſort this gentleman gaue me, which I tranſlated word for word and as neere as I could followed both the phraſe and the figure, which is ſomewhat hard to performe, becauſe of the reſtraint of the figure from which ye may not digreſſe. At the beginning they wil ſeeme nothing pleaſant to an Engliſh eare, but time and vſage wil make them acceptable inough, as it doth in all other new guiſes, be it for wearing of apparell or otherwiſe. The formes of your Geometricall figures be hereunder repreſented.

The Lozange called Rombus

The Fuzie or ſpindle, called Romboides

The Triangle, or Tricquet



The Square or quadrangle

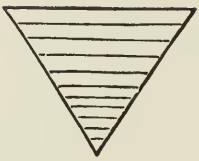
The Pillaſter, or Cillinder

The Spire or taper, called piramis

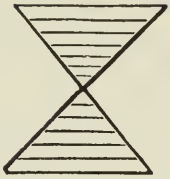
The Rondel or Sphere

The egge or figure ouall

The Tricquet reuerſt

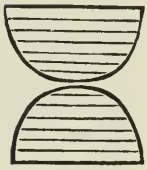


The Tricquet diſplayed

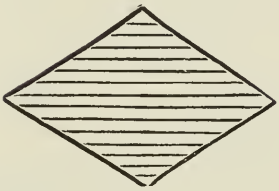


The Taper reuerſed

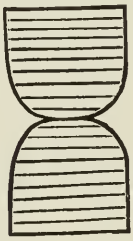
The Rondel diſplayed



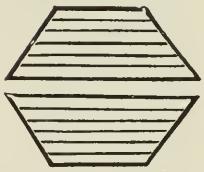
The Lozange reuerſed



The egge diſplayed



The Lozange rabbated



Of the Lozange.

The *Lozange* is a moſt beautifull figure, and fit for this purpoſe, being in his kind a quadrangle reuerſt, with his point vpward like to a quarrell of glaſſe the Greekes and Latines both call it *Rombus* which may be the cauſe as I ſuppoſe why they alſo gaue that name to the fiſh commonly called the *Turbot*, who beareth iuſtly that figure, it ought not to containe aboue thirteene or fifteene or one and twentie meetres, and the longeſt furniſheth the middle angle, the reſt paſſe vpward and downward, ſtill abating their lengthes by one or two ſillables till they come to the point: the Fuzie is of the ſame nature but that he is ſharper and ſlenderer. I will giue you an example or two of thoſe which my Italian friend beſtowed vpon me, which as neare as I could I tranſlated into the ſame figure obſeruing the phraſe of the Orientall ſpeach word for word.

A great Emperor in Tartary whom they cal *Can*, for his good fortune in the wars and many notable

conquests he had made, was furnamed *Temir Cutzclewe*, this man loued the Lady *Kermesine*, who presented him returning from the conquest of *Corasoon* (a great kingdom adioyning) with this *Lozange* made in letters of rubies and diamants entermingled thus

Sound
O Harpe
Shril lie out
Temir the stout
Rider who with sharpe
Trenching blade of bright steele
Hath made his fiercest foes to feele
All such as wrought him shame or harme
The strength of his braue right arme,
Cleauing hard downe vnto the eyes
The raw skulles of his enemies,
Much honor hath he wonne
By doughtie deedes done
In Cora soon
And all the
Worlde
Round.

To which Can Temir *answered in* Fuzie, *with letters of Emeralds and Ametists artificially cut and entermingled, thus*

Fiue
Sore batailes
Manfully fought
In blouddy fielde
With bright blade in hand
Hath Temir won & forst to yeld
Many a Captaine strong & stoute
And many a king his Crowne to vayle,
Conquering large countreys and land,
Yet ne uer wanne I vi cto rie,
I speake it to my greate glo rie,
So deare and ioy full vn to me,
As when I did first con quere thee
O Kerme sine, of all myne foes
The most cruell, of all myne woes
The smartest, the sweetest
My proude Con quest
My ri chest pray
O once a daye
Lend me thy sight
Whose only light
Keepes me
Aliue.

Of the Triangle or Triquet.

The Triangle is an halfe square, *Lozange* or *Fuzie* parted vpon the crosse angles: and so his base being brode and his top narrow, it receaueth meetres of

many ſizes one ſhorter then another: and ye may vſe this figure ſtanding or reuerſed, as thus.

A certaine great Sultan of Perſia called *Ribuska*, entertaynes in loue the Lady *Selamour*, ſent her this triquet reueſt pitiouſly bemoning his eſtate, all ſet in merquetry with letters of blew Saphire and Topas artificially cut and entermingled.

Selamour dearer than his owne life,
To thy di tressed wretch captiue,
Ri buska whome late ly erst
Most cru el ly thou perst
With thy dead ly dart,
That paire of starres
Shi ning a farre
Turne from me, to me
That I may and may not see
The smile, the loure
That lead and driue
Me to die to liue
Twise yea thrise
In one
houre.

To which *Selamour* to make the match egall, and the figure entire, anſwered in a ſtanding Triquet richly engrauen with letters of like ſtuffe.

Power
Of death
Nor of life
Hath Selamour,
With Gods it is riſe
To geue and bereue breath,
I may for pitie perchaunce
Thy lost libertie re store,
Vpon thine othe with this penaunce,
That while thou liuest thou neuer loue no more.

This condition ſeeming to Sultan *Ribuska* very hard to performe, and cruell to be enioyned him, doeth by another figure in Taper, ſignifying hope, anſwere the Lady *Selamour*, which dittie for lack of time I tranſlated not.

Of the Spire or Taper called Pyramis.

The Taper is the longeſt and ſharpeſt triangle that is, and while he mounts vpward he waxeth continually more ſlender, taking both his figure and name of the fire, whoſe flame if ye marke it, is alwaies pointed, and naturally by his forme couets to clymbe: the Greekes

call him Pyramis of πύρ. The Latines in vſe of Architecture called him *Obeliſcus*, it holdeth the altitude of ſix ordinary triangles, and in metrifying his baſe can not well be larger then a meetre of ſix, therefore in his altitude he wil require diuers rabates to hold ſo many ſizes of meetres as ſhall ſerue for his compoſition, for neare the toppe there wilbe roome litle inough for a meetre of two ſillables, and ſometimes of one to finiſh the point. I haue ſet you downe one or two examples to try how ye can diſgeſt the maner of the deuiſe.

Her Maiestie, for many parts in her most noble and vertuous nature to be found, resembled to the spire. Ye must begin beneath according to the nature of the deuice

Skie. 1

Azurd 2
in the
assurde,

And better, [3]
And richer,
Much greter,

Crown and empir
After an hier
For to aspire 4
Like flame of fire
In forme of spire

To mount on hie,
Con ti nu al ly
With trauel and teen
Most gratious queen
Ye haue made a vow 5
Shews vs plainly how
Not fained but true,
To euery mans vew,
Shining cleere in you
Of so bright an hewe,
Euen thus vertewe

Vanish out of our sight
Till his fine top be quite
To Taper in the ayre 6
Endeuors soft and faire
By his kindly nature
Of tall comely stature
Like as this faire figure

From God the fountaine of all good, are deriued into the world all good things: and vpon her maiestie all the good fortunes any worldly creature can be furnisht with. Reade downward according to the nature of the deuice.

1 *God*
On
Hie
2 *From*
Aboue
Sends loue,
Wisedome,
Iu stice
Cou rage,
Boun tie,
[3] *And doth geue*
Al that liue,
Life and breath
Harts ese helth
Children, welth
Beauty strength
Restfull age,
And at length
A mild death,
4 *He doeth bestow*
All mens fortunes
Both high and low
And the best things
That earth can haue
Or mankind craue,
Good queens and kings
Fi nally is the same
Who gaue you (madam)
Seyson of this Crowne
With poure soueraigne
5 *Impug nable right.*
Redoubtable might,
Most prosperous raigne
Eternall re nowme,
And that your chiefest is
Sure hope of heauens blis.

[The figures at the side, represent the number of syllables. Ed.]

The Piller, Pillaſter or Cillinder.

The Piller is a figure among all the reſt of the Geometricall moſt beawtifull, in reſpect that he is tall and vpright and of one bigneſſe from the bottom to the toppe. In Architecture he is conſidered with two acceſſarie parts, a pedeſtall or baſe, and a chapter or head, the body is the ſhaft. By this figure is ſignified ſtay, ſupport, reſt, ſtate and magnificence, your dittie then being reduced into the forme of the Piller, his baſe will require to beare the breath of a meetre of ſix or ſeuen or eight ſillables: the ſhaft of foure: the chapter egall with the baſe, of this proportion I will giue you one or two examples which may ſuffiſe.

Her Maieſtie resembled to the crowned piller. Ye must read vpward.

Is bliſse with immortalitie.
Her trymest top of all ye see,
Garnish the crowne
Her iust renowne
Chapter and head,
Part that maintain
And womanhead
Her mayden raigne
In te gri tie:
In ho nour and
With ve ri tie:
Her roundnes stand
Strengthen the state.
By their increase
With out de bate
Concord and peace
Of her sup port,
They be the base
With stedfastnesse
Vertue and grace
Stay and comfort
Of Albi ons rest,
The sounde Pillar
And seene a farre
Is plainely exprest
Tall stately and strayt
By this no ble pour trayt

Philo to the Lady Calia, sendeth this Odolet of her prayse in forme of a Piller, which ye must read downeward.

Thy Princely port and Maieſtie
Is my ter rene dei tie,
Thy wit and sence
The streame & source
Of e lo quence
And deepe discours,
The faire eyes are
My bright loadstarre,
Thy speache a darte
Percing my harte,
Thy face a las,
My loo king glasse,
Thy loue ly lookes
My prayer bookes,
Thy pleasant cheare
My sunshine cleare,
Thy ru full sight
My darke midnight,
Thy will the stent
Of my con tent,
Thy glo rye flour
Of myne ho nour,
Thy loue doth giue
The lyfe I lyue,
Thy lyfe it is
Mine earthly bliſse:
But grace & fauour in thine eies
My bodies soule & souls paradise.

The Roundell or Spheare.

The moſt excellent of all the figures Geometrical is the round for his many perfections. Firſt becauſe he is euen and ſmooth, without any angle, or inter-

ruption, moſt voluble and apt to turne, and to continue motion, which is the author of life: he conteyneth in him the commodious deſcription of euery other figure, and for his ample capacitie doth reſemble the world or vniuers, and for his indefiniteneſſe hauing no ſpeciall place of beginning nor end, beareth a ſimilitude with God and eternitie. This figure hath three principall partes in his nature and vſe much conſiderable: the circle, the beame, and the center. The circle is his largeſt compaſſe or circumference: the center is his middle and indiuiſible point: the beame is a line ſtretching directly from the circle to the center, and contrariwiſe from the center to the circle. By this deſcription our maker may faſhion his meetre in Roundel, either with the circumference, and that is circlewiſe, or from the circumference, that is, like a beame, or by the circumference, and that is ouerthwart and dyametrally from one ſide of the circle to the other.

A generall reſemblance of the Roundell to God, the world and the Queene.

All and whole, and euer, and one,
Single, ſimple, eche where, alone,
Theſe be counted as Clerkes can tell,
True properties, of the Roundell.
His ſtill turning by conſequence
And change, doe breede both life and ſence.
Time, meaſure of ſtirre and reſt,
Is alſo by his courſe expreſt.
How ſwift the circle ſtirre aboue,
His center point doeth neuer moue:
All things that euer were or be,
Are cloſde in his concauitie.
And though he be, ſtill turnde and toſt,
No roome there wants nor none is lost.
The Roundell hath no bonch nor angle,
Which may his courſe ſtay or entangle.
The furtheſt part of all his ſpheare,
Is equally both farre and neare.

So doth none other figure fare
Where natures chattels closed are:
And beyond his wide compasse,
There is no body nor no place,
Nor any wit that comprehends,
Where it begins, or where it ends:
And therefore all men doe agree,
That it purports eternitie.
God aboue the heauens so hie
Is this Roundell, in world the skie,
Vpon earth she, who beares the bell
Of maydes and Queenes, is this Roundell:
All and whole and euer alone,
Single, sans peere, simple, and one.

A speciall and particular resemblance of her Maiestie to the Roundell.

First her authoritie regall
Is the circle compassing all:
The dominion great and large
Which God hath geuen to her charge:
Within which most spatious bound
She enuirons her people round,
Retaining them by oth and liegeance.
Within the pale of true obeysance:
Holding imparked as it were,
Her people like to heards of deere.
Sitting among them in the middes
Where she allowes and bannes and bids
In what fashion she list and when,
The seruices of all her men.
Out of her breast as from an eye,
Issue the rayes incessantly
Of her iustice, bountie and might
Spreading abroad their beames so bright,
And reflect not, till they attaine
The fardest part of her domaine.
And makes eche subiect clearely see,
What he is bounden for to be

To God his Prince and common wealth,
His neighbour, kinred and to himſelfe.
The ſame centre and middle pricke,
Whereto our deedes are drest ſo thicke,
From all the parts and outmoſt ſide
Of her Monarchie large and wide,
Alſo fro whence reflect theſe rayes,
Twentie hundred maner of wayes
Where her will is them to conuey
Within the circle of her ſuruey.
So is the Queene of Briton ground,
Beame, circle, center of all my round.

Of the ſquare or quadrangle equilater.

The ſquare is of all other accompted the figure of moſt ſolliditie and ſtedfaſtneſſe, and for his owne ſtay and firmitie requireth none other baſe then himſelfe, and therefore as the roundell or Spheare is appropriat to the heauens, the Spire to the element of the fire: the Triangle to the ayre, and the Lozange to the water: ſo is the ſquare for his inconcuſſable ſteadineſſe likened to the earth, which perchaunce might be the reaſon that the Prince of Philoſophers in his firſt booke of the *Ethicks*, termeth a conſtant minded man, euen egal and direct on all ſides, and not eaſily ouerthrowne by euery litle aduerſitie, *hominem quadratum*, a ſquare man. Into this figure may ye reduce your ditties by vſing no moe verſes then your verſe is of ſillables, which will make him fall out ſquare, if ye go aboue it will grow into the figure *Trapezion*, which is ſome portion longer then ſquare. I neede not giue you any example, bycauſe in good arte all your ditties, Odes and Epigrammes ſhould keepe and not exceede the nomber of twelue verſes, and the longeſt verſe to be of twelue ſillables and not aboue, but vnder that number as much as ye will.

The figure Ouall.

This figure taketh his name of an egge, and alſo as it is thought his firſt origine, and is as it were a baſtard or imperfect rounde declining toward a longitude, and

yet keeping within one line for his periferie or compaſſe as the rounde, and it ſeemeth that he receiueth this forme not as an imperfection by any impediment vnnaturally hindring his rotunditie, but by the wiſedome and prouidence of nature for the commoditie of generation, in ſuch of her creatures as bring not forth a liuely body (as do foure footed beaſts) but in ſtead thereof a certaine quantitie of ſhapeleſſe matter contained in a veſſell, which after it is ſequeſtred from the dames body receiueth life and perfection, as in the egges of birdes, fiſhes, and ſerpents: for the matter being of ſome quantitie, and to iſſue out at a narrow place, for the eaſie paſſage thereof, it muſt of neceſſitie beare ſuch ſhape as might not be ſharpe and greeuous to paſſe as an angle, nor ſo large or obtuſe as might not eſſay ſome iſſue out with one part moe then other as the rounde, therefore it muſt be ſlenderer in ſome part, and yet not without a rotunditie and ſmoothneſſe to giue the reſt an eaſie deliuerie. Such is the figure Ouall whom for his antiquitie, dignitie and vſe, I place among the reſt of the figures to embelliſh our proportions: of this ſort are diuers of *Anacreons* ditties, and thoſe other of the Grecian Liricks, who wrate wanton amorous deuiſes, to ſolace their witts with all, and many times they would (to giue it right ſhape of an egge) deuide a word in the midſt, and peece out the next verſe with the other halfe, as ye may ſee by peruſing their meetres.

There are two copies of *The Arte of English Poesie* in the British Museum: one in the general library, and the other in the Grenville collection. At the beginning of the Grenville copy is written as follows:—

This Copy, which had belonged to Ben Jonſon and has his autograph on the Title-Page, is likewiſe remarkable for containing after p. 84 four cancelled leaves of text which, as far as I am informed, are not to be found in any other Copy of the book: yet, thoſe leaves being cancelled, the 85th page certainly does not carry on the ſentence which terminates p. 84.

The reason of this last observation is that the cancelled leaves contained *exactly* 8 pp.; which however did not begin at the top and so be imposed as so many separate pages, but at 14 lines from the bottom; the text running on as in other parts of the book. When these pages were withdrawn there were a *corresponding* number of lines uncancelled, commencing 'When I wrate,' as on *p.* 124, at the bottom of the last of them; so that page 84 of ordinary copies was easily completed by the addition of these lines. The cancelled pages are unnumbered.

EIGHT CANCELLED PAGES, IN BEN JONSON'S COPY, IN THE GRENVILLE COLLECTION, BRITISH MUSEUM.

Of the deuice or embleme, and that other which the Greekes call Anagramma, and we the Poſie tranſpoſed.

AND beſides all the remembred points of Metricall proportion, ye haue yet two other ſorts of ſome affinitie with them, which alſo firſt iſſued out of the Poets head, and whereof the Courtly maker was the principall artificer, hauing many high conceites and curious imaginations, with leaſure inough to attend his idle inuentions: and theſe be the ſhort, quicke and ſententious propoſitions, ſuch as be at theſe dayes all your deuices of armes and other amorous inſcriptions which courtiers vſe to giue and alſo to weare in liuerie for the honour of their ladies, and commonly containe but two or three words of wittie ſentence or ſecrete conceit till they vnfolded or explaned by ſome interpretation. For which cauſe they be commonly accompanied with a figure or purtraict of ocular repreſentation, the words ſo aptly correſponding to the ſubtilitie of the figure, that aſwel the eye is therwith recreated as the eare or the mind. The Greekes call it *Emblema*, the Italiens *Impreſa*, and we, a Deuice, ſuch as a man may put into letters of gold and ſende to his miſtreſſes for a token, or cauſe to be embrodered in ſcutchions of armes, or in any bordure of a rich garment to giue by his noueltie maruell to the beholder. Such were the figures and inſcriptions the Romane Emperours gaue in their money and coignes of largeſſe, and in other great medailles of ſiluer and gold, as that of the Emperour *Auguſtus*, an arrow entangled by the fiſh *Remora*, with theſe words, *Feſtina lento*, ſignifying that celeritie is to be vſed with deliberation: all great enterpriſes being for the moſt part either ouerthrowen with haſt or hindred by delay, in which caſe leaſure in

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th'aduice, and ſpeed in th'execution make a very good match for a glorious ſucceſſe.

Th'Emperour *Heliogabalus* by his name alluding to the ſunne, which in Greeke is *Helios*, gaue for his deuice, the cœleſtial ſunne, with theſe words [*Soli inuicto*] the ſubtilitie lyeth in the word [*ſoli*] which hath a double ſenſe, viz. to the Sunne, and to him onely.

We our ſelues attributing that moſt excellent figure, for his incomparable beauty and light, to the perſon of our Soueraigne lady altring the mot, made it farre paſſe that of Th'Emperour *Heliogabalus* both for ſubtilitie and multiplicitie of ſenſe, thus, [*Soli nunquam deficienti*] to her onely that neuer failes, viz. in bountie and munificence toward all hers that deſerue, or elſe thus, To her onely whoſe glorie and good fortune may neuer decay or wane. And ſo it inureth as a wiſh by way of reſemblaunce in [*Simile diſſimile*] which is alſo a ſubtillitie, likening her Maieſtie to the Sunne for his brightneſſe, but not to him for his paſſion, which is ordinarily to go to glade, and ſometime to ſuffer eclypſe.

King *Edvvarde* the thirde, her Maieſties moſt noble progenitour, firſt founder of the famous order of the Garter, gaue this poſie with it. *Hony ſoit qui mal y penſe*, commonly thus Engliſhed, Ill be to him that thinketh ill, but in mine opinion better thus, Diſhonored be he, who meanes vnhonorably. There can not be a more excellent deuiſe, nor that could containe larger intendment, nor greater ſubtilitie, nor (as a man may ſay) more vertue or Princely generoſitie. For firſt he did by it mildly and grauely reproue the peruers conſtruction of ſuch noble men in his court, as imputed the kings wearing about his neck the garter of the lady with whom he danced, to ſome amorous alliance betwixt them, which was not true. He alſo iuſtly defended his owne integritie, ſaued the noble womans good renowme, which by licentious ſpeeches might haue bene empaired, and liberally recompenced her in-

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iurie with an honor, ſuch as none could haue bin deuiſed greater nor more glorious or permanent vpon her and all the poſteritie of her houſe. It inureth alſo as a worthy leſſon and diſcipline for all Princely perſonages, whoſe actions, imaginations, countenances and ſpeeches, ſhould euermore correſpond in all trueth and honorable ſimplicitie.

Charles the fift Emperour, euen in his yong yeares ſhewing his valour and honorable ambition, gaue for his new order, the golden Fleece, vſurping it vpon Prince Iaſon and his Argonauts rich ſpoile brought from *Cholcos*. But for his deuice two pillers with this mot *Plus vltra*, as one not content to be reſtrained within the limits that *Hercules* had ſet for an vttermoſt bound to all his trauailes, viz. two pillers in the mouth of the ſtraight *Gibraltare*, but would go furder: which came fortunately to paſſe, and whereof the good ſucceſſe gaue great commendation to his deuice: for by the valiancy of his Captaines before he died he conquered great part of the weſt Indias, neuer knowen to *Hercules* or any of our world before.

In the ſame time (ſeeming that the heauens and ſtarres had conſpired to repleniſh the earth with Princes and gouernours of great courage, and moſt famous conquerours) *Selim* Emperour of Turkie gaue for his deuice a croiſſant or new moone, promiſing to himſelf increaſe of glory and enlargement of empire, til he had brought all Aſia vnder his ſubiection, which he reaſonably well accompliſhed. For in leſſe then eight yeres which he raigned, he conquered all Syria and Egypt, and layd it to his dominion. This deuice afterward was vſurped by *Henry* the ſecond French king, with this mot *Donec totum compleat orbem*, till he be at his full: meaning it not ſo largely as did *Selim*, but onely that his friendes ſhould knowe how vnable he was to do them good, and to ſhew benificence vntil he attained the crowne of France vnto which he aſpired as next ſucceſſour.

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King *Levvis* the twelfth, a valiant and magnanimous prince, who becauſe hee was on euery ſide enuironed with mightie neighbours, and moſt of them his enemies, to let them perceiue that they ſhould not finde him vnable or vnfurniſhed (incaſe they ſhould offer any vnlawfull hoſtillitie) of ſufficient forces of his owne, aſwell to offende as to defend, and to reuenge an iniurie as to repulſe it. He gaue for his deuice the Porkeſpick with this poſie *pres et loign*, both farre and neare. For the Purpentines nature is, to ſuch as ſtand aloofe, to dart her prickles from her, and if they come neare her, with the ſame as they ſticke faſt to wound them that hurt her.

But of late yeares in the ranſacke of the Cities of *Cartagena* and S. *Dominico* in the Weſt Indias, manfully put in execution by the proweſſe of her Maieſties men, there was found a deuice made peraduenture without King *Philips* knowledge, wrought al in maſſiue copper, a king ſitting on horſebacke vpon a *monde* or world, the horſe prauncing forward with his forelegges as if he would leape of, with this inſcription, *Non ſufficit orbis*, meaning, as it is to be conceaued, that one whole world could not content him. This immeaſurable ambition of the Spaniards, if her Maieſtie by Gods prouidence, had not with her forces, prouidently ſtayed and retranched, no man knoweth what inconuenience might in time haue inſued to all the Princes and common wealthes in Chriſtendome, who haue founde them ſelues long annoyed with his exceſſiue greatneſſe.

Atila king of the Huns, inuading France with an army of 300000. fighting men, as it is reported, thinking vtterly to abbaſe the glory of the Romane Empire, gaue for his deuice of armes, a ſword with a firie point and theſe words, *Ferro et flamma*, with ſword and fire. This very deuice being as ye ſee onely accommodate to a king or conquerour and not a coillen or any meane

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ſouldier, a certaine baſe man of England being knowen euen at that time a bricklayer or maſon by his ſcience, gaue for his creſt: whom it had better become to beare a truell full of morter then a ſword and fire, which is onely the reuenge of a Prince, and lieth not in any other mans abilitie to performe, vnleſſe ye will allow it to euery poore knaue that is able to ſet fire on a thacht houſe. The heraldes ought to vſe great diſcretion in ſuch matters: for neither any rule of their arte doth warrant ſuch abſurdities, nor though ſuch a coat or creſt were gained by a priſoner taken in the field, or by a flag found in ſome ditch and neuer fought for (as many times happens) yet is it no more allowable then it were to beare the deuice of *Tamerlan* an Emperour in Tartary, who gaue the lightning of heauen, with a poſie in that language purporting theſe words, *Ira Dei*, which alſo appeared well to anſwer his fortune. For from a ſturdie ſhepeheard he became a moſt mighty Emperour, and with his innumerable great armies deſolated ſo many countreyes and people, as he might iuſtly be called [*the vvrath of God.*] It appeared alſo by his ſtrange ende: for in the midſt of his greatneſſe and proſperitie he died ſodainly, and left no child or kinred for a ſucceſſour to ſo large an Empire, nor any memory after him more then of his great puiſſance and crueltie.

But that of the king of China in the fardeſt part of the Orient, though it be not ſo terrible is no leſſe admirable, and of much ſharpneſſe and good implication, worthy for the greateſt king and conqueror: and it is, two ſtrange ſerpents entertangled in their amorous congreſſe, the leſſer creeping with his head into the greaters mouth, with words purporting [*ama et time*] loue and feare. Which poſie with maruellous much reaſon and ſubtillity implieth the dutie of euery ſubiect to his Prince, and of euery Prince to his ſubiect, and that without either of them both, no ſubiect could be ſayd entirely to performe his liegeance

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nor the Prince his part of lawfull gouernement. For without feare and loue the foueraigne authority could not be vpholden, nor without iuſtice and mercy the Prince be renowmed and honored of his ſubiect. All which parts are diſcouered in this figure: loue by the ſerpents amorous entertangling: obedience and feare by putting the inferiours head into the others mouth hauing puiſſance to deſtroy. On th'other ſide, iuſtice in the greater to prepare and manace death and deſtruction to offenders. And if he ſpare it, then betokeneth it mercie, and a grateful recompence of the loue and obedience which the foueraigne receaueth.

It is alſo worth the telling, how the king vſeth the ſame in pollicie, he giueth it in his ordinarie liueries to be worne in euery vpper garment of all his nobleſt men and greateſt Magiſtrats and the reſt of his officers and ſeruants, which are either embrodered vpon the breaſt and the back with ſiluer or gold or pearle or ſtone more or leſſe richly, according to euery mans dignitie and calling, and they may not preſume to be ſeene in publick without them: nor alſo in any place where by the kings commiſſion they vſe to ſit in iuſtice, or any other publike affaire, wherby the king is highly both honored and ſerued, the common people retained in dutie and admiration of his greatneſſe: the noblemen, magiſtrats and officers euery one in his degree ſo much eſteemed and reuerenced, as in their good and loyall ſeruice they want vnto their perſons litle leſſe honour for the kings ſake, then can be almoſt due or exhibited to the king him ſelfe.

I could not forbeare to adde this forraine example to accompliſh our diſcourſe touching deuices. For the beauty and gallantneſſe of it, beſides the ſubtillitie of the conceit, and princely pollicy in the vſe, more exact then can be remembred in any other of any *European* Prince, whoſe deuiſes I will not ſay but many of them be loftie and ingenious, many of them louely and

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beautifull, many other ambitious and arrogant, and the chiefeſt of them terrible and ful of horror to the nature of man, but that any of them be comparable with it, for wit, vertue, grauitie, and if ye liſt brauerie, honour and magnificence, not vſurping vpon the peculiars of the gods. In my conceipt there is none to be found.

This may ſuffice for deuices, a terme which includes in his generality all thoſe other, viz. liueries, cognizances, emblemes, enſeigns and impreſes. For though the termes be diuers, the vſe and intent is but one whether they reſt in colour or figure or both, or in word or in muet ſhew, and that is to inſinuat ſome ſecret, wittie, morall and braue purpoſe preſented to the beholder, either to recreate his eye, or pleaſe his phantaſie, or examine his iudgement or occupie his braine or to manage his will either by hope or by dread, euery of which reſpectes be of no litle moment to the intereſt and ornament of the ciuill life: and therefore giue them no little commendation. Then hauing produced ſo many worthy and wiſe founders of theſe deuices, and ſo many puiſſant patrons and protectours of them, I feare no reproch in this diſcourſe, which otherwiſe the venimous appetite of enuie by detraction or ſcorne would peraduenture not ſticke to offer me.

Of the Anagrame, or poſie tranſpoſed.

ONe other pretie conceit we will impart vnto you and then trouble you with no more, and is alſo borrowed primitiuely of the Poet, or courtly maker, we may terme him, the [*poſie tranſpoſed*] or in one word [*a tranſpoſe*] a thing if it be done for paſtime and exerciſe of the wit without ſuperſtition commendable inough and a meete ſtudy for Ladies, neither bringing them any great gayne nor any great loſſe vnleſſe it be of idle time. They that vſe it for pleaſure is to breed one word

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out of another not altering any letter nor the number of them, but onely tranſpoſing of the ſame, wherupon many times is produced ſome grateful newes or matter to them for whoſe pleaſure and ſeruice it was intended: and bicauſe there is much difficultie in it, and altogether ſtandeth upon hap hazard, it is compted for a courtly conceit no leſſe then the deuice before remembred. *Lycophron* one of the ſeuen Greeke Lyrickes, who when they met together (as many times they did) for their excellencie and louely concorde, were called the ſeuen ſtarres [*pleiades*] this man was very perfit and fortunat in theſe tranſpoſes, and for his delicate wit and other good parts was greatly fauoured by *Ptolome* king of Egypt and Queene *Arſinoe* his wife. He after ſuch ſort called the king ἀπομελίτος which is letter for letter *Ptolomæus* and Queene *Arſinoe*, he called ἴον ἥρας, which is *Arſinoe*, now the ſubtillitie lyeth not in the conuerſion but in the ſence in this that *Apomelitos*, ſignifieth in Greek [*honey ſweet*] ſo was *Ptolome* the ſweeteſt natured man in the world both for countenance and conditions, and *Iôneras*, ſignifieth the the violet or flower of *Iuno* a ſtile among the Greekes for a woman endued with all bewtie and magnificence, which conſtruction falling out grateful and ſo truly, exceedingly well pleaſed the King and the Queene, and got *Lycophron* no litle thanke and benefite at both their hands.

The French Gentlemen haue very ſharpe witts and withall a delicate language, which may very eaſily be wreſted to any alteration of words ſententious, and they of late yeares haue taken this paſtime vp among them many times gratifying their Ladies, and often times, the Princes of the Realme, with ſome ſuch thankfull noueltie. Whereof one made by *François de Vallois*, thus *De façon fuis Roy*, who in deede was of faſhion countenance and ſtature, beſides his regall vertues a very king, for in a world there could not be ſeene a goodlier man of perſon. Another found this

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by *Henry de Vallois* [*Roy de nulz hay*] a king hated of no man, and was apparant in his conditions and nature, for there was not a Prince of greater affabilitie and manſuetude than he.

I my ſelfe ſeeing this conceit ſo well allowed of in Fraunce and Italie, and being informed that her Maieſtie tooke pleaſure ſometimes in deſciphring of names, and hearing how diuers Gentlemen of her Court had eſſayed but with no great felicitie to make ſome delectable tranſpoſe of her Maieſties name, I would needs try my luck, for cunning I now not why I ſhould call it, vnleſſe it be for the many and variable applications of ſence, which requireth peraduenture ſome wit and diſcretion more then of euery vnlearned man and for the purpoſe I tooke me theſe three wordes (if any other in the world) containing in my conceit greateſt myſterie, and moſt importing good to all them that now be aliue, vnder her noble gouernement.

Eliſſabet Anglorum Regina.

Which orthographie (becauſe ye ſhall not be abuſed) is true and not miſtaken, for the letter *zeta*, of the Hebrewes and Greeke and of all other toungs is in truth but a double *ſſ.* hardly vttered, and *H.* is but a note of aſpiration onely and no letter, which therefore is by the Greeks omitted. Vpon the tranſpoſition I found this to redound.

Multa regnabis enſe gloria.

By thy ſword ſhalt thou raigne in great renowne.

Then tranſpoſing the word [*enſe*] it came to be

Multa regnabis ſene gloria.

Aged and in much glorie ſhall ye raigne.

Both which reſultes falling out vpon the very firſt marſhalling of the letters, without any darkneſſe or difficultie, and ſo ſenſibly and well appropriat to her Maieſties perſon and eſtate, and finally ſo effectually to mine own wiſh (which is a matter of much moment in ſuch caſes) I took them both for a good boding, and very

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fatallitie to her Maieſtie appointed by Gods prouidence for all our comfortes. Alſo I imputed it for no litle good luck and glorie to my ſelfe, to haue pronounced to her ſo good and proſperous a fortune, and ſo thankefull newes to all England, which though it cannot be ſaid by this euent any deſtinie or fatal neceſſitie, yet ſurely is it by all probabillitie of reaſon, ſo likely to come to paſſe, as any other worldly euent of things that be vncertaine, her Maieſtie continuing the courſe of her moſt regal proceedings and vertuous life in all earneſt zeale and godly contemplation of his word, and in the ſincere adminiſtration of his terrene iuſtice, aſſigned ouer to her execution as his Lieutenant vpon earth within the compaſſe of her dominions.

This alſo is worth the noting, and I will aſſure you of it, that after the firſt ſearch whereupon this tranſpoſe was faſhioned. The ſame letters being by me toſſed and tranlaced fiue hundreth times, I could neuer make any other, at leaſt of ſome ſence and conformitie to her Maieſties eſtate and the caſe. If any other man by triall happen vpon a better omination, or what ſoeuer els ye will call it, I will reioyſe to be ouermatched in my deuiſe, and renounce him all the thankes and profite of my trauaile.

END OF THE CANCELLED PAGES.

The text then immediately follows on thus:—

When I wrate of theſe deuices, I ſmiled with my ſelfe, thinking that the readers would do ſo to, and many of them ſay, that ſuch trifles as theſe might well haue bene ſpared, conſidering the world is full inough of them, and that it is pitie mens heades ſhould be fedde with ſuch vanities as are to none edification nor inſtruction, either of morall vertue, or otherwiſe behooffull for the common wealth, to whoſe ſeruice (ſay they) we are all borne, and not to fill and repleniſh a whole world full of idle toyes. To which ſort of reprehen-

dours, being either all holy and mortified to the world, and therfore eſteeming nothing that ſauoureth not of Theologie, or altogether graue and worldly, and therefore caring for nothing but matters of pollicie, and diſcourſes of eſtate, or all giuen to thrift and paſſing for none art that is not gainefull and lucratiue, as the ſciences of the Law, Phiſicke and marchaundiſe: to theſe I will giue none other anſwere then referre them to the many trifling poemes of *Homer*, *Ouid*, *Virgill*, *Catullus* and other notable writers of former ages, which were not of any grauitie or ſerioufneſſe, and many of them full of impudicitie and ribaudrie, as are not theſe of ours, nor for any good in the world ſhould haue bene: and yet thoſe trifles are come from many former ſiecles vnto our times, vncontrolled or condemned or ſuppreſt by any Pope or Patriarch or other ſeuere cenſor of the ciuill maners of men, but haue bene in all ages permitted as the conuenient ſolaces and recreations of mans wit. And as I can not denie but theſe conceits of mine be trifles: no leſſe in very deede be all the moſt ſerious ſtudies of man, if we ſhall meaſure grauitie and lightneſſe by the wiſe mans ballance who after he had conſidered of all the profoundeſt artes and ſtudies among men, in th'ende cryed out with this Epyphoneme, *Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas.* Whoſe authoritie if it were not ſufficient to make me beleeue ſo, I could be content with *Democritus* rather to condemne the vanities of our life by deriſion, then as *Heraclitus* with teares, ſaying with that merrie Greeke thus,

Omnia ſunt riſus, ſunt puluis, et omnia nil ſunt.
Res hominum cunctæ, nam ratione carent.

Thus Engliſhed,

All is but a ieſt, all duſt, all not vvorth tvvo peaſon:
For vvhy in mans matters is neither rime nor reaſon.

Now paſſing from theſe courtly trifles, let vs talke of our ſcholaſtical toyes, that is of the Grammaticall verſifying of the Greeks and Latines and ſee whether it might be reduced into our Engliſh arte or no.

CHAP. XII. [*XIII.*]

How if all maner of ſodaine innouations were not very ſcandalous, ſpecially in the lawes of any langage or arte, the vſe of the Greeke and Latine feete might be brought into our vulgar Poeſie, and with good grace inough.

NOw neuertheleſſe albeit we haue before alledged that our vulgar *Saxon Engliſh* ſtanding moſt vpon wordes *monoſillable*, and little vpon *polyſillables* doth hardly admit the vſe of thoſe fine inuented feete of the Greeks and Latines, and that for the moſt part wiſe and graue men doe naturally miſlike with all ſodaine innouations ſpecially of lawes (and this the law of our auncient Engliſh Poeſie) and therefore lately before we imputed it to a nice and ſcholaſticall curioſitie in ſuch makers as haue ſought to bring into our vulgar Poeſie ſome of the auncient feete, to wit the *Dactile* into verſes *exameters*, as he that tranſlated certaine bookes of *Virgils Eneydos* in ſuch meaſures and not vncommendably: if I ſhould now ſay otherwiſe it would make me ſeeme contradictorie to my ſelfe, yet for the information of our yong makers, and pleaſure of all others who be delighted in noueltie, and to th'intent we may not ſeeme by ignorance or ouerſight to omit any point of ſubtillitie, materiall or neceſſarie to our vulgar arte, we will in this preſent chapter and by our own idle obſeruations ſhew how one may eaſily and commodiouſly lead all thoſe feete of the auncients into our vulgar langage. And if mens eares were not perchaunce to daintie, or their iudgementes ouer partiall, would peraduenture nothing at all misbecome our arte, but make in our meetres a more pleaſant numeroſitie then now is. Thus farre therefore we will aduenture and not beyond, to th'intent to ſhew some ſingularitie in our arte that euery man hath not heretofore obſerued, and (her maieſty good liking always had) whether we make the common readers to laugh or to lowre, all is

a matter, ſince our intent is not ſo exactlie to proſecute the purpoſe, nor ſo earneſtly, as to thinke it ſhould by authority of our owne iudgement be generally applauded at to the diſcredit of our foreſathers maner of vulgar Poeſie, or to the alteration or peraduenture totall deſtruction of the ſame, which could not ſtand with any good diſcretion or curteſie in vs to attempt, but thus much I ſay, that by ſome leaſurable trauell it were no hard matter to induce all their auncient feete into vſe with vs, and that it ſhould proue very agreable to the eare and well according with our ordinary times and pronunciation, which no man could then iuſtly miſlike, and that is to allow euery word *poliſillable* one long time of neceſſitie, which ſhould be where his ſharpe accent falls in our owne *ydiome* moſt aptly and naturally, wherein we would not follow the licence of the Greeks and Latines, who made not their ſharpe accent any neceſſary prolongation of their times, but vſed ſuch ſillable ſometimes long ſometimes ſhort at their pleaſure. The other ſillables of any word where the ſharpe accent fell not, to be accompted of ſuch time and quantitie as his *ortographie* would beſt beare hauing regard to himſelfe, or to his next neighbour, word, bounding him on either ſide, namely to the ſmoothnes and hardneſſe of the ſillable in his vtterance, which is occaſioned altogether by his *ortographie* and ſcituation as in this word [*dáyly*] the firſt ſillable for his vſuall and ſharpe accentes ſake to be alwayes long, the ſecond for his flat accents ſake to be alwayes ſhort, and the rather for his *ortographie*, bycauſe if he goe before another word commencing with a vowell not letting him to be eclipſed, his vtterance is eaſie and currant, in this triſſillable [*daūngĕrŏus*] the firſt to be long, th'other two ſhort for the ſame cauſes. In this word [*dāngĕroŭſnēſſe*] the firſt and laſt to be both long, bycauſe they receiue both of them the ſharpe accent, and the two middlemoſt to be ſhort, in theſe words [*remedie*] and [*remedileſſe*] the time to follow alſo the accent, ſo as if it pleaſe better to ſet the ſharpe accent vpon [*re*] then vpon [*dye*]

that ſillable ſhould be made long and *è conuerſo*, but in this word [*remedileſſe*] bycauſe many like better to accent the ſillable [*me*] then the ſillable [*les*] therfore I leaue him for a common ſillable to be able to receiue both a long and a ſhort time as occaſion ſhall ſerue. The like law I ſet in theſe wordes [*reuocable*] [*recouerable*] [*irreuocable*] [*irrecouerable*] for ſometime it ſounds better to ſay *rĕuō cāblĕ* then *rĕ uōcăblĕ*, *rēcŏuĕr āblĕ* then *rĕcōuĕr ăblĕ* for this one thing ye muſt alwayes marke that if your time fall either by reaſon of his ſharpe accent or otherwiſe vpon the *penultima*, ye ſhal finde many other words to rime with him, bycauſe ſuch terminations are not geazon, but if the long time fall vpon the *antepenultima* ye ſhall not finde many wordes to match him in his termination, which is the cauſe of his concord or rime, but if you would let your long time by his ſharpe accent fall aboue the *antepenultima* as to ſay [*cōuĕrăblĕ*] ye ſhall ſeldome or perchance neuer find one to make vp rime with him vnleſſe it be badly and by abuſe, and therefore in all ſuch long *poliſillables* ye doe commonly giue two ſharpe accents, and thereby reduce him into two feete as in this word [*rēmŭ nĕrātĭŏn*] which makes a couple of good *Dactils*, and in this word [*cōntrībūtĭŏn*] which makes a good *ſpondeus* and a good *dactill*, and in this word [*recāpĭtŭlātĭŏn*] it makes two *dactills* and a ſillable ouerplus to annexe to the word precedent to helpe peece vp another foote. But for wordes *monoſillables* (as be moſt of ours) becauſe in pronouncing them they do of neceſſitie retaine a ſharpe accent, ye may iuſtly allow them to be all long if they will ſo beſt ſerue your turne, and if they be tailed one to another, or th'one to a *diſſillable* or *polyſſillable* ye ought to allow them that time that beſt ſerues your purpoſe and pleaſeth your eare moſt, and trulieſt aunſweres the nature of the *ortographie* in which I would as neare as I could obſerue and keepe the lawes of the Greeke and Latine verſifiers, that is to prolong the ſillable which is written with double conſonants or by dipthong or with ſingle conſonants that run hard and harſhly vpon the toung :

and to ſhorten all ſillables that ſtand vpon vowels, if there were no cauſe of *eliſion* and ſingle conſonants and ſuch of them as are moſt flowing and ſlipper vpon the toung as. *n.r.t.d.l.* and for this purpoſe to take away all aſpirations, and many times the laſt conſonant of a word as the Latine Poetes vſed to do, ſpecially *Lucretius* and *Ennius* as to ſay [*finibu*] for [*finibus*] and ſo would not I ſtick to ſay thus [*delite*] for [*delight*] [*hye*] for [*high*] and ſuch like, and doth nothing at all impugne the rule I gaue before againſt the wreſting of wordes by falſe *ortographie* to make vp rime, which may not be falſified. But this omiſſion of letters in the middeſt of a meetre to make him the more ſlipper, helpes the numeroſitie and hinders not the rime. But generally the ſhortning or prolonging of the *monoſillables* dependes much vpon the nature of their *ortographie* which the Latin Grammariens call the rule of poſition, as for example if I ſhall ſay thus.

Nōt mănĭe dayēs pāſt. Twentie dayes after,

This makes a good *Dactill* and a good *ſpondeus*, but if ye turne them backward it would not do ſo, as.

Many dayes, not paſt.

And the *diſtick* made all of *monoſillables.*

Būt nōne ōf ūs trūe mēn ānd frēe,
Could finde ſo great good lucke as he.

Which words ſerue well to make the verſe all *ſpondiacke* or *iambicke*, but not in *dactil*, as other words or the ſame otherwiſe placed would do, for it were an illfauored *dactil* to ſay.

Būt nŏne ŏf, ūs ăll trĕwe.

Therefore whenſoeuer your words will not make a ſmooth *dactil*, ye muſt alter them or their ſituations, or elſe turne them to other feete that may better beare their maner of ſound and orthographie: or if the word be *polyſillable* to deuide him, and to make him ſerue by peeces, that he could not do whole and entierly. And no doubt by like conſideration did the Greeke and Latine verſifiers faſhion all their feete at the firſt to be of ſundry times, and the ſelfe ſame ſillable to be ſome-

time long and ſometime ſhort for the eares better ſatisfaction as hath bene before remembred. Now alſo wheras I ſaid before that our old Saxon Engliſh for his many *monoſillables* did not naturally admit the vſe of the ancient feete in our vulgar meaſures ſo aptly as in thoſe languages which ſtood moſt vpon *poliſillables*, I ſayd it in a ſort truly, but now I muſt recant and confeſſe that our Normane Engliſh which hath growen ſince *William* the Conquerour doth admit any of the auncient feete, by reaſon of the many *polyſillables* euen to ſixe and ſeauen in one word, which we at this day vſe in our moſt ordinarie language: and which corruption hath bene occaſioned chiefly by the peeuiſh affectation not of the Normans them ſelues, but of clerks and scholers or ſecretaries long ſince, who not content with the vſual Normane or Saxon word, would conuert the very Latine and Greeke word into vulgar French, as to ſay innumerable for innombrable, reuocable, irreuocable, irradiation, depopulation and ſuch like, which are not naturall Normans nor yet French, but altered Latines, and without any imitation at all: which therefore were long time deſpiſed for inkehorne termes, and now be reputed the beſt and moſt delicat of any other. Of which and many other cauſes of corruption of our ſpeach we haue in another place more amply diſcourſed, but by this meane we may at this day very well receiue the auncient feete *metricall* of the Greeks and Latines ſauing thoſe that be ſuperflous as be all the feete aboue the *triſſillable*, which the old Grammarians idly inuented and diſtinguiſht by ſpeciall names, whereas in deede the ſame do ſtand compounded with the inferiour feete, and therefore ſome of them were called by the names of *didactilus*, *diſpondeus* and *diſiambus:* all which feete as I ſay we may be allowed to vſe with good diſcretion and preciſe choiſe of wordes and with the fauorable approbation of readers, and ſo ſhall our plat in this one point be larger and much ſurmount that which *Stanihurſt* firſt tooke in hand by his *exameters dactilicke* and *ſpondaicke* in the tranſlation of *Virgills Eneidos*, and

ſuch as for a great number of them my ſtomacke can hardly digeſt for the ill ſhapen ſound of many of his wordes *polifillable* and alſo his copulation of *monofillables* ſupplying the quantitie of a *triffillable* to his intent. And right ſo in promoting this deuiſe of ours being (I feare me) much more nyce and affected, and therefore more miſliked then his, we are to beſpeake fauour, firſt of the delicate eares, then of the rigorous and ſeuere diſpoſitions, laſtly to craue pardon of the learned and auncient makers in our vulgar, for if we ſhould ſeeke in euery point to egall our ſpeach with the Greeke and Latin in their *metricall* obſeruations it could not poſſible be by vs perfourmed, becauſe their ſillables came to be timed ſome of them long, ſome of them ſhort not by reaſon of any euident or apparant cauſe in writing or ſounde remaining vpon one more then another, for many times they ſhortned the ſillable of ſharpe accent and made long that of the flat, and therefore we muſt needes ſay, it was in many of their wordes done by preelection in the firſt Poetes, not hauing regard altogether to the *ortographie*, and hardneſſe or ſoftneſſe of a ſillable, conſonant, vowell or dipthong, but at their pleaſure, or as it fell out: ſo as he that firſt put in a verſe this word [*Penelope*] which might be *Homer* or ſome other of his antiquitie, where he made [*pē*] in both places long and [*nĕ*] and [*lŏ*] ſhort, he might haue made them otherwiſe and with as good reaſon, nothing in the world appearing that might moue them to make ſuch (preelection) more in th'one ſillable then in the other for *pe. ne.* and *lo.* being ſillables vocals be egally ſmoth and currant vpon the toung, and might beare aſwel the long as the ſhort time, but it pleaſed the Poet otherwiſe: ſo he that firſt ſhortned, *ca.* in this word *cano*, and made long *tro*, in *troia*, and *o*, in *oris*, might haue aſwell done the contrary, but becauſe he that firſt put them into a verſe, found as it is to be ſuppoſed a more ſweetneſſe in his owne eare to haue them ſo tymed, therefore all other Poets who followed, were fayne to doe the like, which made

that *Virgill* who came many yeares after the firſt reception of wordes in their ſeuerall times, was driuen of neceſſitie to accept them in ſuch quantities as they were left him and therefore ſaid.

ārmă uĭ rūmqūe că nō trō iē quì
prīmŭs ăb ōrìs.

Neither truely doe I ſee any other reaſon in that lawe (though in other rules of ſhortning and prolonging a ſillable there may be reaſon) but that it ſtands vpon bare tradition. Such as the *Cabaliſts* auouch in their myſticall conſtructions Theologicall and others, ſaying that they receaued the ſame from hand to hand from the firſt parent *Adam*, *Abraham* and others, which I will giue them leaue alone both to ſay and beleeue for me, thinking rather that they haue bene the idle occupations, or perchaunce the malitious and craftie conſtructions of the *Talmudiſts*, and others of the Hebrue clerks to bring the world into admiration of their lawes and Religion. Now peraduenture with vs Engliſhmen it be ſomewhat too late to admit a new inuention of feete and times that our forefathers neuer vſed nor neuer obſerued till this day, either in their meaſures or in their pronuntiation, and perchaunce will ſeeme in vs a preſumptuous part to attempt, conſidering alſo it would be hard to find many men to like of one mans choiſe in the limitation of times and quantities of words, with which not one, but euery eare is to be pleaſed and made a particular iudge, being moſt truly ſayd, that a multitude or comminaltie is hard to pleaſe and eaſie to offend, and therefore I intend not to proceed any further in this curioſitie then to ſhew ſome ſmall ſubtillitie that any other hath not yet done, and not by imitation but by obſeruation, nor to th'intent to haue it put in execution in our vulgar Poeſie, but to be pleaſantly ſcanned vpon, as are all nouelties ſo friuolous and ridiculous as it.

CHAP. XIII. [*XIV.*]

A more particular declaration of the metricall feete of the ancient Poets Greeke and Latine and chiefly of the feete of two times.

THeir Grammarians made a great multitude of feete, I wot not to what huge number, and of ſo many ſizes as their wordes were of length, namely ſixe ſizes, whereas in deede, the metricall feete are but twelue in number, wherof foure only be of two times, and eight of three times, the reſt compounds of the premiſed two ſorts, euen as the Arithmeticall numbers aboue three are made of two and three. And if ye will know how many of theſe feete will be commodiouſly receiued with vs, I ſay all the whole twelue, for firſt for the foote *ſpondeus* of two long times ye haue theſe Engliſh wordes *mōrnīng*, *mīdnīght*, *mīſchāunce*, and a number moe whoſe ortographie may direct your iudgement in this point: for your *Trocheus* of a long and ſhort ye haue theſe wordes *mānĕr*, *brōkĕn*, *tākĕn*, *bōdiĕ*, *mēmbĕr*, and a great many moe if their laſt ſillables abut not vpon the conſonant in the beginning of another word, and in theſe whether they do abut or no *wīttĭe*, *dīttĭe*, *sōrrŏw*, *mōrrŏw*, and ſuch like, which end in a vowell for your *Iambus* of a ſhort and a long, ye haue theſe wordes [*rĕſlōre*] [*rĕmōrſe*] [*dĕsīre*] [*ĕndūre*] and a thouſand beſides. For your foote *pirrichius* or of two ſhort ſilables ye haue theſe words [*mănĭe*] [*mŏnĕy*] [*pĕnĭe*] [*sĭlĭĕ*] and others of that conſtitution or the like: for your feete of three times and firſt your *dactill*, ye haue theſe wordes and a number moe *pātĭĕnce*, *tēmpĕrănce*, *vvōmănheăd*, *iōlĭtĭe*, *dāungĕrŏus*, *dūetĭfŭll* and others. For your *moloſſus*, of all three long, ye haue a member [number?] of wordes alſo and ſpecially moſt of your participles actiue, as *pērsīſtīng*, *dĕſpōilīng*, *ēndēntīng*, and ſuch like in ortographie: for your *anapeſtus* of two ſhort and a long ye haue theſe words but not many moe, as *mănĭfōld*, *mŏnĭlēſſe*, *rĕmănēnt*, *hŏlĭnēſſe*. For your foote *tribracchus* of all three

ſhort, ye haue very few *triſſillables*, becauſe the ſharpe accent will always make one of them long by pronunciation, which els would be by ortographie ſhort as, [*mĕrĭly*] [*minion*] and ſuch like. For your foote *bacchius* of a ſhort and two long ye haue theſe and the like words *triſſillables* [*lămēntīng*] [*rĕquēſtīng*] [*rĕnoūncīng*] [*rĕpēntānce*] [*ĕnūrīng*]. For your foote *antibacchius*, of two long and a ſhort ye haue theſe wordes [*fōrsākĕn*] [*īmpūgnĕd*] and others many: For your *amphimacer* that is a long a ſhort and a long ye haue theſe wordes and many moe [*éxcellĕnt*] [*īmĭnēnt*] and ſpecially ſuch as be propre names of perſons or townes or other things and namely Welſh wordes: for your foote *amphibracchus*, of a ſhort, a long and a ſhort, ye haue theſe wordes and many like to theſe [*rĕsīſtĕd*] [*dĕlīghtfŭll*] [*rĕprīſăll*] [*ĭnăūntĕr*] [*ĕnāmĭll*] ſo as for want of Engliſh wordes if your eare be not to daintie and your rules to preciſe, ye neede not be without the *metricall* feete of the ancient Poets ſuch as be moſt pertinent and not ſuperfluous. This is (ye will perchaunce ſay) my ſingular opinion: then ye ſhall ſee how well I can maintaine it. Firſt the quantitie of a word comes either by (preelection) without reaſon or force as hath bene alledged, and as the auncient Greekes and Latines did in many wordes, but not in all, or by (election) with reaſon as they did in ſome, and not a few. And a ſound is drawen at length either by the infirmitie of the toung, becauſe the word or ſillable is of ſuch letters as hangs long in the palate or lippes ere he will come forth, or becauſe he is accented and tuned hier and ſharper then another, whereby he ſomewhat obſcureth the other ſillables in the ſame word that be not accented ſo high, in both theſe caſes we will eſtabliſh our ſillable long, contrariwiſe the ſhortning of a ſillable is, when his ſounde or accent happens to be heauy and flat, that is to fall away ſpeedily, and as it were inaudible, or when he is made of ſuch letters as be by nature ſlipper and voluble and ſmoothly paſſe from the mouth. And the vowell is alwayes more eaſily deliuered then the con-

ſonant: and of conſonants, the liquide more then the mute, and a ſingle conſonant more then a double, and one more then twayne coupled together: all which points were obſerued by the Greekes and Latines, and allowed for *maximes* in verſiſying. Now if ye will examine theſe foure *biſſillables* [*rēmnānt*] [*rĕmāine*] [*rēndĕr*] [*rĕnĕt*] for an example by which ye may make a generall rule, and ye ſhall finde, that they aunſwere our firſt reſolution. Firſt in [*remnant*] [*rem*] bearing the ſharpe accent and hauing his conſonant abbut vpon another, ſoundes long. The ſillable [*nant*] being written with two conſonants muſt needs be accompted the ſame, beſides that [*nant*] by his Latin originall is long, viz [*remanēns.*] Take this word [*remaine*] becauſe the laſt ſillable beares the ſharpe accent, he is long in the eare, and [*re*] being the firſt ſillable, paſſing obſcurely away with a flat accent is ſhort, beſides that [*re*] by his Latine originall and alſo by his ortographie is ſhort. This word [*render*] bearing the ſharpe accent vpon [*ren*] makes it long, the ſillable [*der*] falling away ſwiftly and being alſo written with a ſingle conſonant or liquide is ſhort and makes the *trocheus.* This word [*rĕnĕt*] hauing both ſillables ſliding and ſlipper make the foote *Pirrichius*, becauſe if he be truly vttered, he beares in maner no ſharper accent vpon the one then the other ſillable, but be in effect egall in time and tune, as is alſo the *Spondeus.* And becauſe they be not written with any hard or harſh conſonants, I do allow them both for ſhort ſillables, or to be vſed for common, according as their ſituation and place with other words ſhall be: and as I haue named to you but onely foure words for an example, ſo may ye find out by diligent obſeruation foure hundred if ye will. But of all your words *biſſillables* the moſt part naturally do make the foote *Iambus*, many the *Trocheus*, fewer the *Spondeus*, feweſt of all the *Pirrichius*, becauſe in him the ſharpe accent (if ye follow the rules of your accent, as we haue preſuppoſed) doth make a litle oddes: and ye ſhall find verſes made all of *monoſillables*, and do

very well, but lightly they be *Iambickes*, bycauſe for the more part the accent falles ſharpe vpon euery ſecond word rather then contrariwiſe, as this of Sir *Thomas Wiats*.

I fīnde nŏ peāce ănd yēt mĭe wārre ĭs dōne,
I feare and hope, and burne and freeſe like iſe.

And ſome verſes where the ſharpe accent falles vpon the firſt and third, and ſo make the verſe wholly *Trochaicke*, as thus,

Worke not, no nor, wiſh thy friend or foes harme
Try but, truſt not, all that ſpeake thee ſo faire.

And ſome verſes made of *monoſillables* and *biſſillables* enterlaced as this of th'Earles,

When raging loue with extreme paine

And this

A fairer beaſt of freſher hue beheld I neuer none.

And ſome verſes made all of *biſſillables* and others all of *triſſillables*, and others of *poliſillables* egally increaſing and of diuers quantities, and ſundry ſituations, as in this of our owne, made to daunt the inſolence of a beautifull woman.

Brittle beauty bloſſome daily fading
Morne, noone, and eue in age and eke in eld
Dangerous diſdainefull pleaſantly perſwading
Eaſie to gripe but combrous to weld
For ſlender bottome hard and heauy lading
Gay for a while, but little while durable
Suſpicious, incertaine, irreuocable,
O ſince thou art by triall not to truſt
Wiſedome it is, and it is alſo iust
To found the ſtemme before the tree be feld
That is, ſince death vvill driue vs all to duſt
To leaue thy loue ere that vve be compeld.

In which ye haue your firſt verſe all of *biſſillables* and of the foot *trocheus*. The ſecond all of *monoſillables*, and all of the foote *Iambus*, the third all of *triſſillables*, and all of the foote *dactilus*, your fourth of one *biſſillable*, and two *monoſillables* interlarded, the fift of one *monoſillable* and two *biſſillables* enterlaced, and the

reſt of other ſortes and ſcituations, ſome by degrees encreaſing, ſome diminiſhing: which example I haue ſet downe to let you perceiue what pleaſant numerofity in the meaſure and diſpoſition of your words in a meetre may be contriued by curious wits and theſe with other like were the obſeruations of the Greeke and Latine verſifiers.

CHAP. XIIII. [*XV.*]

Of your feet of three times, and firſt of the Dactil.

Our feete of three times by preſcription of the Latine Grammariens are of eight ſundry proportions, for ſome notable difference appearing in euery ſillable of three falling in a word of that ſize: but becauſe aboue the *antepenultima* there was (among the Latines) none accent audible in any long word, therfore to deuiſe any foote of longer meaſure then of three times was to them but ſuperfluous: becauſe all aboue the number of three are but compounded of their inferiours. Omitting therefore to ſpeake of theſe larger feete, we ſay that of all your feete of three times the *Dactill* is moſt vſuall and fit for our vulgar meeter, and moſt agreeable to the eare, ſpecially if ye ouerlade not your verſe with too many of them but here and there enterlace a *Iambus* or ſome other foote of two times to giue him grauitie and ſtay, as in this *quadrein Trimeter* or of three meaſures.

Rendĕr ăgaīne mĭe lībĕrtĭe
ănd sēt yoŭr cāptĭue frēe
Glōrĭoŭs īs thĕ vĭctŏrĭe
Cōnquĕrŏurs ūſe wĭth lēnĭtĭe

Where ye ſee euery verſe is all of a meaſure, and yet vnegall in number of ſillables: for the ſecond verſe is but of ſixe ſillables, where the reſt are of eight. But the reaſon is for that in three of the ſame verſes are two *Dactils* a peece, which abridge two ſillables in euery verſe: and ſo maketh the longeſt euen with the ſhorteſt. Ye may note beſides by the firſt verſe, how

much better ſome *biſſillable* becommeth to peece out an other longer foote then another word doth: for in place of [*render*] if ye had ſayd [*reſtore*] it had marred the *Dactil*, and of neceſſitie driuen him out at length to be a verſe *Iambic* of foure feete, becauſe [*render*] is naturally a *Trocheus* and makes the firſt two times of a *dactil*. [*Reſtore*] is naturally a *Iambus*, and in this place could not poſſibly haue made a pleaſant *dactil*.

Now againe if ye will ſay to me that theſe two words [*libertie*] and [*conquerours*] be not preciſe *Dactils* by the Latine rule. So much will I confeſſe to, but ſince they go currant inough vpon the tongue, and be ſo vſually pronounced, they may paſſe wel inough for *Dactils* in our vulgar meeters, and that is inough for me, ſeeking but to faſhion an art, and not to finiſh it: which time only and cuſtom haue authoritie to do, ſpecially in all caſes of language as the Poet hath wittily remembred in this verſe *-ſi volet vſus,*

Quem penes arbitrium est et vis et norma loquendi.

The Earle of Surrey vpon the death of Sir *Thomas Wiat* made among other this verſe *Pentameter* and of ten ſillables,

What holy graue (alas) vvhat ſepulcher

But if I had the making of him, he ſhould haue bene of eleuen ſillables and kept his meaſure of fiue ſtill, and would ſo haue runne more pleaſantly a great deale: for as he is now, though he be euen he ſeemes odde and defectiue, for not well obſeruing the natural accent of euery word, and this would haue bene ſoone holpen by inſerting one *monoſillable* in the middle of the verſe, and drawing another ſillable in the beginning into a *Dactil*, this word [*holy*] being a good [*Pirrichius*] and very well ſeruing the turne, thus,

Whāt hŏlĭe grāue ă lās whăt fīt sĕpūlchĕr.

Which verſe if ye peruſe throughout ye ſhall finde him after the firſt *dactil* all *Trochaick* and not *Iambic*, nor of any other foot of two times. But perchance if ye would ſeeme yet more curious, in place of theſe foure *Trocheus* ye might induce other feete of three times, as

to make the three ſillables next following the *dactil*, the foote [*amphimacer*] the laſt word [*Sepulcher*] the foote [*amphibracus*] leauing the other midle word for a [*Iambus*] thus.

Whāt hŏlĭe grāue ă lās whăt fīt sĕpūlchĕr.

If ye aske me further why I make (*vvhat*) firſt long and after ſhort in one verſe, to that I ſatisfied you before, that it is by reaſon of his accent ſharpe in one place and flat in another, being a common *monoſillable*, that is, apt to receiue either accent, and ſo in the firſt place receiuing aptly the ſharpe accent he is made long: afterward receiuing the flat accent more aptly then the ſharpe, becauſe the ſillable precedent [*las*] vtterly diſtaines him, he is made ſhort and not long, and that with very good melodie, but to haue giuen him the ſharpe accent and plucked it from the ſillable [*las*] it had bene to any mans eare a great diſcord: for euermore this word [*alás*] is accented vpon the laſt, and that lowdly and notoriouſly as appeareth by all our exclamations vſed vnder that terme. The ſame Earle of Surrey and Sir *Thomas Wyat* the firſt reformers and poliſhers of our vulgar Poeſie much affecting the ſtile and meaſures of the Italian *Petrarcha*, vſed the foote *dactil* very often but not many in one verſe, as in theſe,

Fūll mănĭe that in preſence of thy līuelĭe hĕd,
Shed Cæſars teares vpon Pōmpĕiūs hĕd.
Th'ēnĕmĭe to life deſtroi er of all kinde,
If āmŏ rŏus faith in an hart vn fayned,
Myne old deēre ĕnĕ my my froward maſter.
Thē fŭrĭ ous gone in his moſt ra ging ire.

And many moe which if ye would not allow for *dactils* the verſe would halt vnleſſe ye would ſeeme to helpe it contracting a ſillable by vertue of the figure *Synereſis* which I thinke was neuer their meaning, nor in deede would haue bred any pleaſure to the eare, but hindred the flowing of the verſe. Howſoeuer ye take it the *dactil* is commendable inough in our vulgar meetres, but moſt plauſible of all when he is founded vpon the ſtage, as in theſe comicall verſes ſhewing how well it becommeth all noble men and great perſonages to be

temperat and modeſt, yea more then any meaner man, thus.

Lēt nŏ nŏbīlĭtĭe rīchĕs ŏr hĕrĭtăge
Hōnŏur ŏr ēmpĭre ŏr eārthlĭe dŏmīnĭŏn
Brēed ĭn yŏur heād ănie pēeuiſh ŏpīnĭŏn
That yĕ măy sāfĕr ăuōuch ănĭe ōutrāge.

And in this diſtique taxing the Prelate ſymoniake ſtanding all vpon perfect *dactils.*

Nōvv mānīe bīe mōnēy pūruĕy prŏmōtĭŏn
For mony mooues any hart to deuotion.

But this aduertiſement I will giue you withall, that if ye vſe too many *dactils* together ye make your muſike too light and of no ſolemne grauitie ſuch as the amorous *Elegies* in court naturally require, being alwaies either very dolefull or paſſionate as the affections of loue enforce, in which buſines ye muſt make your choiſe of very few words *dactilique*, or them that ye can not refuſe, to diſſolue and breake them into other feete by ſuch meanes as it ſhall be taught hereafter: but chiefly in your courtly ditties take heede ye vſe not theſe maner of long *poliſillables* and ſpecially that ye finiſh not your verſe with them as [*retribution*] *reſtitution*] *remuneration* [*recapitulation*] and ſuch like: for they ſmatch more the ſchoole of common players than of any delicate Poet *Lyricke* or *Elegiacke.*

CHAP. XV. [*XVI.*]

Oall fyour other feete of three times and hovv vvell they vvould faſhion a meetre in our vulgar.

ALl your other feete of three times I find no vſe of them in our vulgar meeters nor no ſweetenes at all, and yet words inough to ſerue their proportions. So as though they haue not hitherto bene made artificiall, yet nowe by more curious obſeruation they might be. Since all artes grew firſt by obſeruation of natures proceedings and cuſtome. And firſt your [*Moloſſus*] being of all three long is euidently diſcouered by this word [*pērmīttīng*] The [*Anapeſtus*] of two ſhort and a long by this word [*fŭrĭōus*] if the next

word beginne with a confonant. The foote [*Bacchius*] of a fhort and two long by this word [*rĕsīstānce*] the foote [*Antibachius*] of two long a fhort by this word [*cōnquēr-ĭng*] the foote [*Amphimacer*] of a long a fhort and a long by this word [*cōnquĕrīng*] the foote of [*Amphibrachus*] of a fhort a long and a fhort by this word [*rĕmēmbĕr*] if a vowell follow. The foote [*Tribrachus*] of three fhort times is very hard to be made by any of our *triffillables* vnles they be compounded of the fmootheft fort of confonants or fillables vocals, or of three fmooth *monofillables*, or of fome peece of a long *polyfillable* and after that fort we may with wrefting of words fhape the foot [*Tribrachus*] rather by vfurpation then by rule, which neuertheles is allowed in euery primitiue arte and inuention: and fo it was by the Greekes and Latines in their firft verfifying, as if a rule fhould be fet downe that from henceforth thefe words fhould be counted al *Tribrachus*. [*ĕnĕmĭe*] *rĕmèdĭe*] *sĕlĭnĕs*] *mŏnĭlĕs*] *pĕnĭlĕs*] *crŭĕllĭe*] and fuch like, or a peece of this long word [*rĕcōuĕrăblĕ*] *innŭmĕrăblĕ reădĭlĭe*] and others. Of all which manner of apt wordes to make thefe ftranger feet of three times which go not fo currant with our eare as the *dactil*, the maker fhould haue a good iudgement to know them by their manner of orthographie and by their accent which ferue moft fitly for euery foote, or elfe he fhoulde haue alwaies a little calender of them apart to vfe readily when he fhall neede them. But becaufe in very truth I thinke them but vaine and fuperftitious obferuations nothing at all furthering the pleafant melody of our Englifh meeter, I leaue to fpeake any more of them and rather wifh the continuance of our old maner of Poefie, fcanning our verfe by fillables rather than by feete, and vfing moft commonly the word *Iambique* and fometime the *Trochaike* which ye fhall difcerne by their accents, and now and then a *dactill* keeping precifely our fymphony or rime without any other mincing meafures, which an idle inuentiue head could eafily deuife, as the former examples teach.

CHAP. XVI. [*XVII.*]

Of your verſes perfect and defectiue, and that which the Græcians called the halfe foote.

THe Greekes and Latines vſed verſes in the odde ſillable of two ſortes, which they called *Catalectticke* and *Acatalectticke*, that is odde vnder and odde ouer the iuſt meaſure of their verſe, and we in our vulgar finde many of the like, and ſpecially in the rimes of Sir Thomas Wiat, ſtrained perchaunce out of their originall, made firſt by *Francis Petrarcha*: as theſe

Like vnto theſe, immeaſurable mountaines,
So is my painefull life the burden of ire:
For hie be they, and hie is my deſire
And I of teares, and they are full of fountaines.

Where in your firſt ſecond and fourth verſe, ye may find a ſillable ſuperfluous, and though in the firſt ye will ſeeme to helpe it, by drawing theſe three ſillables, (*īm mĕ sŭ*) into a *dactil*, in the reſt it can not be ſo excuſed, wherefore we muſt thinke he did it of purpoſe, by the odde ſillable to giue greater grace to his meetre, and we finde in our old rimes, this odde ſillable, ſometime placed in the beginning and ſometimes in the middle of a verſe, and is allowed to go alone and to hang to any other ſillable. But this odde ſillable in our meetres is not the halfe foote as the Greekes and Latines vſed him in their verſes, and called ſuch meaſure *pentimimeris* and *eptamimeris*, but rather is that, which they called the *catalectik* or maymed verſe. Their *hemimeris* or halfe foote ſerued not by licence Poeticall or neceſſitie of words, but to bewtifie and exornate the verſe by placing one ſuch halfe foote in the middle *Ceſure*, and one other in the end of the verſe, as they vſed all their *pentameters elegiack:* and not by coupling them together, but by accompt to make their verſe of a iuſt meaſure and not defectiue or ſuperflous: our odde ſillable is not altogether of that nature, but is in a maner drowned and ſuppreſt

by the flat accent, and ſhrinks away as it were inaudible and by that meane the odde verſe comes almoſt to be an euen in euery mans hearing. The halfe foote of the auncients was reſerued purpoſely to an vſe, and therefore they gaue ſuch odde ſillable, wherefoeuer he fell the ſharper accent, and made by him a notorious pauſe as in this *pentameter*.

Nīl mĭ hĭ rēſcrībàs ātttămèn īpsĕ vĕ nì.

Which in all make fiue whole feete, or the verſe *Pentameter*. We in our vulgar haue not the vſe of the like halfe foote.

CHAP. XIII. [*XVIII.*]
Of the breaking your biſſillables and polyſillables and when it is to be vſed.

BVt whether ye ſuffer your ſillable to receiue his quantitie by his accent, or by his ortography, or whether ye keepe your *biſſillable* whole or whether ye breake him, all is one to his quantitie, and his time will appeare the ſelfe ſame ſtill and ought not to be altered by our makers, vnleſſe it be when ſuch ſillable is allowed to be common and to receiue any of both times, as in the *dimeter*, made of two ſillables entier.

ēxtrēame dĕsīre

The firſt is a good *ſpondeus*, the ſecond a good *iambus*, and if the ſame wordes be broken thus it is not ſo pleaſant.

ĭn ēx trēame dĕ ſire

And yet the firſt makes a *iambus*, and the ſecond a *trocheus* ech ſillable retayning ſtill his former quantities. And alwaies ye muſt haue regard to the ſweetenes of the meetre, ſo as if your word *polyſillable* would not ſound pleaſantly whole, ye ſhould for the nonce breake him, which ye may eaſily doo by inſerting here and there one *monoſillable* among your *polyſillables*, or by chaunging your word into another place then where he ſoundes vnpleaſantly, and by breaking, turne a *trocheus* to a *iambus*, or contrariwiſe: as thus:

Hōllŏw vāllĕis ūndĕr hĭĕſt moūntaĭnes
Crāggĭe cliffes brĭng foōrth thĕ faīrĕſt foūntaĭnes

Theſe verſes be *trochaik*, and in mine eare not ſo ſweete and harmonicall as the *iambicque*, thus:

Thĕ hōllŏwſt vāls lĭe ūndĕr hīĕſt mōuntāines
Thĕ crāggĭſt clīfs brīng fōrth thĕ faīrĕſt foūntāines.

All which verſes bee now become *iambicque* by breaking the firſt *biſſillables*, and yet alters not their quantities though the feete be altered: and thus,

Reſtleſſe is the heart in his deſires
Rauing after that reaſon doth denie.

Which being turned thus makes a new harmonie.

The reſtleſſe heart, renues his old deſires
Ay rauing after that reaſon doth it deny.

And following this obſeruation your meetres being builded with *polyſillables* will fall diuerſly out, that is ſome to be *ſpondaick*, ſome *iambick*, others *dactilick*, others *trochaick*, and of one mingled with another, as in this verſe.

Hēauĭe īs thĕ būrdĕn of Prĭncĕs īre

The verſe is *trochaick*, but being altered thus, is *iambicque.*

Fŭll hēauĭe īs thĕ pāiſe ŏf Prīncĕs īre

And as Sir *Thomas Wiat* ſong in a verſe wholly *trochaick*, becauſe the wordes do beſt ſhape to that foote by their naturall accent, thus,

Fārewĕll lōue ănd āll thĭe lāwes fŏr ēuĕr

And in this ditty of th'Erle of Surries, paſſing ſweete and harmonicall, all be *Iambick.*

When raging loue with extreme paine
So cruelly doth ſtraine my hart,
And that the teares like fluds of raine
Beare witneſſe of my wofull ſmart.

Which beyng diſpoſed otherwiſe or not broken, would proue all *trochaick*, but nothing pleaſant.

Now furthermore ye are to note, that al your *monoſyllables* may receiue the ſharp accent, but not ſo aptly one as another, as in this verſe where they ſerue well to make him *iambicque*, but not *trochaick.*

Gŏd graūnt thĭs peāce măy lōng ĕndūre

Where the ſharpe accent falles more tunably vpon [*graunt*] [*peace*] [*long*] [*dure*] then it would by conuerſion, as to accent them thus:

Gōd graŭnt-thīs peăce-māy lŏng-ēndūre,

And yet if ye will aske me the reaſon, I can not tell it, but that it ſhapes ſo to myne eare, and as I thinke to euery other mans. And in this meeter where ye haue whole words *biſſillable* vnbroken, that maintaine (by reaſon of their accent) ſundry feete, yet going one with another be very harmonicall.

Where ye ſee one to be a *trocheus* another the *iambus*, and ſo entermingled not by election but by conſtraint of their ſeuerall accents, which ought not to be altred, yet comes it to paſſe that many times ye muſt of neceſſitie alter the accent of a ſillable, and put him from his naturall place, and then one ſillable, of a word *polyſillable*, or one word *monoſillable*, will abide to be made ſometimes long, ſometimes ſhort, as in this *quadreyne* of ours playd in a mery moode.

Gèue mé mìne ówne àud whén I dó dèſíre
Geue others theirs, and nothing that is mine
Nòr gíue mè thát, wherto all men aspire
Then neither gold, nor faire women nor wine.

Where in your firſt verſe theſe two words [*giue*] and [*me*] are accented one high th'other low, in the third verſe the ſame words are accented contrary, and the reaſon of this exchange is manifeſt, becauſe the maker playes with theſe two clauſes of ſundry relations [*giue me*] and [*giue others*] ſo as the *monoſillable* [*me*] being reſpectiue to the word [*others*] and inferring a ſubtilitie or wittie implication, ought not to haue the ſame accent, as when he hath no ſuch reſpect, as in this *diſtik* of ours.

I rōue mĕ (Madame) ere ye rēprŏue
Meeke minds ſhould ēxcŭſe not āccŭſe.

In which verſe ye ſee this word [*reprooue,*] the ſillable [*prooue*] alters his ſharpe accent into a flat, for naturally it is long in all his ſingles and compoundes

[*reprooue*] [*approòue*] [*disproòue*] and so is the sillable [*cuse*] in [*excuse*] [*accuse*] [*recuse*] yet in these verses by reason one of them doth as it were nicke another, and haue a certaine extraordinary sence with all, it behoueth to remoue the sharpe accents from whence they are most naturall, to place them where the nicke may be more expresly discouered, and therefore in this verse where no such implication is, nor no relation it is otherwise, as thus.

If ye rĕprōue my confidencie
I will excūse you curtesly.

For in this word [*reproóue*] because there is no extraordinary sence to be inferred, he keepeth his sharpe accent vpon the sillable [*proóue*] but in the former verses because they seeme to encounter ech other, they do thereby merite an audible and pleasant alteration of their accents in those sillables that cause the subtiltie. Of these maner of nicetees ye shal finde in many places of our booke, but specially where we treate of ornament, vnto which we referre you, sauing that we thought good to set down one example more to solace your mindes with mirth after all these scholasticall preceptes, which can not but bring with them (specially to Courtiers) much tediousnesse, and so to end. In our Comedie intituled *Ginecocratia :* the king was supposed to be a person very amorous and effeminate, and therefore most ruled his ordinary affaires by the aduise of women either for the loue he bare to their persons or liking he had to their pleasant ready witts and vtterance. Comes me to the Court one *Polemon* an honest plaine man of the country, but rich : and hauing a suite to the king, met by chaunce with one *Philino*, a louer of wine and a merry companion in Court, and praied him in that he was a stranger that he would vouchsafe to tell him which way he were best to worke to get his suite, and who were most in credit and fauour about the king, that he might seeke to them to furder his attempt. *Philino* perceyuing the plainnesse of the man, and that there would be some good done with him, told *Polemon*

that if he would well confider him for his labor he would bring him where he fhould know the truth of all his demaundes by the fentence of the Oracle. *Polemon* gaue him twentie crownes, *Philino* brings him into a place where behind an arras cloth hee himfelfe fpake in manner of an Oracle in thefe meeters, for fo did all the Sybils and fothfaiers in old times giue their anfwers.

Your beft way to worke - and marke my words well,
Not money : nor many,
Nor any : but any,
Not weemen, but weemen beare the bell.

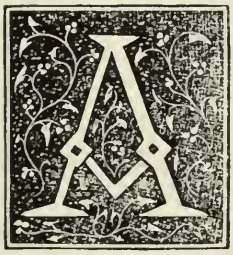
Polemon wift not what to make of this doubtful fpeach, and not being lawfull to importune the oracle more then once in one matter, conceyued in his head the pleafanter conftruction, and ftacke to it : and hauing at home a fayre young damfell of eighteene yeares old to his daughter, that could very well behaue her felfe in countenance and alfo in her language, apparelled her as gay as he could, and brought her to the Court, where *Philino* harkning daily after the euent of this matter, met him, and recommended his daughter to the Lords, who perceiuing her great beauty and other good parts, brought her to the King, to whom fhe exhibited her fathers fupplication, and found fo great fauour in his eye, as without any long delay fhe obtained her fute at his hands. *Polemon* by the diligent folliciting of his daughter, wanne his purpofe : *Philino* gat a good reward and vfed the matter fo, as howfoeuer the oracle had bene conftrued, he could not haue receiued blame nor difcredit by the fucceffe, for euery waies it would haue proued true, whether *Polemons* daughter had obtayned the fute, or not obtained it. And the fubtiltie lay in the accent and Ortographie of thefe two wordes [*any*] and [*weemen*] for [*any*] being deuided founds [*a nie* or neere perfon to the king: and [*weemen*] being diuided foundes *wee men*, and not [*weemen*] and fo by this meane *Philino* ferued all turnes and fhifted himfelfe from blame, not vnlike the tale of the Rattlemoufe who in the warres proclaimed betweene

the foure footed beaſts, and the birdes, beyng ſent for by the Lyon to be at his muſters, excuſed himſelfe for that he was a foule and flew with winges: and beyng ſent for by the Eagle to ſerue him, ſayd that he was a foure footed beaſt, and by that craftie cauill eſcaped the danger of the warres, and ſhunned the ſeruice of both Princes. And euer ſince ſate at home by the fires ſide, eating vp the poore husbandmans baken, halfe loſt for lacke of a good huſwifes looking too.

FINIS.

THE THIRD BOOKE,
OF ORNAMENT.

CHAP. I.
Of Ornament Poeticall.



AS no doubt the good proportion of any thing doth greatly adorne and commend it and right ſo our late remembred proportions doe to our vulgar Poeſie : ſo is there yet requiſite to the perfection of this arte, another maner of exornation, which reſteth in the faſhioning of our makers language and ſtile, to ſuch purpoſe as it may delight and allure as well the mynde as the eare of the hearers with a certaine noueltie and ſtrange maner of conueyance, diſguiſing it no litle from the ordinary and accuſtomed : neuertheleſſe making it nothing the more vnſeemely or misbecomming, but rather decenter and more agreable to any ciuill eare and vnderſtanding. And as we ſee in theſe great Madames of honour, be they for perſonage or otherwiſe neuer ſo comely and bewtifull, yet if they want their courtly habillements or at leaſtwiſe ſuch other apparell as cuſtome and ciuilitie haue ordained to couer their naked bodies, would be halfe aſhamed or greatly out of countenaunce to be

ſeen in that ſort, and perchance do then thinke themſelues more amiable in euery mans eye, when they be in their richeſt attire, ſuppoſe of ſilkes or tyſſewes and coſtly embroderies, then when they go in cloth or in any other plaine and ſimple apparell. Euen ſo cannot our vulgar Poeſie ſhew it ſelfe either gallant or gorgious, if any lymme be leſt naked and bare and not clad in his kindly clothes and coulours, ſuch as may conuey them ſomwhat out of ſight, that is from the common courſe of ordinary ſpeach and capacitie of the vulgar iudgement, and yet being artificially handled muſt needes yeld it much more bewtie and commendation. This ornament we ſpeake of is giuen to it by figures and figuratiue ſpeaches, which be the flowers as it were and coulours that a Poet ſetteth vpon his language of arte, as the embroderer doth his ſtone and perle, or paſſements of gold vpon the ſtuffe of a Princely garment, or as th'excellent painter beſtoweth the rich Orient coulours vpon his table of pourtraite: ſo neuertheleſſe as if the ſame coulours in our arte of Poeſie (as well as in thoſe other mechanicall artes) be not well tempered, or not well layd, or be vſed in exceſſe, or neuer ſo litle diſordered or miſplaced, they not onely giue it no maner of grace at all, but rather do disfigure the ſtuffe and ſpill the whole workmanſhip taking away all bewtie and good liking from it, no leſſe then if the crimſon tainte, which ſhould be laid vpon a Ladies lips, or right in the center of her cheekes ſhould by ſome ouerſight or miſhap be applied to her forhead or chinne, it would make (ye would ſay) but a very ridiculous bewtie, wherfore the chief prayſe and cunning of our Poet is in the diſcreet vſing of his figures, as the skilfull painters is in the good conueyance of his coulours and ſhadowing traits of his penſill, with a delectable varietie, by all meaſure and iuſt proportion, and in places moſt aptly to be beſtowed.

CHAP. II.

How our writing and ſpeaches publike ought to be figuratiue, and if they be not doe greatly diſgrace the cauſe and purpoſe of the ſpeaker and writer.

BVt as it hath bene alwayes reputed a great fault to vſe figuratiue ſpeaches fooliſhly and indiſcretly, ſo is it eſteemed no leſſe an imperfection in mans vtterance, to haue none vſe of figure at all, ſpecially in our writing and ſpeaches publike, making them but as our ordinary talke, then which nothing can be more vnſauourie and farre from all ciuilitie. I remember in the firſt yeare of Queenes Maries raigne a Knight of Yorkſhire was choſen ſpeaker of the Parliament, a good gentleman and wiſe, in the affaires of his ſhire, and not vnlearned in the lawes of the Realme, but as well for ſome lack of his teeth, as for want of language nothing well ſpoken, which at that time and buſineſſe was moſt behooffull for him to haue bene: this man after he had made his Oration to the Queene; which ye know is of courſe to be done at the firſt aſſembly of both houſes; a bencher of the Temple both well learned and very eloquent, returning from the Parliament houſe asked another gentleman his frend how he liked M. Speakers Oration: mary quoth th'other, me thinks I heard not a better alehouſe tale told this ſeuen yeares. This happened becauſe the good old Knight made no difference betweene an Oration or publike ſpeach to be deliuered to th'eare of a Princes Maieſtie and ſtate of a Realme, then he would haue done of an ordinary tale to be told at his table in the countrey, wherein all men know the oddes is very great. And though graue and wiſe counſellours in their conſultations doe not vſe much ſuperfluous eloquence, and alſo in their iudiciall hearings do much miſlike all ſcholaſticall rhetoricks: yet in ſuch a caſe as it may be (and as this Parliament was) if the Lord Chancelour of England or Archbiſhop of

Canterbury himſelfe were to ſpeake, he ought to doe it cunningly and eloquently, which can not be without the vſe of figures: and neuertheleſſe none impeachment or blemiſh to the grauitie of their perſons or of the cauſe: wherein I report me to them that knew Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Lord keeper of the great Seale, or the now Lord Treaſorer of England, and haue bene conuerſant with their ſpeaches made in the Parliament houſe and Starrechamber. From whoſe lippes I haue ſeene to proceede more graue and naturall eloquence, then from all the Oratours of Oxford or Cambridge, but all is as it is handled, and maketh no matter whether the ſame eloquence be naturall to them or artificiall (though I thinke rather naturall) yet were they knowen to be learned and not vnskilfull of th'arte, when they were yonger men: and as learning and arte teacheth a ſchollar to ſpeake, ſo doth it alſo teach a counſellour, and aſwell an old man as a yong, and a man in authoritie, aſwell as a priuate perſon, and a pleader aſwell as a preacher, euery man after his ſort and calling as beſt becommeth: and that ſpeach which becommeth one, doth not become another, for maners of ſpeaches, ſome ſerue to work in exceſſe, ſome in mediocritie, ſome to graue purpoſes, ſome to light, ſome to be ſhort and brief, ſome to be long, ſome to ſtirre vp affections, ſome to pacifie and appeaſe them, and theſe common deſpiſers of good vtterance, which reſteth altogether in figuratiue ſpeaches, being well vſed whether it come by nature or by arte or by exerciſe, they be but certaine groſſe ignorance of whom it is truly ſpoken *ſcientia non habet inimicum niſi ignorantem.* I haue come to the Lord Keeper Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, and found him ſitting in his gallery alone with the works of *Quintilian* before him, in deede he was a moſt eloquent man, and of rare learning and wiſedome, as euer I knew England to breed, and one that ioyed as much in learned men and men of good witts. A Knight of the Queenes priuie chamber, once intreated a noble woman of the Court, being in great fauour about her Maieſtie (to th'intent

to remoue her ſrom a certaine diſpleaſure, which by ſiniſter opinion ſhe had conceiued againſt a gentleman his friend) that it would pleaſe her to heare him ſpeake in his own cauſe, and not to condemne him vpon his aduerſaries report: God forbid ſaid ſhe, he is to wiſe for me to talke with, let him goe and ſatisfie ſuch a man naming him: why quoth the Knight againe, had your Ladyſhip rather heare a man talke like a foole or like a wiſe man? This was becauſe the Lady was a litle peruerſe, and not diſpoſed to reforme her ſelfe by hearing reaſon, which none other can ſo well beate into the ignorant head, as the well ſpoken and eloquent man. And becauſe I am ſo farre waded into this diſcourſe of eloquence and ſiguratiue ſpeaches, I will tell you what hapned on a time my ſelfe being preſent when certaine Doctours of the ciuil law were heard in a litigious cauſe betwixt a man and his wife: before a great Magiſtrat who (as they can tell that knew him) was a man very well learned and graue, but ſomewhat ſowre, and of no plauſible vtterance: the gentlemans chaunce, was to ſay: my Lord the ſimple woman is not ſo much to blame as her lewde abbettours, who by violent perſwaſions haue lead her into this wilfulneſſe. Quoth the iudge, what neede ſuch eloquent termes in this place, the gentleman replied, doth your Lordſhip miſlike the terme, [*violent*] and me thinkes I ſpeake it to great purpoſe: for I am ſure ſhe would neuer haue done it, but by force of perſwaſion: and if perſwaſions were not very violent, to the minde of man it could not haue wrought ſo ſtrange an effect as we read that it did once in Ægypt, and would haue told the whole tale at large, if the Magiſtrate had not paſſed it ouer very pleaſantly. Now to tell you the whole matter as the gentleman intended, thus it was. There came into Ægypt a notable Oratour, whoſe name was *Hegeſias* who inueyed ſo much againſt the incommodities of this tranſitory life, and ſo highly commended death the diſpatcher of all euils; as a great number of his hearers deſtroyed themſelues, ſome with weapon,

ſome with poyſon, others by drowning and hanging themſelues to be rid out of this vale of miſery, in ſo much as it was feared leaſt many moe of the people would haue miſcaried by occaſion of his perſwaſions, if king *Ptolome* had not made a publicke proclamation, that the Oratour ſhould auoyde the countrey, and no more be allowed to ſpeake in any matter. Whether now perſwaſions, may not be ſaid violent and forcible to ſimple myndes in ſpeciall, I referre it to all mens iudgements that heare the ſtory. At leaſt waies, I finde this opinion, confirmed by a pretie deuiſe or embleme that *Lucianus* alleageth he ſaw in the pourtrait of *Hercules* within the Citie of Marſeills in Prouence: where they had figured a luſtie old man with a long chayne tyed by one end at his tong, by the other end at the peoples eares, who ſtood a farre of and ſeemed to be drawen to him by the force of that chayne faſtned to his tong, as who would ſay, by force of his perſwaſions. And to ſhew more plainly that eloquence is of great force (and not as many men thinke amiſſe) the propertie and gift of yong men onely, but rather of old men, and a thing which better becommeth hory haires then beardleſſe boyes, they ſeeme to ground it vpon this reaſon: age (ſay they and moſt truly) brings experience, experience bringeth wiſedome, long life yeldes long vſe and much exerciſe of ſpeach, exerciſe and cuſtome with wiſedome, make an aſſured and volluble vtterance: ſo is it that old men more then any other ſort ſpeake moſt grauely, wiſely, aſſuredly, and plauſibly, which partes are all that can be required in perfite eloquence, and ſo in all deliberations of importance where counſellours are allowed freely to opyne and ſhew their conceits, good perſwaſion is no leſſe requiſite then ſpeach it ſelfe: for in great purpoſes to ſpeake and not to be able or likely to perſwade, is a vayne thing: now let vs returne backe to ſay more of this Poeticall ornament.

CHAP. III.

How ornament Poeticall is of two ſortes according to the double vertue and efficacie of figures.

THis ornament then is of two ſortes, one to ſatisfie and delight th'eare onely by a goodly outward ſhew ſet vpon the matter with wordes, and ſpeaches ſmothly and tunably running: another by certaine intendments or ſence of ſuch wordes and ſpeaches inwardly working a ſtirre to the mynde: that firſt qualitie the Greeks called *Enargia*, of this word *argos*, becauſe it geueth a glorious luſtre and light. This latter they called *Energia* of *ergon*, becauſe it wrought with a ſtrong and vertuous operation; and figure breedeth them both, ſome ſeruing to giue gloſſe onely to a language, ſome to geue it efficacie by ſence, and ſo by that meanes ſome of them ſerue th'eare onely, ſome ſerue the conceit onely and not th'eare: there be of them alſo that ſerue both turnes as common ſeruitours appointed for th'one and th'other purpoſe, which ſhalbe hereafter ſpoken of in place: but becauſe we haue alleaged before that ornament is but the good or rather bewtifull habite of language or ſtile, and figuratiue ſpeaches the inſtrument wherewith we burniſh our language faſhioning it to this or that meaſure and proportion, whence finally reſulteth a long and continuall phraſe or maner of writing or ſpeach, which we call by the name of *ſtile:* we wil firſt ſpeake of language, then of ſtile, laſtly of figure, and declare their vertue and differences, and alſo their vſe and beſt application, and what portion in exornation euery of them bringeth to the bewtifying of this Arte.

CHAP. IIII.
Of Language.

SPeach is not naturall to man ſauing for his onely habilitie to ſpeake, and that he is by kinde apt to vtter all his conceits with ſounds and voyces diuerſified many maner of wayes, by meanes of the many and fit inſtruments he hath by nature to that purpoſe, as a broad and voluble tong, thinne and mouable lippes, teeth, euen and not ſhagged, thick ranged, a round vaulted pallate, and a long throte, beſides an excellent capacitie of wit that maketh him more diſciplinable and imitatiue then any other creature: then as to the forme and action of his ſpeach, it commeth to him by arte and teaching, and by vſe or exerciſe. But after a ſpeach is fully faſhioned to the common vnderſtanding, and accepted by conſent of a whole countrey and nation, it is called a language, and receaueth none allowed alteration, but by extraordinary occaſions by little and little, as it were inſenſibly bringing in of many corruptions that creepe along with the time: of all which matters, we haue more largely ſpoken in our bookes of the originals and pedigree of the Engliſh tong. Then when I ſay language, I meane the ſpeach wherein the Poet or maker writeth be it Greek or Latine, or as our caſe is the vulgar Engliſh, and when it is peculiar vnto a countrey it is called the mother ſpeach of that people: the Greekes terme it *Idioma*: ſo is ours at this day the Norman Engliſh. Before the Conqueſt of the Normans it was the Angleſaxon, and before that the Britiſh, which as ſome will, is at this day, the Walſh, or as others affirme the Corniſh: I for my part thinke neither of both, as they be now ſpoken and p[r]onounced. This part in our maker or Poet muſt be heedyly looked vnto, that it be naturall, pure, and the moſt vſuall of all his countrey: and for the ſame purpoſe rather that which is ſpoken in the kings Court, or in the good townes and Cities within

the land, then in the marches and frontiers, or in port townes, where ſtraungers haunt for traffike ſake, or yet in Vniuerſities where Schollers vſe much peeuiſh affectation of words out of the primatiue languages, or finally, in any vplandiſh village or corner of a Realme, where is no reſort but of poore ruſticall or vnciuill people: neither ſhall he follow the ſpeach of a craftes man or carter, or other of the inferiour ſort, though he be inhabitant or bred in the beſt towne and Citie in this Realme, for ſuch perſons doe abuſe good ſpeaches by ſtrange accents or ill ſhapen ſoundes, and falſe ortographie. But he ſhall follow generally the better brought vp ſort, ſuch as the Greekes call [*charientes*] men ciuill and graciouſly behauoured and bred. Our maker therfore at theſe dayes ſhall not follow *Piers plowman* nor *Gower* nor *Lydgate* nor yet *Chaucer*, for their language is now out of vſe with vs: neither ſhall he take the termes of Northern-men, ſuch as they vſe in dayly talke, whether they be noble men or gentlemen, or of their beſt clarkes all is a matter: nor in effect any ſpeach vſed beyond the riuer of Trent, though no man can deny but that theirs is the purer Engliſh Saxon at this day, yet it is not ſo Courtly nor ſo currant as our Southerne Engliſh is, no more is the far Weſterne mans ſpeach: ye ſhall therefore take the vſuall ſpeach of the Court, and that of London and the ſhires lying about London within lx. myles, and not much aboue. I ſay not this but that in euery ſhyre of England there be gentlemen and others that ſpeake but ſpecially write as good Southerne as we of Middleſex or Surrey do, but not the common people of euery ſhire, to whom the gentlemen, and alſo their learned clarkes do for the moſt part condeſcend, but herein we are already ruled by th'Engliſh Dictionaries and other bookes written by learned men, and therefore it needeth none other direction in that behalfe. Albeit peraduenture ſome ſmall admonition be not impertinent, for we finde in our Engliſh writers many wordes and ſpeaches amendable, and ye ſhall ſee in

ſome many inkhorne termes ſo ill affected brought in by men of learning as preachers and ſchoolemaſters: and many ſtraunge termes of other languages by Secretaries and Marchaunts and trauailours, and many darke wordes and not vſuall nor well ſounding, though they be dayly ſpoken in Court. Wherefore great heed muſt be taken by our maker in this point that his choiſe be good. And peraduenture the writer hereof be in that behalfe no leſſe faultie then any other, vſing many ſtraunge and vnaccuſtomed wordes and borrowed from other languages: and in that reſpect him ſelfe no meete Magiſtrate to reforme the ſame errours in any other perſon, but ſince he is not vnwilling to acknowledge his owne fault, and can the better tell how to amend it, he may ſeem a more excuſable correctour of other mens: he intendeth therefore for an indifferent way and vniuerſall benefite to taxe him ſelfe firſt and before any others.

Theſe be words vſed by th'author in this preſent treatiſe, *ſcientificke*, but with ſome reaſon, for it anſwereth the word *mechanicall*, which no other word could haue done ſo properly, for when hee ſpake of all artificers which reſt either in ſcience or in handy craft, it followed neceſſarilie that *ſcientifique* ſhould be coupled with *mechanicall:* or els neither of both to haue bene allowed, but in their places: a man of ſcience liberall, and a handicrafts man, which had not bene ſo cleanly a ſpeech as the other *Maior-domo*: in truth this word is borrowed of the *Spaniard* and *Italian*, and therefore new and not vſuall, but to them that are acquainted with the affaires of Court: and ſo for his iolly magnificence (as this caſe is) may be accepted among Courtiers, for whom this is ſpecially written. A man might haue ſaid in ſteade of *Maior-domo*, the French word (*maistre d'hoſtell*) but ilſauouredly, or the right Engliſh word (*Lord Steward.*) But me thinks for my owne opinion this word *Maior-domo* though he be borrowed, is more acceptable than any of the reſt, other men may iudge otherwiſe. *Politien*, this word alſo is receiued from the

Frenchmen, but at this day vſuall in Court and with all good Secretaries: and cannot finde an Engliſh word to match him, for to haue ſaid a man politique, had not bene ſo wel: bicauſe in trueth that had bene no more than to haue ſaid a ciuil perſon. *Politien* is rather a ſurueyour of ciuilitie than ciuil, and a publique miniſter or Counſeller in the ſtate. Ye haue alſo this worde *Conduict*, a French word, but well allowed of vs, and long ſince vſuall, it ſoundes ſomewhat more than this word (leading) for it is applied onely to the leading of a Captaine, and not as a little boy ſhould leade a blinde man, therefore more proper to the caſe when he ſaide, *conduict* of whole armies: ye finde alſo this word *Idiome*, taken from the Greekes, yet ſeruing aptly, when a man wanteth to expreſſe ſo much vnles it be in two words, which ſurpluſſage to auoide, we are allowed to draw in other words ſingle, and aſmuch ſignificatiue: this word *ſignificatiue* is borrowed of the Latine and French, but to vs brought in firſt by ſome Noble-mans Secretarie, as I thinke, yet doth ſo well ſerue the turne, as it could not now be ſpared: and many more like vſurped Latine and French words: as, *Methode*, *methodicall*, *placation*, *function*, *affubtiling*, *refining*, *compendious*, *prolixe*, *figuratiue*, *inueigle*. A terme borrowed of our common Lawyers. *impreſſion*, alſo a new terme, but well expreſſing the matter, and more than our Engliſh word. Theſe words, *Numerous*, *numeroſitee*, *metricall*, *harmonicall*, but they cannot be refuſed, ſpecially in this place for deſcription of the arte. Alſo ye finde theſe words, *penetrate*, *penetrable*, *indignitie*, which I cannot ſee how we may ſpare them, whatſoeuer fault wee finde with Ink-horne termes: for our ſpeach wanteth wordes to ſuch ſence ſo well to be vſed: yet in ſteade of *indignitie*, yee haue vnworthineſſe: and for *penetrate*, we may ſay *peerce*, and that a French terme alſo, or *broche*, or enter into with violence, but not ſo well ſounding as *penetrate*. Item, *ſauage*, for wilde: *obſcure*, for darke. Item theſe words, *declination*, *delineation*, *dimention*, are ſcholaſticall termes in deede.

and yet very proper. But peraduenture (and I could bring a reaſon for it) many other like words borrowed out of the Latin and French, were not ſo well to be allowed by vs, as theſe words, *audacious*, for bold: *facunditie*, for eloquence: *egregious*, for great or notable: *implete*, for repleniſhed: *attemptat*, for attempt: *compatible*, for agreeable in nature, and many more. But herein the noble Poet *Horace* hath ſaid inough to ſatisfie vs all in theſe few verſes.

Multa renaſcentur quæ iam cecidere cadent que
Quæ nunc ſunt in honore vocabula ſi volet vſus
Quem penes arbitrium eſt et vis et norma loquendi.

Which I haue thus engliſhed, but nothing with ſo good grace, nor ſo briefly as the Poet wrote.

Many a word yfalne ſhall eſt ariſe
And ſuch as now bene held in hieſt priſe
Will fall as faſt, when vſe and cuſtome will
Onely vmpiers of ſpeach, for force and skill.

CHAP. V.
Of Stile.

Tile is a conſtant and continual phraſe or tenour of ſpeaking and writing, extending to the whole tale or proceſſe of the poeme or hiſtorie, and not properly to any peece or member of a tale: but is of words ſpeeches and ſentences together, a certaine contriued forme and qualitie, many times naturall to the writer, many times his peculier by election and arte, and ſuch as either he keepeth by skill, or holdeth on by ignorance, and will not or peraduenture cannot eaſily alter into any other. So we ſay that *Ciceroes* ſtile, and *Saluſts* were not one, nor *Ceſars* and *Liuies*, nor *Homers* and *Heſiodus*, nor *Herodotus* and *Theucidides*, nor *Euripides* and *Ariſtophanes*, nor *Eraſmus* and *Budeus* ſtiles. And becauſe this continuall courſe and manner of writing or ſpeech ſheweth the matter and diſpoſition of the writers minde, more than one or few words or ſentences can ſhew, therefore there be that haue called

ſtile, the image of man [*mentis character*] for man is but his minde, and as his minde is tempered and qualified, ſo are his ſpeeches and language at large, and his inward conceits be the mettall of his minde, and his manner of vtterance the very warp and woofe of his conceits, more plaine, or buſie and intricate, or otherwiſe affected after the rate. Moſt men ſay that not any one point in all *Phiſiognomy* is ſo certaine, as to iudge a mans manners by his eye: but more aſſuredly in mine opinion, by his dayly maner of ſpeech and ordinary writing. For if the man be graue, his ſpeech and ſtile is graue: if light-headed, his ſtile and language alſo light: if the minde be haughtie and hoate, the ſpeech and ſtile is alſo vehement and ſtirring: if it be colde and temperate, the ſtile is alſo very modeſt: if it be humble, or baſe and meeke, ſo is alſo the language and ſtile. And yet peraduenture not altogether ſo, but that euery mans ſtile is for the moſt part according to the matter and ſubiect of the writer, or ſo ought to be, and conformable thereunto. Then againe may it be ſaid as wel, that men doo chuſe their ſubiects according to the mettal of their minds, and therfore a high minded man chuſeth him high and lofty matter to write of. The baſe courage, matter baſe and lowe, the meane and modeſt mind, meane and moderate matters after the rate. Howſoeuer it be, we finde that vnder theſe three principall complexions (if I may with leaue ſo terme them) high, meane and baſe ſtile, there be contained many other humors or qualities of ſtile, as the plaine and obſcure, the rough and ſmoth, the facill and hard, the plentifull and barraine, the rude and eloquent, the ſtrong and feeble, the vehement and cold ſtiles, all which in their euill are to be reformed, and the good to be kept and vſed. But generally to haue the ſtile decent and comely it behooueth the maker or Poet to follow the nature of his ſubiect, that is if his matter be high and loftie that the ſtile be ſo to, if meane, the ſtile alſo to be meane, if baſe, the ſtile humble and baſe accordingly: and

they that do otherwiſe vſe it, applying to meane matter, hie and loftie ſtile, and to hie matters, ſtile eyther meane or baſe, and to the baſe matters, the meane or hie ſtile, do vtterly diſgrace their poeſie and ſhew themſelues nothing skilfull in their arte, nor hauing regard to the decencie, which is the chiefe praiſe of any writer. Therefore to ridde all louers o learning from that errour, I will as neere as I can ſet downe, which matters be hie and loftie, which be but meane, and which be low and baſe, to the intent the ſtiles may be faſhioned to the matters, and keepe their *decorum* and good proportion in euery reſpect: I am not ignorant that many good clerkes be contrary to mine opinion, and ſay that the loftie ſtyle may be decently vſed in a meane and baſe ſubiect and contrariwiſe, which I do in parte acknowledge, but with a reaſonable qualification. For *Homer* hath ſo vſed it in his trifling worke of *Batrachomyomachia:* that is in his treatiſe of the warre betwixt the frogs and the mice. *Virgill* alſo in his *bucolickes*, and in his *georgicks*, whereof the one is counted meane, the other baſe, that is the huſbandmans diſcourſes and the ſhepheards, but hereunto ſerueth a reaſon in my ſimple conceite: for firſt to that trifling poeme of *Homer*, though the frog and the mouſe be but litle and ridiculous beaſts, yet to treat of warre is an high ſubiect, and a thing in euery reſpect terrible and daungerous to them that it alights on: and therefore of learned dutie asketh martiall grandiloquence, if it be ſet foorth in his kind and nature of warre, euen betwixt the baſeſt creatures that can be imagined: ſo alſo is the Ante or piſmire, and they be but little creeping things, not perfect beaſts, but *infect*, or wormes: yet in deſcribing their nature and inſtinct, and their manner of life approching to the forme of a common-welth, and their properties not vnlike to the vertues of moſt excellent gouernors and captaines, it asketh a more maieſtie of ſpeach then would the deſcription of an other beaſtes life or nature, and perchance of many matters perteyning vnto the

baſer ſort of men, becauſe it reſembleth the hiſtorie of a ciuill regiment, and of them all the chiefe and moſt principall which is *Monarchie*: ſo alſo in his *bucolicks*, which are but paſtorall ſpeaches and the baſeſt of any other poeme in their owne proper nature: *Virgill* vſed a ſomewhat ſwelling ſtile when he came to inſinuate the birth of *Marcellus* heire apparant to the Emperour *Auguſtus*, as child to his ſiſter, aſpiring by hope and greatnes of the houſe, to the ſucceſſion of the Empire, and eſtabliſhment thereof in that familie: whereupon *Virgill* could no leſſe then to vſe ſuch manner of ſtile, whatſoeuer condition the poeme were of and this was decent, and no fault or blemiſh, to confound the tennors of the ſtiles for that cauſe. But now when I remember me againe that this *Eglogue*, (for I haue read it ſomewhere) was conceiued by *Octauian* th'Emperour to be written to the honour of *Pollio* a citizen of Rome, and of no great nobilitie, the ſame was miſliked againe as an implicatiue, nothing decent nor proportionable to *Pollio* his fortunes and calling, in which reſpect I might ſay likewiſe the ſtile was not to be ſuch as if it had bene for the Emperours owne honour, and thoſe of the bloud imperiall, then which ſubiect there could not be among the *Romane* writers an higher nor grauer to treat vpon: ſo can I not be remoued from mine opinion, but ſtill me thinks that in all decencie the ſtile ought to conforme with the nature of the ſubiect, otherwiſe if a writer will ſeeme to obſerue no *decorum* at all, nor paſſe how he faſhion his tale to his matter, who doubteth but he may in the lighteſt cauſe ſpeake like a Pope, and in the graueſt matters prate like a parrat, and finde wordes and phraſes ynough to ſerue both turnes, and neither of them commendably, for neither is all that may be written of Kings and Princes ſuch as ought to keepe a high ſtile, nor all that may be written vpon a ſhepheard to keepe the low, but according to the matter reported, if that be of high or baſe nature: for euery pety pleaſure, and vayne delight of a king are not to [be] accompted high matter for the height of his eſtate, but meane and perchaunce very baſe and vile: nor ſo a

Poet or hiſtoriographer, could decently with a high ſtile reporte the vanities of *Nero*, the ribaudries of *Caligula*, the idlenes of *Domitian*, and the riots of *Heliogabalus*. But well the magnanimitie and honorable ambition of *Cæſar*, the proſperities of *Auguſtus*, the grauitie of *Tiberius*, the bountie of *Traiane*, the wiſedome of *Aurelius*, and generally all that which concerned the higheſt honours of Emperours, their birth, alliaunces, gouernement, exploits in warre and peace, and other publike affaires: for they be matter ſtately and high, and require a ſtile to be lift vp and aduaunced by choyſe of wordes, phraſes, ſentences, and figures, high, loftie, eloquent, and magnifik in proportion: ſo be the meane matters, to be caried with all wordes and ſpeaches of ſmothneſſe and pleaſant moderation, and finally the baſe things to be holden within their teder, by a low, myld, and ſimple maner of vtterance, creeping rather than clyming, and marching rather then mounting vpwardes, with the wings of the ſtately ſubiects and ſtile.

CHAP. VI.

Of the high, low, and meane ſubiect.

THe matters therefore that concerne the Gods and diuine things are higheſt of all other to be couched in writing, next to them the noble geſts and great fortunes of Princes, and the notable accidents of time, as the greateſt affaires of war and peace, theſe be all high ſubiectes, and therefore are deliuered ouer to the Poets *Hymnick* and hiſtoricall who be occupied either in diuine laudes, or in *heroicall* reports: the meane matters be thoſe that concerne meane men, their life and buſines, as lawyers, gentlemen, and marchants, good houſholders and honeſt Citizens, and which ſound neither to matters of ſtate nor of warre, nor leagues, nor great alliances, but ſmatch all the common conuerſation, as of the ciuiller and better ſort of men: the baſe and low matters be the doings of the common artificer, ſer-

uingman, yeoman, groome, husbandman, day-labourer, ſailer, ſhepheard, ſwynard, and ſuch like of homely calling, degree and bringing vp: ſo that in euery of the ſayd three degrees, not the ſelfe ſame vertues be egally to be prayſed nor the ſame vices, egally to be diſpraiſed, nor their loues, mariages, quarels, contracts and other behauiours, be like high nor do require to be ſet fourth with the like ſtile: but euery one in his degree and decencie, which made that all *hymnes* and hiſtories, and Tragedies, were written in the high ſtile: all Comedies and Enterludes and other common Poeſies of loues, and ſuch like in the meane ſtile, all *Eglogues* and paſtorall poemes in the low and baſe ſtile, otherwiſe they had bene vtterly diſproporcioned: likewiſe for the ſame cauſe ſome phraſes and figures be onely peculiar to the high ſtile, ſome to the baſe or meane, ſome common to all three, as ſhalbe declared more at large hereafter when we come to ſpeake of figure and phraſe: alſo ſome wordes and ſpeaches and ſentences doe become the high ſtile, that do not become th'other two. And contrariwiſe, as ſhalbe ſaid when we talke of words and ſentences: finally ſome kinde of meaſure and concord, doe not beſeeme the high ſtile, that well become the meane and low, as we haue ſaid ſpeaking of concord and meaſure. But generally the high ſtile is diſgraced and made fooliſh and ridiculous by all wordes affected, counterfait, and puffed vp, as it were a windball carrying more countenance then matter, and can not be better reſembled then to theſe midſommer pageants in London, where to make the people wonder are ſet forth great and vglie Gyants marching as if they were aliue, and armed at all points, but within they are ſtuffed full of browne paper and tow, which the ſhrewd boyes vnderpeering, do guilefully diſcouer and turne to a great deriſion: alſo all darke and vnaccuſtomed wordes, or ruſticall and homely, and ſentences that hold too much of the mery and light, or infamous and vnſhamefaſt are to be accounted of the ſame ſort, for ſuch ſpeaches become not Princes, nor great eſtates, nor them that write

of their doings to vtter or report and intermingle with the graue and weightie matters.

CHAP. VII.

Of Figures and figuratiue speaches.

AS figures be the inſtruments of ornament in euery language, ſo be they alſo in a ſorte abuſes or rather treſpaſſes in ſpeach, becauſe they paſſe the ordinary limits of common vtterance, and be occupied of purpoſe to deceiue the eare and alſo the minde, drawing it from plainneſſe and ſimplicitie to a certaine doubleneſſe, whereby our talke is the more guilefull and abuſing, for what els is your *Metaphor* but an inuerſion of ſence by tranſport; your *allegorie* by a duplicitie of meaning or diſſimulation vnder couert and darke intendments: one while ſpeaking obſcurely and in riddle called *Ænigma*: another while by common prouerbe or Adage called *Paremia:* then by merry skoffe called *Ironia:* then by bitter tawnt called *Sarcaſmus:* then by periphraſe or circumlocution when all might be ſaid in a word or two: then by incredible compariſon giuing credit, as by your *Hyperbole*, and many other waies ſeeking to inueigle and appaſſionate the mind: which thing made the graue iudges *Areopagites* (as I find written) to forbid all manner of figuratiue ſpeaches to be vſed before them in their conſiſtorie of Iuſtice, as meere illuſions to the minde, and wreſters of vpright iudgement, ſaying that to allow ſuch manner of forraine and coulored talke to make the iudges affectioned, were all one as if the carpenter before he began to ſquare his timber would make his ſquire [ſquare?] crooked: in ſo much as the ſtraite and vpright mind of a Iudge is the very rule of iuſtice till it be peruerted by affection, This no doubt is true and was by them grauely conſidered: but in this caſe becauſe our maker or Poet is appointed not for a iudge, but rather for a pleader, and that of pleaſant and louely cauſes and nothing perillous, ſuch as be thoſe for the triall of life, limme, or liuely-

hood; and before iudges neither ſower nor ſeuere, but in the eare of princely dames, yong ladies, gentlewomen and courtiers, beyng all for the moſt part either meeke of nature, or of pleaſant humour, and that all his abuſes tende but to diſpoſe the hearers to mirth and ſollace by pleaſant conueyance and efficacy of ſpeach, they are not in truth to be accompted vices but for vertues in the poetical ſcience very commendable. On the other ſide, ſuch treſpaſſes in ſpeach (whereof there be many) as geue dolour and diſliking to the eare and minde, by any foule indecencie or diſproportion of ſounde, ſituation, or ſence, they be called and not without cauſe the vicious parts or rather hereſies of language: wherefore the matter reſteth much in the definition and acceptance of this word [*decorum*] for whatſoeuer is ſo, cannot iuſtly be miſliked. In which reſpect it may come to paſſe that what the Grammarian ſetteth downe for a viciositee in ſpeach may become a vertue and no vice, contrariwiſe his commended figure may fall into a reprochfull fault: the beſt and moſt aſſured remedy whereof is, generally to follow the ſaying of *Bias*: *ne quid nimis.* So as in keeping meaſure, and not exceeding nor ſhewing any defect in the vſe of his figures, he cannot lightly do amiſſe, if he haue beſides (as that muſt needes be) a ſpeciall regard to all circumſtances of the perſon, place, time, cauſe and purpoſe he hath in hand, which being well obſerued it eaſily auoideth all the recited inconueniences, and maketh now and then very vice goe for a formall vertue in the exerciſe of this Arte.

CHAP. VIII.

Sixe points ſet downe by our learned forefathers for a generall regiment of all good vtterance be it by mouth or by writing.

Vt before there had bene yet any preciſe obſeruation made of figuratiue ſpeeches, the firſt learned artificers of language conſidered that the bewtie and good grace of vtterance reſted in no [ſo] many pointes:

and whatſoeuer tranſgreſſed thoſe lymits, they counted it for vitious ; and thereupon did ſet downe a manner of regiment in all ſpeech generally to be obſerued, conſiſting in ſixe pointes. Firſt they ſaid that there ought to be kept a decent proportion in our writings and ſpeach, which they termed *Analogia.* Secondly, that it ought to be voluble vpon the tongue, and tunable to the eare, which they called *Taſis.* Thirdly, that it were not tedioufly long, but briefe and compendious, as the matter might beare, which they called *Syntomia.* Fourthly, that it ſhould cary an orderly and good conſtruction, which they called *Synthefis.* Fiftly, that it ſhould be a ſound, proper and naturall ſpeach, which they called *Ciriologia.* Sixtly, that it ſhould be liuely and ſtirring, which they called *Tropus.* So as it appeareth by this order of theirs, that no vice could be committed in ſpeech, keeping within the bounds of that reſtraint. But ſir, all this being by them very well conceiued, there remayned a greater difficultie to know what this proportion, volubilitie, good conſtruction, and the reſt were, otherwiſe we could not be euer the more relieued. It was therefore of neceſſitie that a more curious and particular deſcription ſhould bee made of euery manner of ſpeech, either tranſgreſſing or agreeing with their ſaid generall preſcript. Whereupon it came to paſſe, that all the commendable parts of ſpeech were ſet foorth by the name of figures, and all the illaudable partes vnder the name of vices, or vicioſities, of both which it ſhall bee ſpoken in their places.

CHAP. IX.

How the Greeks first, and afterward the Latines, inuented new names for euery figure, which this Author is alſo enforced to doo in his vulgar.

THe Greekes were a happy people for the freedome and liberty of their language, becauſe it was allowed them to inuent any new name that they lifted, and to peece many words together to make of

them one entire, much more ſignificatiue than the ſingle word. So among other things did they to their figuratiue ſpeeches deuiſe certaine names. The Latines came ſomewhat behind them in that point, and for want of conuenient ſingle wordes to expreſſe that which the Greeks could do by cobling many words together, they were faine to vſe the Greekes ſtill, till after many yeares that the learned Oratours and good Grammarians among the Romaines, as *Cicero*, *Varro*, *Quintilian*, and others ſtrained themſelues to giue the Greeke wordes Latin names, and yet nothing ſo apt and fitty. The ſame courſe are we driuen to follow in this deſcription, ſince we are enforced to cull out for the vſe of our Poet or maker all the moſt commendable figures. Now to make them knowen (as behoueth) either we muſt do it by th'original Greeke name or by the Latine, or by our owne. But when I conſider to what ſort of Readers I write, and how ill faring the Greeke terme would ſound in the Engliſh eare, then alſo how ſhort the Latines come to expreſſe manie of the Greeke originals. Finally, how well our language ſerueth to ſupplie the full ſignification of them both, I haue thought it no leſſe lawfull, yea peraduenture vnder licence of the learned, more laudable to vſe our owne naturall, if they be well choſen, and of proper ſignification, than to borrow theirs. So ſhall not our Engliſh Poets, though they be to ſeeke of the Greeke and Latin languages, lament for lack of knowledge ſufficient to the purpoſe of this arte. And in caſe any of theſe new Engliſh names giuen by me to any figure, ſhall happen to offend. I pray that the learned will beare with me and to thinke the ſtraungeneſſe thereof proceedes but of noueltie and diſaquaintance with our eares, which in proceſſe of tyme, and by cuſtome will frame very well: and ſuch others as are not learned in the primitiue languages, if they happen to hit vpon any new name of myne (ſo ridiculous in their opinion) as may moue them to laughter, let ſuch perſons, yet aſſure themſelues that ſuch names go as neare as may

be to their originals, or els ſerue better to the purpoſe of the figure then the very originall, reſeruing alwayes, that ſuch new name ſhould not be vnpleaſant in our vulgar nor harſh vpon the tong: and where it ſhall happen otherwiſe, that it may pleaſe the reader to thinke that hardly any other name in our Engliſh could be found to ſerue the turne better. Againe if to auoid the hazard of this blame I ſhould haue kept the Greek or Latin ſtill it would haue appeared a little too ſcholaſticall for our makers, and a peece of worke more fit for clerkes then for Courtiers for whoſe inſtruction this trauaile is taken: and if I ſhould haue left out both the Greeke and Latine name, and put in none of our owne neither: well perchance might the rule of the figure haue bene ſet downe, but no conuenient name to hold him in memory. It was therfore expedient we deuiſed for euery figure of importance his vulgar name, and to ioyne the Greeke or Latine originall with them; after that ſort much better ſatisfying aſwel the vulgar as the learned learner, and alſo the authors owne purpoſe, which is to make of a rude rimer, a learned and a Courtly Poet.

CHAP. X.

A diuiſion of figures, and how they ſerue in exornation of language.

AND becauſe our chiefe purpoſe herein is for the learning of Ladies and young Gentlewomen, or idle Courtiers, deſirous to become skilful in their owne mother tongue, and for their priuate recreation to make now and then ditties of pleaſure, thinking for our parte none other ſcience ſo fit for them and the place as that which teacheth *beau* ſemblant, the chiefe profeſſion aſwell of Courting as of poeſie: ſince to ſuch manner of mindes nothing is more comberſome then tedious doctrines and ſchollarly methodes of diſcipline, we haue in our owne conceit deuiſed a new and ſtrange modell of this arte, fitter to pleaſe the Court then the ſchoole,

and yet not vnneceſſarie for all ſuch as be willing themſelues to become good makers in the vulgar, or to be able to iudge of other mens makings: wherefore, intending to ſollow the courſe which we haue begun, thus we ſay: that though the language of our Poet or maker be pure and clenly, and not diſgraced by ſuch vicious parts as haue bene before remembred in the Chapter of language, be ſufficiently pleaſing and commendable for the ordinarie vſe of ſpeech; yet is not the ſame ſo well appointed for all purpoſes of the excellent Poet, as when it is gallantly arrayed in all his colours which figure can ſet vpon it, therefore we are now further to determine of figures and figuratiue ſpeeches. Figuratiue ſpeech is a noueltie of language euidently (and yet not abſurdly) eſtranged from the ordinarie habite and manner of our dayly talke and writing and figure it ſelfe is a certaine liuely or good grace ſet vpon wordes, ſpeaches and ſentences to ſome purpoſe and not in vaine, giuing them ornament or efficacie by many maner of alterations in ſhape, in ſounde, and alſo in ſence, ſometime by way of ſurpluſage, ſometime by defect, ſometime by diſorder, or mutation, and alſo by putting into our ſpeaches more pithe and ſubſtance, ſubtilitie, quickneſſe, efficacie or moderation, in this or that ſort tuning and tempring them, by amplification, abridgement, opening, cloſing, enforcing, meekening or otherwiſe diſpoſing them to the beſt purpoſe: whereupon the learned clerks who haue written methodically of this Arte in the two maſter languages, Greeke and Latine, haue ſorted all their figures into three rankes, and the firſt they beſtowed vpon the Poet onely: the ſecond vpon the Poet and Oratour indifferently: the third vpon the Oratour alone. And that firſt ſort of figures doth ſerue th'eare onely and may be therefore called *Auricular:* your ſecond ſerues the conceit onely and not th'eare, and may be called *ſenſable*, not ſenſible nor yet ſententious: your third ſort ſerues as well th'eare as the conceit and may be called *ſententious figures*, becauſe not only they properly apperteine to full ſentences,

for bewtifying them with a currant and pleaſant numerofitie, but alſo giuing them efficacie, and enlarging the whole matter beſides with copious amplifications. I doubt not but ſome buſie carpers will ſcorne at my new deuiſed termes: *auricular* and *ſenſable*, ſaying that I might with better warrant haue vſed in their ſteads theſe words, *orthographicall* or *ſyntactticall*, which the learned Grammarians left ready made to our hands, and do importe as much as th'other that I haue brought, which thing peraduenture I deny not in part, and neuertheleſſe for ſome cauſes thought them not ſo neceſſarie: but with theſe maner of men I do willingly beare, in reſpect of their laudable endeuour to allow antiquitie and flie innouation: with like beneuolence I truſt they will beare with me writing in the vulgar ſpeach and ſeeking by my nouelties to ſatisfie not the ſchoole but the Court: whereas they know very well all old things ſoone waxe ſtale and lothſome, and the new deuiſes are euer dainty and delicate, the vulgar inſtruction requiring alſo vulgar and communicable termes, not clerkly or vncouthe as are all theſe of the Greeke and Latine languages primitiuely receiued, vnleſſe they be qualified or by much vſe and cuſtome allowed and our eares made acquainted with them. Thus then I ſay that *auricular* figures be thoſe which worke alteration in th'eare by ſound, accent, time, and ſlipper volubilitie in vtterance, ſuch as for that reſpect was called by the auncients numerofitie of ſpeach. And not onely the whole body of a tale in a poeme or hiſtorie may be made in ſuch ſort pleaſant and agreable to the eare, but alſo euery clauſe by it ſelfe, and euery ſingle word carried in a clauſe, may haue their pleaſant ſweeteneſſe apart. And ſo long as this qualitie extendeth but to the outward tuning of the ſpeach reaching no higher then th'eare and forcing the mynde little or nothing, it is that vertue which the Greeks call *Enargia* and is the office of the *auricular* figures to performe. Therefore as the members of language at large are whole ſentences, and ſentences are compact of clauſes, and clauſes of

words, and euery word of letters and ſillables, ſo is the alteration (be it but of a ſillable or letter) much materiall to the ſound and ſweeteneſſe of vtterance. Wherefore beginning firſt at the ſmalleſt alterations which reſt in letters and ſillables, the firſt ſort of our figures *auricular* we do appoint to ſingle words as they lye in language; the ſecond to clauſes of ſpeach; the third to perfit ſentences and to the whole maſſe or body of the tale be it poeme or hiſtorie written or reported.

CHAP. XI.

Of auricular figures apperteining to ſingle wordes and working by their diuers ſoundes and audible tunes alteration to the eare onely and not the mynde.

A Word as he lieth in courſe of language is many wayes figured and thereby not a little altered in ſound, which conſequently alters the tune and harmonie of a meeter as to the eare. And this alteration is ſometimes by *adding* ſometimes by *rabbating* of a ſillable or letter to or from a word either in the beginning, middle or ending ioyning or vnioyning of ſillables and letters ſuppreſſing or confounding their ſeuerall ſoundes, or by miſplacing of a letter, or by cleare exchaunge of one letter for another, or by wrong ranging of the accent. And your figures of addition or ſurpluſe be three, videl. In the beginning, as to ſay: *I-doen*, for *doon*, *endanger*, for *danger*, *embolden*, for *bolden*.

In the middle, as to ſay *renuers*, for *reuers*, *meeterly*, for *meetly*, *goldylockes*, for *goldlockes*.

In th'end, as to ſay [*remembren*] for [*remembre*] [*ſpoken*] for [*ſpoke*]. And your figures of *rabbate* be as many, videl.

From the beginning, as to ſay [*twixt* for *betwixt*] [*gainſay* for *againeſay* :] [*ill* for *euill* :]

From the middle, as to ſay [*paraunter* for *parauenture*] *poorety* for *pouertie*] *ſouraigne* for *ſoueraigne*] *tane* for *taken*.]

From the end, as to ſay [*morne* for *morning*] *bet* for *better*] and ſuch like.

Your ſwallowing or eating vp one letter by another is when two vowels meete, whereof th'ones ſound goeth into other, as to ſay for *to attaine t'attaine*] for *ſorrow* and *ſmart for'* and *ſmart.*]

Your diſplacing of a ſillable as to ſay [*deſier* for *deſire.*] *fier* for *fire.*]

By cleare exchaunge of one letter or ſillable for another, as to ſay *euermare* for *euermore*, *wrang* for *wrong*: *gould* for *gold*: *fright* for *fraight* and a hundred moe, which be commonly miſuſed and ſtrained to make rime.

By wrong ranging the accent of a ſillable by which meane a ſhort ſillable is made long and a long ſhort as to ſay *fouerâine* for *fouéraine*: *gratíous* for *grátious*: *éndure* for *endúre*: *Salómon* for *Sálomon.*

Theſe many wayes may our maker alter his wordes, and ſometimes it is done for pleaſure to giue a better ſound, ſometimes vpon neceſſitie, and to make vp the rime. But our maker muſt take heed that he be not to bold ſpecially in exchange of one letter for another, for vnleſſe vſuall ſpeach and cuſtome allow it, it is a fault and no figure, and becauſe theſe be figures of the ſmalleſt importaunce, I forbeare to giue them any vulgar name.

CHAP. XII.

Of Auricular figures pertaining to clauſes of ſpeech and by them working no little alteration to the eare.

AS your ſingle wordes may be many waies transfigured to make the meetre or verſe more tunable and melodious, ſo alſo may your whole and entire clauſes be in ſuch ſort contriued by the order of their conſtruction as the eare may receiue a certaine recreation, although the mind for any noueltie of ſence be little or nothing affected. And therefore al your figures of *grammaticall* conſtruction, I accompt them but merely *auricular* in that they reach no furder then the eare. To which there will appeare ſome ſweete or vnſauery point to

offer you dolour or delight, either by ſome euident defect, or ſurpluſage, or diſorder, or immutation in the ſame ſpeaches notably altering either the congruitie *grammaticall*, or the ſence, or both. And firſt of thoſe that worke by defect, if but one word or ſome little portion of ſpeach be wanting, it may be ſupplied by ordinary vnderſtanding and vertue of the figure *Eclipſis*, as to ſay, *ſo early a man*, for [*are ye*] ſo early a man: he is to be intreated, for he is [*eaſie*] to be intreated: I thanke God I am to liue like a Gentleman, for I am [*able*] to liue, and the Spaniard ſaid in his deuiſe of armes *acuerdo oluido*, I remember I forget whereas in right congruitie of ſpeach it ſhould be. I remember [that I [doo] forget. And in a deuiſe of our owne [*empechement pur a choiſon*] a let for a furderance whereas it ſhould be ſaid [*viſe*] a let for a furderance, and a number more like ſpeaches defectiue, and ſupplied by common vnderſtanding.

Eclipsis or the Figure of default.

But if it be to mo clauſes then one, that ſome ſuch word be ſupplied to perfit the congruitie or ſence of them all, it is by the figure [*Zeugma*] we call him the [*ſingle ſupplie*] becauſe by one word we ſerue many clauſes of one congruitie, and may be likened to the man that ſerues many maiſters at once, but all of one country or kindred: as to ſay.

Zeugma or the Single supply.

Fellowes and friends and kinne forſooke me quite.

Here this word forſooke ſatisfieth the congruitie and ſence of all three clauſes, which would require euery of them aſmuch. And as we ſetting forth her Maieſties regall petigree, ſaid in this figure of [*Single ſupplie.*]

Her graundſires Father and Brother was a King
Her mother a crowned Queene, her Siſter and her ſelfe.

Whereas ye ſee this one word [*was*] ſerues them all in that they require but one congruitie and ſence.

Yet hath this figure of [*Single ſupply*] another propertie, occaſioning him to change now and then his name: by the order of his ſupplie, for if it be placed

in the forefront of all the ſeuerall clauſes whom he is to ſerue as a common ſeruitour, then is he called by the Greeks *Prozeugma*, by vs the Ringleader: thus

Prozeugma, or the Ringleader.

Her beautie perst mine eye, her ſpeach mine wofull hart:
Her preſence all the powers of my diſcourſe. etc.

Where ye ſee that this one word [*perſt*] placed in the foreward, ſatisfieth both in ſence and congruitie all thoſe other clauſes that followe him.

Mezozeugma or the Middle marcher.

And if ſuch word of ſupplie be placed in the middle of all ſuch clauſes as he ſerues: it is by the Greekes called *Mezozeugma*, by vs the [*Middlemarcher*] thus:

Faire maydes beautie (alack) with yeares it weares away.
And with wether and ſicknes, and ſorrow as they ſay.

Where ye ſee this word [*weares*] ſerues one clauſe before him, and two clauſes behind him, in one and the ſame ſence and congruitie. And in this verſe,

Either the troth or talke nothing at all.

Where this word [*talke*] ſerues the clauſe before and alſo behind. But if ſuch ſupplie be placed after all the clauſes, and not before nor in the middle, then is he called by the Greeks *Hypozeugma*, and by vs the [*Rerewarder*] thus:

Hypozeugma or the Rerewarder.

My mates that vvont, to keepe me companie,
And my neighbours, vvho dwelt next to my vvall,
The friends that ſvvare, they vvould not ſticke to die
In my quarrell: they are fled from me all.

Where ye ſee this word [*fled from me*] ſerue all the three clauſes requiring but one congruitie and ſence. But if ſuch want be in ſundrie clauſes, and of ſeuerall congruities or ſence, and the ſupply be made to ſerue them all, it is by the figure *Sillepſis*, whom for that reſpect we call the [*double ſupplie*] conceiuing, and, as it were, comprehending vnder one, a ſupplie of two natures, and may be likened to the man that ſerues many maſters at once, being of ſtrange Countries or kinreds, as in theſe verſes, where the lamenting widow ſhewed the Pilgrim the graues in which her husband and children lay buried.

Sillepsis, or the Double supply.

Here my ſweete ſonnes and daughters all my bliſſe,
Yonder mine owne deere husband buried is.

Where ye ſee one verbe ſingular ſupplyeth the plurall and ſingular, and thus

Iudge ye louers, if it be ſtrange or no:
My Ladie laughs for ioy, and I for wo.

Where ye ſee a third perſon ſupplie himſelfe and a firſt perſon. And thus,

Madame ye neuer ſhewed your ſelfe vntrue,
Nor my deſerts would euer ſuffer you.

Viz. to ſhow. Where ye ſee the moode Indicatiue ſupply him ſelfe and an Infinitiue. And the like in theſe other.

I neuer yet failde you in conſtancie,
Nor neuer doo intend vntill I die.

Viz. [*to ſhow.*] Thus much for the congruitie, now for the ſence. One wrote thus of a young man, who ſlew a villaine that had killed his father, and rauiſhed his mother.

Thus valiantly and with a manly minde,
And by one feate of euerlaſting fame,
This luſtie lad fully requited kinde,
His fathers death, and eke his mothers ſhame.

Where ye ſee this word [*requite*] ſerue a double ſence: that is to ſay, to reuenge, and to ſatisfie. For the parents iniurie was reuenged, and the duetie of nature performed or ſatisfied by the childe. But if this ſupplie be made to ſundrie clauſes, or to one clauſe ſundrie times iterated, and by ſeuerall words, ſo as euery clauſe hath his owne ſupplie: then is it called by the Greekes *Hypozeuxis*, we call him the ſubſtitute after his originall, and is a ſupplie with iteration, as thus:

Hypozeuxis. or the Substitute.

Vnto the king ſhe went, and to the king ſhe ſaid,
Mine owne liege Lord behold thy poore handmaid.

Here [*went to the king*] and [*ſaid to the king*] be but one clauſe iterated with words of ſundrie ſupply. Or as in theſe verſes following.

My Ladie gaue me, my Ladie wiſt not vvhat,

Geuing me leaue to be her Soueraine:
For by ſuch gift my Ladie hath done that,
Which vvhileſt ſhe liues ſhe may not call againe.

Here [*my Ladie gaue*] and [*my Ladie vviſt*] be ſupplies with iteration, by vertue of this figure.

Ye haue another *auricular* figure of defect, and is when we begin to ſpeake a thing, and breake of in the middle way, as if either it needed no further to be ſpoken of, or that we were aſhamed, or afraide to ſpeake it out. It is alſo ſometimes done by way of threatning, and to ſhew a moderation of anger. The Greekes call him *Apoſiopeſis.* I, the figure of ſilence, or of interruption, indifferently.

Aposiopesis. or the Figure of silence.

If we doo interrupt our ſpeech for feare, this may be an example, where as one durſt not make the true report as it was, but ſtaid halfe way for feare of offence, thus:

He ſaid yon were, I dare not tell you plaine:
For words once out, neuer returne againe.

If it be for ſhame, or that the ſpeaker ſuppoſe it would be indecent to tell all, then thus: as he that ſaid to his ſweete hart, whom he checked for ſecretly whiſpering with a ſuſpected perſon.

And did ye not come by his chamber dore?
And tell him that: goe to, I ſay no more.

If it be for anger or by way of manace or to ſhow a moderation of wrath as the graue and diſcreeter ſort of men do, then thus.

If I take you with ſuch another caſt
I ſweare by God, but let this be the laſt.

Thinking to haue ſaid further viz. I will puniſh you.

If it be for none of all theſe cauſes but vpon ſome ſodaine occaſion that moues a man to breake of his tale, then thus.

He told me all at large: lo yonder is the man
Let himſelfe tell the tale that beſt tell can.

This figure is fit for phantaſticall heads and ſuch as be ſodaine or lacke memorie. I know one of good

learning that greatly blemiſheth his diſcretion with this maner of ſpeach: for if he be in the graueſt matter of the world talking, he will vpon the ſodaine for the flying of a bird ouerthwart the way, or ſome other ſuch ſleight cauſe, interrupt his tale and neuer returne to it againe.

Ye haue yet another maner of ſpeach purporting at the firſt bluſh a defect which afterward is ſupplied, the Greekes call him *Prolepſis*, we the Propounder, or the Explaner which ye will: becauſe he workes both effectes, as thus, where in certaine verſes we deſcribe the triumphant enter-view of two great Princeſſes thus.

Prolepsis. or the Propounder.

Theſe two great Queenes, came marching hand in hand,
Vnto the hall, where ſtore of Princes ſtand:
And people of all countreys to behold,
Coronis all clad, in purple cloth of gold:
Celiar in robes, of ſiluer tiſſew vvhite,
With rich rubies, and pearles all bedighte.

Here ye ſee the firſt propoſition in a ſort defectiue and of imperfect ſence, till ye come by diuiſion to explane and enlarge it, but if we ſhould follow the originall right, we ought rather to call him the foreſtaller, for like as he that ſtandes in the market way, and takes all vp before it come to the market in groſſe and ſells it by retaile, ſo by this maner of ſpeach our maker ſetts down before all the matter by a brief propoſition, and afterward explanes it by a diuiſion more particularly.

By this other example it appeares alſo.

Then deare Lady I pray you let it bee,
That our long loue may lead vs to agree:
Me ſince I may not vved you to my vvife,
To ſerue you as a miſtreſſe all my life:
Ye that may not me for your husband haue,
To clayme me for your ſeruant and your ſlaue.

CHAP. XII [I].

Of your figures Auricular vworking by diſorder.

Hiperbaton, or the Trespasser.

TO all their ſpeaches which wrought by diſorder the Greekes gaue a general name [*Hiperbaton*] as much to ſay as the [*treſpaſſer*] and becauſe ſuch diſorder may be committed many wayes it receiueth ſundry particulars vnder him, whereof ſome are onely proper to the Greekes and Latines and not to vs, other ſome ordinarie in our maner of ſpeaches, but ſo foule and intollerable as I will not ſeeme to place them among the figures, but do raunge them as they deſerue among the vicious or faultie ſpeaches.

Parenthesis. or the Insertour.

Your firſt figure of tollerable diſorder is [*Parenthesis*] or by an Engliſh name the [*Inſertour*] and is when ye will ſeeme for larger information or ſome other purpoſe, to peece or graffe in the middeſt of your tale an vnneceſſary parcell of ſpeach, which neuertheleſſe may be thence without any detriment to the reſt. The figure is ſo common that it needeth none example, neuertheleſſe becauſe we are to teache Ladies and Gentlewomen to know their ſchoole points and termes appertaining to the Art, we may not refuſe to yeeld examples euen in the plaineſt caſes, as that of maiſter *Diars* very aptly.

But novv my Deere (for ſo my loue makes me to call you ſtill)
That loue I ſay, that luckleſſe loue, that vworks me all this ill.

Alſo in our Eglogue intituled *Elpine*, which we made being but eightene yeares old, to king *Edvvard* the ſixt a Prince of great hope, we ſurmiſed that the Pilot of a ſhip anſwering the King, being inquiſitiue and deſirous to know all the parts of the ſhip and tackle, what they were, and to what vſe they ſerued, vſing this inſertion or Parentheſis.

Soueraigne Lord (for vvhy a greater name
To one on earth no mortall tongue can frame
No ſtatelie ſtile can giue the practiſd penne:

To one on earth conuerſant among men.)

And ſo proceedes to anſwere the kings queſtion?

The ſhippe thou ſeest ſayling in ſea ſo large, etc.

This inſertion is very long and vtterly impertinent to the principall matter, and makes a great gappe in the tale, neuertheleſſe is no diſgrace but rather a bewtie and to very good purpoſe, but you muſt not vſe ſuch inſertions often nor to thick, nor thoſe that bee very long as this of ours, for it will breede great confuſion to haue the tale ſo much interrupted.

Ye haue another manner of diſordered ſpeach, when ye miſplace your words or clauſes and ſet that before which ſhould be behind, *et è conuerſo*, we call it in Engliſh prouerbe, the cart before the horſe, the Greeks call it *Hiſteron proteron*, we name it the Prepoſterous, and if it be not too much vſed is tollerable inough, and many times ſcarce perceiueable, vnleſſe the ſence be thereby made very abſurd: as he that deſcribed his manner of departure from his miſtreſſe, ſaid thus not much to be miſliked.

Histeron proteron, or the Preposterous.

I kiſt her cherry lip and tooke my leaue:

For I tooke my leaue and kiſt her: And yet I cannot well ſay whether a man vſe to kiſſe before hee take his leaue, or take his leaue before he kiſſe, or that it be all one buſines. It ſeemes the taking leaue is by vſing ſome ſpeach, intreating licence of departure: the kiſſe a knitting vp of the farewell, and as it were a teſtimoniall of the licence without which here in England one may not preſume of courteſie to depart, let yong Courtiers decide this controuerſie. One deſcribing his landing vpon a ſtrange coaſt, ſayd thus prepoſterouſly.

When we had climbde the clifs, and were a ſhore,

Whereas he ſhould haue ſaid by good order.

When vve vvere come a ſhore and clymed had the cliffs

For one muſt be on land ere he can clime. And as another ſaid:

My dame that bred me vp and bare me in her vvombe.

Whereas the bearing is before the bringing vp. All your other figures of diſorder becauſe they rather ſeeme

deformities then bewties of language, for ſo many of them as be notorioufly vndecent, and make no good harmony, I place them in the Chapter of vices hereafter following.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of your figures Auricular that vvorke by Surplufage.

Your figures *auricular* that worke by furplufage, ſuch of them as be materiall and of importaunce to the ſence or bewtie of your language, I referre them to the harmonicall ſpeaches of oratours among the figures rhetoricall, as be thoſe of repetition, and iteration or amplification. All other ſorts of furplufage, I accompt rather vicious then figuratiue, and therefore not melodious as ſhalbe remembred in the chapter of vicioſities or faultie ſpeaches.

CHAP. XV.

Of auricular figures vvorking by exchange.

Enallage. or the Figure of exchange.

Our figures that worke *auricularly* by exchange, were more obſeruable to the Greekes and Latines for the braueneſſe of their language, ouer that our is, and for the multiplicitie of their Grammaticall accidents, or verball affects, as I may terme them, that is to ſay, their diuers caſes, moodes, tenſes, genders, with variable terminations, by reaſon whereof, they changed not the very word, but kept the word, and changed the ſhape of him onely, vſing one caſe for another, or tenſe, or perſon, or gender, or number, or moode. We, hauing no ſuch varietie of accidents, haue little or no vſe of this figure. They called it *Enallage.*

Hipallage. or the Changeling.

But another ſort of exchange which they had, and very prety, we doe likewiſe vſe, not changing one word for another, by their accidents or caſes, as the *Enallage:* nor by the places, as the [*Prepoſterous*] but changing their true conſtruction and application, whereby the ſence is quite

peruerted and made very abſurd: as, he that ſhould ſay, for *tell me troth and lie not, lie me troth and tell not.* For *come dine vvith me and ſtay not, come ſtay vvith me and dine not.*

A certaine piteous louer, to moue his miſtres to compaſſion, wrote among other amorous verſes, this one.

Madame, I ſet your eyes before mine vvoes.

For, mine woes before your eyes, ſpoken to th'intent to winne fauour in her ſight.

But that was pretie of a certaine ſorrie man of law, that gaue his Client but bad councell, and yet found fault with his fee, and ſaid: my fee, good frend, hath deſerued better counſel. Good maſter, quoth the Client, if your ſelfe had not ſaid ſo, I would neuer haue beleeued it: but now I thinke as you doo. The man of law perceiuing his error, I tell thee (quoth he) my counſel hath deſerued a better fee. Yet of all others was that a moſt ridiculous, but very true exchange, which the yeoman of London vſed with his Sergeant at the Mace, who ſaid he would goe into the countrie, and make merry a day or two, while his man plyed his buſines at home: an example of it you ſhall finde in our Enterlude entituled Luſtie London: the Sergeant, for ſparing of horſ-hire, ſaid he would goe with the Carrier on foote. That is not for your worſhip, ſaide his yeoman, whereunto the Sergeant replyed.

I vvot vvhat I meane Iohn, it is for to ſtay
And company the knaue Carrier, for looſing my vvay.

The yeoman thinking it good manner to ſoothe his Sergeant, ſaid againe.

I meane vvhat I vvot Sir, your beſt is to hie,
And carrie a knaue vvith you for companie.

Ye ſee a notorious exchange of the conſtruction, and application of the words in this: *I vvot vvhat I meane*; and *I meane vvhat I vvot*, and in the other, *company the knaue Carrier*, and *carrie a knaue in your company.* The Greekes call this figure [*Hipallage*] the Latins *Submutatio*, we in our vulgar may call him the [*vnderchange*] but I had rather haue him called the [*Change-*

ling] nothing at all ſweruing from his originall, and much more aptly to the purpoſe, and pleaſanter to beare in memory: ſpecially for your Ladies and pretie miſtreſſes in Court, for whoſe learning I write, becauſe it is a terme often in their mouthes, and alluding to the opinion of Nurſes, who are wont to ſay, that the Fayries vſe to ſteale the faireſt children out of their cradles, and put other ill fauoured in their places, which they called changelings, or Elfs: ſo, if ye mark, doeth our Poet, or maker play with his wordes, vſing a wrong conſtruction for a right, and an abſurd for a ſenſible, by manner of exchange.

CHAP. XVI.

Of ſome other figures vvhich becauſe they ſerue chiefly to make the meeters tunable and melodious, and affect not the minde but very little, be placed among the auricular.

Omoioteleton, or the Like loose.

THe Greekes vſed a manner of ſpeech or writing in their proſes, that went by clauſes, finiſhing the words of like tune, and might be by vſing like caſes, tenſes, and other points of conſonance, which they called *Omoioteleton*, and is that wherin they neereſt approched to our vulgar ryme, and may thus be expreſſed.

Weeping creeping beſeeching I vvan,
The loue at length of Lady Lucian.

Or thus if we ſpeake in proſe and not in meetre.

Miſchaunces ought not to be lamented,
But rather by vviſedome in time preuented:
For ſuch miſhappes as be remedileſſe,
To ſorrovv them it is but fooliſhneſſe:
Yet are vve all ſo frayle of nature,
As to be greeued vvith euery diſpleaſure.

The craking Scotts as the Cronicle reportes at a certaine time made this bald rime vpon the Engliſh-men.

Long beards hartleſſe,
Painted hoodes vvitleſſe:

Gay coates graceleſſe,
Make all England thriftleſſe.

Which is no perfit rime in deede, but clauſes finiſhing in the ſelf ſame tune: for a rime of good ſimphonie ſhould not conclude his concords with one and the ſame terminant ſillable, as *leſſ*, *leſſ*, *leſſ*, but with diuers and like terminants, as *leſ*, *preſ*, *meſ*, as was before declared in the chapter of your cadences, and your clauſes in proſe ſhould neither finiſh with the ſame nor with the like terminants, but with the contrary as hath bene ſhewed before in the booke of proportions; yet many vſe it otherwiſe, neglecting the Poeticall harmonie and skill. And th'Earle of *Surrey* with Syr *Thomas Wyat*, the moſt excellent makers of their time, more peraduenture reſpecting the fitneſſe and ponderoſitie of their wordes then the true cadence or ſimphonie, were very licencious in this point. We call this figure following the originall, the [*like looſe*] alluding to th'Archers terme who is not ſaid to finiſh the feate of his ſhot before he giue the looſe, and deliuer his arrow from his bow, in which reſpect we vſe to ſay marke the looſe of a thing for marke the end of it.

Parimion, or the Figure of like letter.

Ye do by another figure notably affect th'eare when ye make euery word of the verſe to begin with a like letter, as for example in this verſe written in an *Epithaphe* of our making.

Time tried his truth his trauailes and his truſt,
And time to late tried his integritie.

It is a figure much vſed by our common rimers, and doth well if it be not too much vſed, for then it falleth into the vice which ſhalbe hereafter ſpoken of called *Tautologia*.

Asyndeton, or the Loose langage.

Ye haue another ſort of ſpeach in a maner defectiue becauſe it wants good band or coupling, and is the figure [*Aſyndeton*] we call him [*looſe language*] and doth not a litle alter th'eare as thus.

I ſavv it, I ſaid it, I vvill ſvveare it.

Cæſar the Dictator vpon the victorie hee obteined againſt *Pharnax* king of *Bithinia* ſhewing the celeritie of his conqueſt, wrate home to the Senate in this tenour of ſpeach no leſſe ſwift and ſpeedy then his victorie.

Veni, vidi, vici,
I came, I ſavv, I ouercame.

Meaning thus I was no ſooner come and beheld them but the victorie fell on my ſide.

The Prince of Orenge for his deuiſe of Armes in banner diſplayed againſt the Duke of Alua and the Spaniards in the Low-countrey vſed the like maner of ſpeach.

Pro Rege, pro lege, pro grege,
For the king, for the commons, for the countrey lavves.

It is a figure to be vſed when we will ſeeme to make haſt, or to be earneſt, and theſe examples with a number more be ſpoken by the figure of [*loſe language.*]

Polisindeton, or the Coople clause.

Quite contrary to this ye haue another maner of conſtruction which they called [*Poliſindeton*] we may call him the [*couple clauſe*] for that euery clauſe is knit and coupled together with a coniunctiue thus.

And I ſavv it, and I ſay it and I
Will ſvveare it to be true.

So might the Poeſie of *Cæſar* haue bene altered thus.

I came, and I ſavv, and I ouercame.

One wrote theſe verſes after the ſame ſort.

For in her mynde no thought there is,
But hovv ſhe may be true iwis:
And tenders thee and all thy heale,
And vviſheth both thy health and vveale:
And is thine ovvne, and ſo ſhe ſayes,
And cares for thee ten thouſand vvayes.

Irmus, or the Long loose.

Ye haue another maner of ſpeach drawen out at length and going all after one tenure and with an imperfit ſence till you come to the laſt word or verſe which concludes the whole premiſſes with a perfit ſence and full periode, the

Greeks call it *Irmus*, I call him the [*long loose*] thus appearing in a dittie of Sir *Thomas Wyat* where he describes the diuers distempers of his bed.

The restlesse state reuuer of my smart,
The labours salue increasing my sorrow:
The bodies case and troubles of my hart,
Quietour of mynde mine vnquiet foe:
Forgetter of paine remembrer of woe,
The place of sleepe wherein I do but wake:
Besprent with teares my bed I thee forsake.

Ye see here how ye can gather no perfection of sence in all this dittie till ye come to the last verse in these wordes *my bed I thee forsake.* And in another Sonet of *Petrarcha* which was thus Englished by the same Sir *Thomas Wyat.*

If weaker care if sodaine pale collour,
If many sighes with little speach to plaine:
Now ioy now woe, if they my ioyes distaine,
For hope of small, if much to feare therefore,
Be signe of loue then do I loue againe.

Here all the whole sence of the dittie is suspended till ye come to the last three wordes, *then do I loue againe,* which finisheth the song with a full and perfit sence.

Epitheton, or the Qualifier.

When ye will speake giuing euery person or thing besides his proper name a qualitie by way of addition whether it be of good or of bad it is a figuratiue speach of audible alteration, so is it also of sence as to say.

Fierce Achilles, wise Nestor wilie Vlysses,
Diana the chast and thou louely Venus:
With thy blind boy that almost neuer misses,
But hits our hartes when he leuels at vs.

Or thus commending the Isle of great Brittaine.

Albion hugest of Westerne Ilands all,
Soyle of sweete ayre and of good store:
God send we see thy glory neuer fall,
But rather dayly to grow more and more.

Or as we sang of our Soueraigne Lady giuing her these Attributes besides her proper name.

Elizabeth regent of the great Brittaine Ile,
Honour of all regents and of Queenes.

But if we ſpeake thus not expreſſing her proper name *Elizabeth*, videl.

The Engliſh Diana, the great Britton mayde.

Then it is not by *Epitheton* or figure of Attribution but by the figures *Antonomaſia*, or *Periphraſis*.

Endiadis, or the Figure of Twinnes.

Ye haue yet another manner of ſpeach when ye will ſeeme to make two of one not thereunto conſtrained, which therefore we call the figure of Twynnes, the Greekes *Endiadis* thus.

Not you coy dame your lowrs nor your lookes.

For [*your lowring lookes.*] And as one of our ordinary rimers ſaid.

Of fortune nor her frowning face,
I am nothing againſt.

In ſtead, of [*fortunes frowning face.*] One prayſing the Neapolitans for good men at armes, ſaid by the figure of Twynnes thus.

A proud people and wiſe and valiant,
Fiercely fighting with horſes and with barbes:
By whoſe provves the Romain Prince did daunt,
Wild Affricanes and the lavvleſſe Alarbes:
The Nubiens marching vvith their armed cartes,
And fleaing a farre vvith venim and vvith dartes.

Where ye ſee this figure of Twynnes twiſe vſed, once when he ſaid *horſes and barbes* for barbd horſes: againe when he ſaith with *venim* and with *dartes* for venimous dartes.

CHAP. XVI[I].

Of the figures which we call Senſable, becauſe they alter and affect the minde by alteration of ſence, and firſt in ſingle wordes.

THe eare hauing receiued his due ſatisfaction by the *auricular* figures, now muſt the minde alſo be ſerued, with his naturall delight by figures *ſenſible* ſuch as by alteration of intendmentes affect the cour-

age, and geue a good liking to the conceit. And firſt, ſingle words haue their ſence and vnderſtanding altered and figured many wayes, to wit, by tranſport, abuſe, croſſe-naming, new naming, change of name. This will ſeeme very darke to you, vnleſſe it be otherwiſe explaned more particularly: and firſt of *Tranſport*. There is a kinde of wreſting of a ſingle word from his owne right ſignification, to another not ſo naturall, but yet of ſome affinitie or conueniencie with it, as to ſay, *I cannot digeſt your vnkinde words*, for I cannot take them in good part: or as the man of law ſaid, *I feele you not*, for I vnderſtand not your caſe, becauſe he had not his fee in his hand. Or as another ſaid to a mouthy Aduocate, *why barkeſt thou at me ſo fore?* Or to call the top of a tree, or of a hill, the crowne of a tree or of a hill: for in deede *crowne* is the higheſt ornament of a Princes head, made like a cloſe garland, or els the top of a mans head, where the haire windes about, and becauſe ſuch terme is not applyed naturally to a tree, or to a hill, but is tranſported from a mans head to a hill or tree, therefore it is called by *metaphore*, or the figure of *tranſport*. And three cauſes moues vs to vſe this figure, one for neceſſitie or want of a better word, thus:

Metaphora, or the Figure of transsporte.

As the drie ground that thirſtes after a ſhowr
Seemes to reioyce when it is well iwet,
And ſpeedely brings foorth both graſſe and flowr,
If lacke of ſunne or ſeaſon doo not let.

Here for want of an apter and more naturall word to declare the drie temper of the earth, it is ſaid to thirſt and to reioyce, which is onely proper to liuing creatures, and yet being ſo inuerted, doth not ſo much ſwerue from the true ſence, but that euery man can eaſilie conceiue the meaning thereof.

Againe, we vſe it for pleaſure and ornament of our ſpeach, as thus in an Epitaph of our owne making, to the honourable memorie of a deere friend, Sir *Iohn Throgmorton*, knight, Iuſtice of Cheſter, and a man of many commendable vertues.

Whom vertue rerde, enuy hath ouerthrowen
And lodged full low, vnder this marble ſtone:
Ne neuer were his values ſo well knowen,
Whilest he liued here, as now that he is gone.

Here theſe words, *rered*, *ouerthrowen*, and *lodged*, are inuerted, and *metaphorically* applyed, not vpon neceſſitie, but for ornament onely, afterward againe in theſe verſes.

No ſunne by day that euer ſaw him rest
Free from the toyles of his ſo buſie charge,
No night that harbourd rankor in his breast,
Nor merry moode, made reaſon runne at large.

In theſe verſes the inuerſion or metaphore, lyeth in theſe words, *ſaw*, *harbourd*, *run*: which naturally are applyed to liuing things, and not to inſenſible: as, the *ſunne*, or the *night*: and yet they approch ſo neere, and ſo conueniently, as the ſpeech is thereby made more commendable. Againe, in moe verſes of the ſame Epitaph, thus.

His head a ſource of grauitie and ſence,
His memory a ſhop of ciuill arte:
His tongue a ſtreame of ſugred eloquence,
Wiſdome and meekenes lay mingled in his harte,

In which verſes ye ſee that theſe words, *ſource*, *ſhop*, *flud*, *ſugred*, are inuerted from their owne ſignification to another, not altogether ſo naturall, but of much affinitie with it.

Then alſo do we it ſometimes to enforce a ſence and make the word more ſignificatiue: as thus,

I burne in loue, I freeſe in deadly hate
I ſwimme in hope, and ſinke in deepe diſpaire.

Theſe examples I haue the willinger giuen you to ſet foorth the nature and vſe of your figure metaphore, which of any other being choiſly made, is the moſt commendable and moſt common.

Catachresis, or the Figure of abuse.

But if for lacke of naturall and proper terme or worde we take another, neither naturall nor proper and do vntruly applie it to the thing which we would ſeeme to expreſſe, and

without any iuſt inconuenience, it is not then ſpoken by this figure *Metaphore* or of *inuerſion* as before, but by plaine abuſe, as he that bad his man go into his library and fet him his bowe and arrowes, for in deede there was neuer a booke there to be found, or as one ſhould in reproch ſay to a poore man, thou raskall knaue, where *raskall* is properly the hunters terme giuen to young deere, leane and out of ſeaſon, and not to people: or as one ſaid very pretily in this verſe.

I lent my loue to loſſe, and gaged my life in vaine.

Whereas this worde *lent* is properly of mony or ſome ſuch other thing, as men do commonly borrow, for vſe to be repayed againe, and being applied to loue is vtterly abuſed, and yet very commendably ſpoken by vertue of this figure. For he that loueth and is not beloued againe, hath no leſſe wrong, than he that lendeth and is neuer repayde.

Metonimia, or the Misnamer.

Now doth this vnderſtanding or ſecret conceyt reach many times to the only nomination of perſons or things in their names, as of men, or mountaines, ſeas, countries and ſuch like, in which reſpect the wrong naming, or otherwiſe naming of them then is due, carieth not onely an alteration of ſence but a neceſſitie of intendment figuratiuely, as when we cal loue by the name of *Venus*, fleſhly luſt by the name of *Cupid*, bicauſe they were ſuppoſed by the auncient poets to be authors and kindlers of loue and luſt: *Vulcane* for fire, *Ceres* for bread: *Bacchus* for wine by the ſame reaſon; alſo if one ſhould ſay to a skilfull craftesman knowen for a glutton or common drunkard, that had ſpent all his goods on riot and delicate fare.

Thy hands they made thee rich, thy pallat made thee poore.

It is ment, his trauaile and arte made him wealthie, his riotous life had made him a beggar: and as one that boaſted of his houſekeeping, ſaid that neuer a yeare paſſed ouer his head, that he drank not in his houſe euery moneth foure tonnes of beere, and one hogſhead of wine, meaning not the caskes or veſſels,

but that quantitie which they conteyned. Theſe and ſuch other ſpeaches, where ye take the name of the Author for the thing it ſelfe; or the thing conteining, for that which is contained, and in many other caſes do as it were wrong name the perſon or the thing. So neuertheleſſe as it may be vnderſtood, it is by the figure *metonymia*, or miſnamer.

Antonomasia, or the Surnamer.

And if this manner of naming perſons or things be not by way of miſnaming as before, but by a conuenient difference, and ſuch as is true or eſteemed and likely to be true, it is then called not *metonimia*, but *antonomaſia*, or the Surnamer, (not the miſnamer, which might extend to any other thing aſwell as to a perſon) as he that would ſay: not king Philip of Spaine, but the Weſterne king, becauſe his dominion lieth the furdeſt Weſt of any Chriſten prince: and the French king the great *Vallois*, becauſe ſo is the name of his houſe, or the Queene of England, *The maiden Queene*, for that is her hieſt peculiar among all the Queenes of the world, or as we ſaid in one of our *Partheniades*, the *Bryton mayde*, becauſe ſhe is the moſt great and famous mayden of all Brittayne: thus,

But in chaste ſtile, am borne as I weene
To blazon foorth the Brytton mayden Queene.

So did our forefathers call *Henry the first*, *Beauclerke*, *Edmund Ironſide*, *Richard cœur de lion: Edward the Confeſſor*, and we of her Maieſtie *Eliſabeth* the peaſible.

Onomatopeia, or the New namer.

Then alſo is the ſence figuratiue when we deuiſe a new name to any thing conſonant, as neere as we can to the nature thereof, as to ſay: *flaſhing of lightning*, *claſhing of blades*, *clinking of fetters*, *chinking of mony:* and as the poet *Virgil* ſaid of the ſounding a trumpet, *ta-ra-tant*, *tara-tantara*, or as we giue ſpecial names to the voices of dombe beaſts, as to ſay, a horſe neigheth, a lyon brayes, a ſwine grunts, a hen cackleth, a dogge howles, and a hundreth mo ſuch new names as any man hath libertie to

deuiſe, ſo it be fittie for the thing which he couets to expreſſe.

Your *Epitheton* or *qualifier*, whereof we ſpake before, placing him among the figures *auricular*, now becauſe he ſerues alſo to alter and enforce the ſence, we will ſay ſomewhat more of him in this place, and do conclude that he muſt be apt and proper for the thing he is added vnto, and not diſagreable or repugnant, as one that ſaid: *darke diſdaine*, and *miſerable pride*, very abſurdly, for diſdaine or diſdained things cannot be ſaid darke, but rather bright and cleere, becauſe they be beholden and much looked vpon, and pride is rather enuied then pitied or miſerable, vnleſſe it be in Chriſtian charitie, which helpeth not the terme in this caſe. Some of our vulgar writers take great pleaſure in giuing Epithets and do it almoſt to euery word which may receiue them, and ſhould not be ſo, yea though they were neuer ſo propre and apt, for ſometimes wordes ſuffered to go ſingle, do giue greater ſence and grace than words quallified by attributions do.

Epitheton, or the Quallifier otherwise the figure of Attribution.

But the ſence is much altered and the hearers conceit ſtrangly entangled by the figure *Metalepſis*, which I call the *farſet*, as when we had rather fetch a word a great way off then to vſe one nerer hand to expreſſe the matter aſwel and plainer. And it ſeemeth the deuiſer of this figure, had a deſire to pleaſe women rather then men: for we vſe to ſay by manner of Prouerbe: things ſarrefet and deare bought are good for Ladies: ſo in this manner of ſpeach we vſe it, leaping ouer the heads of a great many words, we take one that is furdeſt off, to vtter our matter by: as *Medea* curſing hir firſt acquaintance with prince *Iaſon*, who had very vnkindly forſaken her, ſaid:

Metalepsis, or the Farrefet.

Woe worth the mountaine that the maſte bare
Which was the firſt cauſer of all my care.

Where ſhe might aſwell haue ſaid, woe worth our firſt meeting, or woe worth the time that *Iaſon* arriued with his ſhip at my fathers cittie in *Colchos*, when he

tooke me away with him, and not ſo farre off as to curſe the mountaine that bare the pinetree, that made the maſt, that bare the ſailes, that the ſhip ſailed with, which caried her away. A pleaſant Gentleman came into a Ladies nurſery, and ſaw her for her owne pleaſure rocking of her young child in the cradle, and ſayd to her:

I ſpeake it Madame without any mocke,
Many a ſuch cradell may I ſee you rocke.

Gods paſſion hourſon ſaid ſhe, would thou haue me beare mo children yet, no *Madame* quoth the Gentleman, but I would haue you liue long, that ye might the better pleaſure your friends, for his meaning was that as euery cradle ſignified a new borne childe, and euery child the leaſure of one yeares birth, and many yeares a long life: ſo by wiſhing her to rocke many cradels of her owne, he wiſhed her long life. *Virgill* ſaid:

Poſt multas mea regna videns mirabor ariſtas.

Thus in Engliſh.

After many a ſtubble ſhall I come
And wonder at the ſight of my kingdome.

By ſtubble the Poet vnderſtoode yeares, for haruests come but once euery yeare, at leaſt wayes with vs in Europe. This is ſpoken by the figure of farre-fet. *Metalepſis.*

Emphasis, or the Renforcer.

And one notable meane to affect the minde, is to inforce the ſence of any thing by a word of more than ordinary efficacie, and neuertheles is not apparant, but as it were, ſecretly implyed, as he that ſaid thus of a faire Lady.

O rare beautie, ô grace, and curteſie.

And by a very euill man thus.

O ſinne it ſelfe, not wretch, but wretchednes.

Whereas if he had ſaid thus, *O gratious, courteous and beautifull woman:* and, *O ſinfull and wretched man,* it had bene all to one effect, yet not with ſuch force and efficacie, to ſpeake by the denominatiue, as by the thing it ſelfe.

As by the former figure we vſe to enforce our ſence,

ſo by another we temper our ſence with wordes of ſuch moderation, as in appearaunce it abateth it but not in deede, and is by the figure *Liptote*, which therefore I call the *Moderator*, and becomes vs many times better to ſpeake in that ſort quallified, than if we ſpake it by more forcible termes, and neuertheles is equipolent in ſence, thus.

Liptote, or the Moderatour.

I know you hate me not, nor wiſh me any ill.

Meaning in deede that he loued him very well and dearely, and yet the words doe not expreſſe ſo much, though they purport ſo much. Or if you would ſay, I am not ignorant, for I know well inough. Such a man is no foole, meaning in deede that he is a very wiſe man.

But if ſuch moderation of words tend to flattery, or ſoothing, or excuſing, it is by the figure *Paradiaſtole*, which therfore nothing improperly we call the *Curry-fauell*, as when we make the beſt of a bad thing, or turne a ſignification to the more plauſible ſence: as, to call an vnthrift, a liberall Gentleman: the fooliſh-hardy, valiant or couragious: the niggard, thriftie: a great riot, or outrage, an youthfull pranke, and ſuch like termes: moderating and abating the force of the matter by craft, and for a pleaſing purpoſe, as appeareth by theſe verſes of ours, teaching in what caſes it may commendably be vſed by Courtiers.*

Paradiastole, or the Curry fauell.

But if you diminiſh and abbaſe a thing by way of ſpight and mallice, as it were to depraue it, ſuch ſpeach is by the figure *Meioſis* or the *diſabler* ſpoken of hereafter in the place of *ſententious* figures.

Meiosis, or the Disabler.

A great mountaine as bigge as a molehill,
A heauy burthen perdy, as a pound of fethers.

But if ye abaſe your thing or matter by ignorance or errour in the choiſe of your word, then is it by vicious maner of ſpeach called *Tapinoſis*, whereof ye ſhall haue examples in the chapter of vices hereafter folowing.

Tapinosis, or the Abbaser.

* These verses of the Author do not appear in the Text.—Ed.

Synecdoche, or the Figure of quick conceite.

Then againe if we vſe ſuch a word (as many times we doe) by which we driue the hearer to conceiue more or leſſe or beyond or otherwiſe then the letter expreſſeth, and it be not by vertue of the former figures *Metaphore* and *Abaſe* and the reſt, the Greeks then call it *Synecdoche*, the Latines *ſub intellectio* or vnderſtanding, for by part we are enforced to vnderſtand the whole, by the whole part, by many things one thing, by one, many, by a thing precedent, a thing conſequent, and generally one thing out of another by maner of contrariety to the word which is ſpoken, *aliud ex alio*, which becauſe it ſeemeth to aske a good, quick, and pregnant capacitie, and is not for an ordinarie or dull wit ſo to do, I choſe to call him the figure not onely of conceit after the Greeke originall, but alſo of quick conceite. As for example we will giue none becauſe we will ſpeake of him againe in another place, where he is ranged among the figures *ſenſable* apperteining to clauſes.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of ſenſable figures altering and affecting the mynde by alteration of ſence or intendements in whole clauſes or ſpeaches.

AS by the laſt remembred figures the ſence of ſingle wordes is altered, ſo by theſe that follow is that of whole and entier ſpeach: and firſt by the Courtly figure *Allegoria*, which is when we ſpeake one thing and thinke another, and that our wordes and our meanings meete not. The vſe of this figure is ſo large, and his vertue of ſo great efficacie as it is ſuppoſed no man can pleaſantly vtter and perſwade without it, but in effect is ſure neuer or very ſeldome to thriue and proſper in the world, that cannot skilfully put in vre, in ſomuch as not onely euery common Courtier, but alſo the graueſt Counſellour, yea and the moſt noble and wiſeſt Prince of them all are many times enforced to vſe it, by example (ſay they) of the great Emperour

who had it vſually in his mouth to ſay, *Qui neſcit diſſimulare neſcit regnare.* Of this figure therefore which for his duplicitie we call the figure of [*falſe ſemblant or diſſimulation*] we will ſpeake firſt as of the chief ringleader and captaine of all other figures, either in the Poeticall or oratorie ſcience.

Allegoria, or the Figure of false semblant.

And ye ſhall know that we may diſſemble, I meane ſpeake otherwiſe then we thinke, in earneſt aſwell as in ſport, vnder couert and darke termes, and in learned and apparant ſpeaches, in ſhort ſentences, and by long ambage and circumſtance of wordes, and finally aſwell when we lye as when we tell truth. To be ſhort euery ſpeach wreſted from his owne naturall ſignification to another not altogether ſo naturall is a kinde of diſſimulation, becauſe the wordes beare contrary countenaunce to th'intent. But properly and in his principall vertue *Allegoria* is when we do ſpeake in ſence tranſlatiue and wreſted from the owne ſignification, neuertheleſſe applied to another not altogether contrary, but hauing much conueniencie with it as before we ſaid of the metaphore: as for example if we ſhould call the common wealth, a ſhippe; the Prince a Pilot, the Counſellours mariners, the ſtormes warres, the calme and [*hauen*] peace, this is ſpoken all in allegorie: and becauſe ſuch inuerſion of ſence in one ſingle worde is by the figure *Metaphore*, of whom we ſpake before, and this manner of inuerſion extending to whole and large ſpeaches, it maketh the figure *allegorie* to be called a long and perpetuall Metaphore. A noble man after a whole yeares abſence from his ladie, ſent to know how ſhe did, and whether ſhe remayned affected toward him as ſhe was when he left her.

Louely Lady I long full fore to heare,
If ye remaine the ſame, I left you the laſt yeare.

To whom ſhe anſwered in *allegorie* other two verſes:

My louing Lorde I will well that ye wist,
The thred is ſpon, that neuer ſhall vntwiſt.

Meaning, that her loue was ſo ſtedfaſt and conſtant

toward him as no time or occaſion could alter it. *Virgill* in his ſhepeherdly poemes called *Eglogues* vſed as ruſticall but fit *allegorie* for the purpoſe thus:

Claudite iam riuos pueri ſat prata biberunt.

Which I Engliſh thus: [*fill.*

Stop vp your ſtreames (my lads) the medes haue drunk their

As much to ſay, leaue of now, yee haue talked of the matter inough: for the ſhepheards guiſe in many places is by opening certaine ſluces to water their paſtures, ſo as when they are wet inough they ſhut them againe: this application is full Allegoricke.

Ye haue another manner of Allegorie not full, but mixt, as he that wrate thus:

The cloudes of care haue coured all my coste,
The ſtormes of ſtrife, do threaten to appeare:
The waues of woe, wherein my ſhip is toste.
Haue broke the banks, where lay my life ſo deere.
Chippes of ill chance, are fallen amidſt my choife,
To marre the minde that ment for to reioyce.

I call him not a full Allegorie, but mixt, bicauſe he diſcouers withall what the *cloud*, *ſtorme*, *waue*, and the reſt are, which in a full allegorie ſhould not be diſcouered, but left at large to the readers iudgement and coniecture.

Enigma. or the Riddle.

We diſſemble againe vnder couert and darke ſpeaches, when we ſpeake by way of riddle (*Enigma*) of which the ſence can hardly be picked out, but by the parties owne aſſoile, as he that ſaid:

It is my mother well I wot,
And yet the daughter that I begot.

Meaning it by the iſe which is made of frozen water, the ſame being molten by the ſunne or fire, makes water againe.

My mother had an old woman in her nurſerie, who in the winter nights would put vs forth many prety ridles, whereof this is one:

I haue a thing and rough it is
And in the midſt a hole Iwis:

There came a yong man with his ginne,
And he put it a handfull in.

The good old Gentlewoman would tell vs that were children how it was meant by a furd glooue. Some other naughtie body would peraduenture haue conſtrued it not halfe ſo mannerly. The riddle is pretie but that it holdes too much of the *Cachemphäton* or foule ſpeach and may be drawen to a reprobate ſence.

Parimia, or Prouerb.

We diſſemble after a ſort, when we ſpeake by common prouerbs, or, as we vſe to call them, old ſaid ſawes, as thus:

As the olde cocke crowes ſo doeth the chick:
A bad Cooke that cannot his owne fingers lick.

Meaning by the firſt, that the young learne by the olde, either to be good or euill in their behauiours: by the ſecond, that he is not to be counted a wiſe man, who being in authority, and hauing the adminiſtration of many good and great things, will not ſerue his owne turne and his friends whileſt he may, and many ſuch prouerbiall ſpeeches: as *Totneſſe is turned French*, for a ſtrange alteration: *Skarborow warning*, for a ſodaine commandement, allowing no reſpect or delay to bethinke a man of his buſines. Note neuertheleſſe a diuerſitie, for the two laſt examples be prouerbs, the two firſt prouerbiall ſpeeches.

Ironia, or the Drie mock.

Ye doe likewiſe diſſemble, when ye ſpeake in deriſion or mockerie, and that may be many waies: as ſometime in ſport, ſometime in earneſt, and priuily, and apertly, and pleaſantly, and bitterly: but firſt by the figure *Ironia*, which we call the *drye mock:* as he that ſaid to a bragging Ruffian, that threatened he would kill and flay, no doubt you are a good man of your hands: or, as it was ſaid by a French king, to one that praide his reward, ſhewing how he had bene cut in the face at a certain battell fought in his ſeruice: ye may ſee, quoth the king, what it is to runne away and looke backwards. And as *Alphonſo* king of Naples, ſaid to one that profered to take his ring when he waſht before dinner,

this wil ſerue another well: meaning that the Gentlemen had another time taken them, and becauſe the king forgot to aske for them, neuer reſtored his ring againe.

Sarcasmus, or the Bitter taunt.

Or when we deride with a certaine ſeueritie, we may call it the bitter taunt [*Sarcaſmus*] as *Charles* the fift Emperour aunſwered the Duke of Arskot, beſeeching him recompence of ſeruice done at the ſiege of Renty, againſt *Henry* the French king, where the Duke was taken priſoner, and afterward eſcaped clad like a Colliar. Thou wert taken, quoth the Emperour, like a coward, and ſcapedſt like a Colliar, wherefore get thee home and liue vpon thine owne. Or as king *Henry* the eight ſaid to one of his priuy chamber, who ſued for Sir *Anthony Rowſe*, a knight of Norfolke that his Maieſtie would be good vnto him, for that he was an ill begger. Quoth the king againe, if he be aſhamed to beg, we are aſhamed to geue. Or as *Charles* the fift Emperour, hauing taken in battaile *Iohn Frederike* Duke of Saxon, with the Lantgraue of Heſſen and others: this Duke being a man of monſtrous bigneſſe and corpulence, after the Emperor had ſeene the priſoners, ſaid to thoſe that were about him, I haue gone a hunting many times, yet neuer tooke I ſuch a ſwine before.

Asteismus. or the Merry scoffe. otherwise The ciuill iest.

Or when we ſpeake by manner of pleaſantery, or mery skoffe, that is by a kinde of mock, whereof the ſence is farre fet, and without any gall or offence. The Greekes call it [*Aſteiſmus*] we may terme it the ciuill ieſt, becauſe it is a mirth very full of ciuilitie, and ſuch as the moſt ciuill men doo vſe. As *Cato* ſaid to one that had geuen him a good knock on the head with a long peece of timber he bare on his ſhoulder, and then bad him beware: what (quoth *Cato*) wilt thou ſtrike me againe? for ye know, a warning ſhould be geuen before a man haue receiued harme, and not after. And as king *Edward* the ſixt, being of young yeres, but olde in wit, ſaide to one of his priuie chamber, who ſued for a pardon for one that was condemned for a robberie,

telling the king that it was but a ſmall trifle, not paſt fixteene ſhillings matter which he had taken: quoth the king againe, but I warrant you the fellow was ſorrie it had not bene ſixteene pound: meaning how the malefactors intent was as euill in that trifle, as if it had bene a greater ſumme of money. In theſe examples if ye marke there is no griefe or offence miniſtred as in thoſe other before, and yet are very wittie, and ſpoken in plaine deriſion.

The Emperor *Charles* the fift was a man of very few words, and delighted little in talke. His brother king *Ferdinando* being a man of more pleaſant diſcourſe, ſitting at the table with him, ſaid, I pray your Maieſtie be not ſo ſilent, but let vs talke a little. What neede that brother, quoth the Emperor, ſince you haue words enough for vs both.

Or when we giue a mocke with a ſcornefull countenance as in ſome ſmiling ſort looking aſide or by drawing the lippe awry, or ſhrinking vp the noſe; the Greeks called it *Micterifmus*, we may terme it a fleering frumpe, as he that ſaid to one whoſe wordes he beleued not, no doubt Sir of that. This fleering frumpe is one of the Courtly graces of *hicke the ſcorner*.

Micterismus. or the Fleering frumpe.

Or when we deride by plaine and flat contradiction, as he that ſaw a dwarfe go in the ſtreete ſaid to his companion that walked with him: See yonder gyant: and to a Negro or woman blackemoore, in good ſooth ye are a faire one, we may call it the broad floute.

Antiphrasis. or the Broad floute.

Or when ye giue a mocke vnder ſmooth and lowly wordes as he that hard one call him all to nought and ſay, thou art ſure to be hanged ere thou dye: quoth th'other very ſoberly. Sir I know your maiſterſhip ſpeakes but in ieſt, the Greeks call it (*charientifmus*) we may call it the priuy nippe, or a myld and appeaſing mockery: all theſe be ſouldiers to the figure *allegoria* and fight vnder the banner of diſſimulation.

Charientismus. or the Priuy nippe.

Hiperbole. or the Ouer reacher, otherwise called the loud lyer.

Neuertheleſſe ye haue yet two or three other figures that ſmatch a ſpice of the ſame *falſe ſemblant*, but in another ſort and maner of phraſe, whereof one is when we ſpeake in the ſuperlatiue and beyond the limites of credit, that is by the figure which the Greeks call *Hiperbole*, the Latines *Dementiens* or the lying figure. I for his immoderate exceſſe cal him the ouer reacher right with his originall or [*lowd lyar*] and me thinks not amiſſe: now when I ſpeake that which neither I my ſelfe thinke to be true, nor would haue any other body beleeue, it muſt needs be a great diſſimulation, becauſe I meane nothing leſſe then that I ſpeake, and this maner of ſpeach is vſed, when either we would greatly aduaunce or greatly abaſe the reputation of any thing or perſon, and muſt be vſed very diſcreetly, or els it will ſeeme odious, for although a prayſe or other report may be allowed beyond credit, it may not be beyond all meaſure, ſpecially in the proſeman, as he that was ſpeaker in a Parliament of king *Henry* the eights raigne, in his Oration which ye know is of ordinary to be made before the Prince at the firſt aſſembly of both houſes, [ſh]ould ſeeme to prayſe his Maieſtie thus. What ſhould I go about to recite your Maieſties innumerable vertues, euen as much as if I tooke vpon me to number the ſtarres of the skie, or to tell the ſands of the ſea. This *Hyperbole* was both *vltra fidem* and alſo *vltra modum*, and therefore of a graue and wiſe Counſellour made the ſpeaker to be accompted a groſſe flattering foole: peraduenture if he had vſed it thus, it had bene better and neuertheleſſe a lye too, but a more moderate lye and no leſſe to the purpoſe of the kings commendation, thus. I am not able with any wordes ſufficiently to expreſſe your Maieſties regall vertues, your kingly merites alſo towardes vs your people and realme are ſo exceeding many, as your prayſes therefore are infinite, your honour and renowne euerlaſting: And yet all this if we ſhall meaſure it by the rule of exact veritie, is but an vntruth, yet a more cleanely commendation

then was maiſter Speakers. Neuertheleſſe as I ſaid before if we fall a prayſing, ſpecially of our miſtreſſes vertue, bewtie, or other good parts, we be allowed now and then to ouer-reach a little by way of compariſon as he that ſaid thus in prayſe of his Lady.

Giue place ye louers here before,
That ſpent your boaſts and braggs in vaine:
My Ladies bewtie paſſeth more,
The beſt of your I dare well ſayne:
Then doth the ſunne the candle light,
Or brighteſt day the darkeſt night.

And as a certaine noble Gentlewomen lamenting at the vnkindneſſe of her louer ſaid very pretily in this figure.

But ſince it will no better be,
My teares ſhall neuer blin:
To moiſt the earth in ſuch degree,
That I may drowne therein:
That by my death all men may ſay,
Lo weemen are as true as they.

Then haue ye the figure *Periphraſis*, holding ſomewhat of the diſsembler, by reaſon of a ſecret intent not appearing by the words, as when we go about the buſh, and will not in one or a few words expreſſe that thing which we deſire to haue knowen, but do choſe rather to do it by many words, as we our ſelues wrote of our Soueraigne Lady thus:

Periphrasis, or the Figure of ambage.

Whom Princes ſerue, and Realmes obay,
And greateſt of Bryton kings begot:
She came abroade euen yeſterday,
When ſuch as ſaw her, knew her not.

And the reſt that followeth, meaning her Maieſties perſon, which we would ſeeme to hide leauing her name vnſpoken, to the intent the reader ſhould geſſe at it: neuertheleſſe vpon the matter did ſo manifeſtly diſcloſe it, as any ſimple iudgement might eaſily perceiue by whom it was ment, that is by Lady *Elizabeth, Queene of England and daughter to king Henry the eight,*

and therein refteth the diffimulation. It is one of the gallanteft figures among the poetes fo it be vfed difcretely and in his right kinde, but many of thefe makers that be not halfe their craftes maifters, do very often abufe it and alfo many waies. For if the thing or perfon they go about to defcribe by circumftance, be by the writers improuidence otherwife bewrayed, it loofeth the grace of a figure, as he that faid:

The tenth of March when Aries receiued,
Dan Phœbus raies into his horned hed.

Intending to defcribe the fpring of the yeare, which euery man knoweth of himfelfe, hearing the day of March named: the verfes be very good the figure nought worth, if it were meant in Periphrafe for the matter, that is the feafon of the yeare which fhould haue bene couertly difclofed by ambage, was by and by blabbed out by naming the day of the moneth, and fo the purpofe of the figure difapointed, peraduenture it had bin better to haue faid thus:

The month and daie when Aries receiud,
Dan Phœbus raies into his horned head.

For now there remaineth for the Reader fomewhat to ftudie and geffe vpon, and yet the fpring time to the learned iudgement fufficiently expreffed.

The Noble Earle of Surrey wrote thus:

In winters iuft returne, when Boreas gan his raigne,
And euery tree vnclothed him faft as nature taught them plaine.

I would faine learne of fome good maker, whether the Earle fpake this in figure of *Periphrafe* or not, for mine owne opinion I thinke that if he ment to defcribe the winter feafon, he would not haue difclofed it fo broadly, as to fay winter at the firft worde, for that had bene againft the rules of arte, and without any good iudgement: which in fo learned and excellent a perfonage we ought not to fufpect, we fay therefore that for winter it is no *Periphrafe* but language at large: we fay for all that, hauing regard to the feconde verfe that followeth it is a *Periphrafe*, feeming that thereby he

intended to ſhew in what part of the winter his loues gaue him anguiſh, that is in the time which we call the fall of the leafe, which begins in the moneth of October, and ſtands very well with the figure to be vttered in that ſort notwithſtanding winter be named before, for winter hath many parts: ſuch namely as do not ſhake of the leafe, nor vncloth the trees as here is mencioned: thus may ye iudge as I do, that this noble Erle wrate excellently well and to purpoſe. Moreouer, when a maker will ſeeme to vſe circumlocution to ſet forth any thing pleaſantly and figuratiuely, yet no leſſe plaine to a ripe reader, then if it were named expreſly, and when all is done, no man can perceyue it to be the thing intended. This is a foule ouerſight in any writer as did a good fellow, who weening to ſhew his cunning, would needs by periphraſe expreſſe the realme of Scotland in no leſſe then eight verſes, and when he had ſaid all, no man could imagine it to be ſpoken of Scotland: and did beſides many other faults in his verſe, ſo deadly belie the matter by his deſcription, as it would pitie any good maker to heare it.

Synechdoche. or the Figure of quick conceite.

Now for the ſhutting vp of this Chapter, will I remember you farther of that manner of ſpeech which the Greekes call *Synecdoche*, and we the figure of [*quicke conceite*] who for the reaſons before alledged, may be put vnder the ſpeeches *allegoricall*, becauſe of the darkenes and duplicitie of his ſence: as when one would tell me how the French king was ouerthrowen at Saint Quintans, I am enforced to think that it was not the king himſelfe in perſon, but the Conſtable of Fraunce with the French kings power. Or if one would ſay, the towne of Andwerpe were famiſhed, it is not ſo to be taken, but of the people of the towne of Andwerp, and this conceit being drawen aſide, and (as it were) from one thing to another, it encombers the minde with a certaine imagination what it may be that is meant, and not expreſſed: as he that ſaid to a young gentlewoman, who was in her chamber making her ſelfe vnready.

Miſtreſſe will ye geue me leaue to vnlace your peticote, meaning (perchance) the other thing that might follow ſuch vnlaſing. In the olde time, whoſoeuer was allowed to vndoe his Ladies girdle, he might lie with her all night: wherfore, the taking of a womans maydenhead away, was ſaid to vndoo her girdle. *Virgineam diſſoluit zonam*, ſaith the Poet, conceiuing out of a thing precedent, a thing ſubſequent. This may ſuffice for the knowledge of this figure [*quicke conceit.*]

CHAP. XIX.

Of Figures ſententious, otherwiſe called Rhetoricall.

Ow if our preſuppoſall be true, that the Poet is of all other the moſt auncient Orator, as he that by good and pleaſant perſwaſions firſt reduced the wilde and beaſtly people into publicke ſocieties and ciuilitie of life, inſinuating vnto them, vnder fictions with ſweete and coloured ſpeeches, many wholeſome leſſons and doctrines, then no doubt there is nothing ſo fitte for him, as to be furniſhed with all the figures that be *Rhetoricall*, and ſuch as do moſt beautifie language with eloquence and ſententiouſnes. Therfore, ſince we haue already allowed to our maker his *auricular* figures, and alſo his *ſenſable*, by which all the words and clauſes of his meeters are made as well tunable to the eare, as ſtirring to the minde, we are now by order to beſtow vpon him thoſe other figures which may execute both offices, and all at once to beautifie and geue ſence and ſententiouſnes to the whole language at large. So as if we ſhould intreate our maker to play alſo the Orator, and whether it be to pleade, or to praiſe, or to aduiſe, that in all three caſes he may vtter, and alſo perſwade both copiouſly and vehemently.

And your figures rhethoricall, beſides their remembred ordinarie vertues, that is, ſententiouſnes, and copious amplification, or enlargement of language, doe alſo conteine a certaine ſweet and melodious manner of ſpeech, in which reſpect, they may, after a ſort, be ſaid

auricular: becauſe the eare is no leſſe rauiſhed with their currant tune, than the mind is with their ſententiouſnes. For the eare is properly but an inſtrument of conueyance for the minde, to apprehend the ſence by the ſound. And our ſpeech is made melodious or harmonicall, not onely by ſtrayned tunes, as thoſe of *Muſick*, but alſo by choiſe of ſmoothe words: and thus, or thus, marſhalling them in their comelieſt conſtruction and order, and aſwell by ſometimes ſparing, ſometimes ſpending them more or leſſe liberally, and carrying or tranſporting of them farther off or neerer, ſetting them with ſundry relations, and variable formes, in the miniſtery and vſe of words, doe breede no little alteration in man. For to ſay truely, what els is man but his minde? which, whoſoeuer haue skil to compaſſe, and make yeelding and flexible, what may not he commaund the body to perfourme? He therefore that hath vanquiſhed the minde of man, hath made the greateſt and moſt glorious conqueſt. But the minde is not aſſailable vnleſſe it be by ſenſible approches, whereof the audible is of greateſt force for inſtruction or diſcipline: the viſible, for apprehenſion of exterior knowledges as the Philoſopher ſaith. Therefore the well tuning of your words and clauſes to the delight of the eare, maketh your information no leſſe plauſible to the minde than to the eare: no though you filled them with neuer ſo much ſence and ſententiouſnes. Then alſo muſt the whole tale (if it tende to perſwaſion) beare his iuſt and reaſonable meaſure, being rather with the largeſt, than with the ſcarceſt. For like as one or two drops of water perce not the flint ſtone, but many and often droppings doo: ſo cannot a few words (be they neuer ſo pithie or ſententious) in all caſes and to all manner of mindes, make ſo deepe an impreſſion, as a more multitude of words to the purpoſe diſcreetely, and without ſuperfluitie vttered: the minde being no leſſe vanquiſhed with large loade of ſpeech, than the limmes are with heauie burden. Sweetenes of ſpeech, ſentence, and amplification, are therfore neceſſarie to an

excellent Orator and Poet, he may in no wife be ſpared from any of them.

And firſt of all others your figure that worketh by iteration or repetition of one word or clauſe doth much alter and affect the eare and alſo the mynde of the hearer, and therefore is counted a very braue figure both with the Poets and rhetoriciens, and this repetition may be in ſeuen ſortes.

Anaphora, or the Figure of Report.

Repetition in the firſt degree we call the figure of *Report* according to the Greeke originall, and is when we make one word begin, and as they are wont to ſay, lead the daunce to many verſes in ſute, as thus.

To thinke on death it is a miſerie,
To think on life it is a vanitie:
To thinke on the world verily it is,
To thinke that heare man hath no perfit bliſſe.

And this written by Sir *Walter Raleigh* of his greateſt miſtreſſe in moſt excellent verſes.

In vayne mine eyes in vaine you waſt your teares,
In vayne my ſighs the ſmokes of my deſpaires:
In vayne you ſearch th'earth and heauens aboue,
In vayne ye ſeeke, for fortune keeps my loue.

Or as the buffon in our enterlude called *Luſtie London* ſaid very knauiſhly and like himſelfe.

Many a faire laſſe in London towne,
Many a bavvdie basket borne vp and downe:
Many a broker in a thridbare gowne.
Many a bankrowte ſcarce worth a crowne.
In London.

Antistrophe, or the Counter turne.

Ye haue another ſort of repetition quite contrary to the former when ye make one word finiſh many verſes in ſute, and that which is harder, to finiſh many clauſes in the middeſt of your verſes or dittie (for to make them finiſh the verſe in our vulgar it ſhould hinder the rime) and becauſe I do finde few of our Engliſh makers vſe this figure, I haue ſet you down two litle ditties which our ſelues in our yonger yeares played vpon the *Antiſtrophe*, for ſo is

the figures name in Greeke: one vpon the mutable loue of a Lady, another vpon the meritorious loue of Chriſt our Sauiour, thus.

Her lowly lookes, that gaue life to my loue,
With spitefull ſpeach, curſtneſſe and crueltie:
She kild my loue, let her rigour remoue,
Her cherefull lights and ſpeaches of pitie
Reuiue my loue: anone with great diſdaine,
She ſhunnes my loue, and after by a traine
She ſeekes my loue, and faith ſhe loues me moſt,
But ſeing her loue, ſo lightly wonne and loſt:
I longd not for her loue, for well I thought,
Firme is the loue, if it be as it ought.

The ſecond vpon the merites of Chriſtes paſſion toward mankind, thus,

Our Chriſt the ſonne of God, chief authour of all good,
Was he by his allmight, that firſt created man:
And vvith the coſtly price, of his moſt precious bloud,
He that redeemed man: and by his instance vvan
Grace in the ſight of God, his onely father deare,
And reconciled man: and to make man his peere
Made himſelfe very man: brief to conclude the caſe,
This Chriſt both God and man, he all and onely is:
The man brings man to God and to all heauens bliſſe.

The Greekes call this figure *Antiſtrophe*, the Latines, *conuerſio*, I following the originall call him the *counterturne*, becauſe he turnes counter in the middeſt of euery meetre.

Take me the two former figures and put them into one, and it is that which the Greekes call *ſymploche*, the Latines *complexio*, or *conduplicatio*, and is a maner of repetition, when one and the ſelfe word doth begin and end many verſes in ſute and ſo wrappes vp both the former figures in one, as he that ſportingly complained of his vntruſtie miſtreſſe, thus.

Symploche, or the figure of replie.

Who made me ſhent for her loues ſake?
Myne owne miſtreſſe.
Who would not ſeeme my part to take.
Myne owne miſtreſſe.

What made me firſt ſo well content
Her curteſie.
What makes me now ſo ſore repent
Her crueltie.

The Greekes name this figure *Symploche*, the Latins *Complexio*, perchaunce for that he ſeemes to hold in and to wrap vp the verſes by reduplication, ſo as nothing can fall out. I had rather call him the figure of replie.

Anadiplosis, or the Redouble.

Ye haue another ſort of repetition when with the worde by which you finiſh your verſe, ye beginne the next verſe with the ſame, as thus:

Comforte it is for man to haue a wife,
Wife chaſt, and wife, and lowly all her life.

Or thus:

Your beutie was the cauſe of my firſt loue,
Looue while I liue, that I may ſore repent.

The Greeks call this figure *Anadiploſis*, I call him the *Redouble* as the originall beares.

Epanalepsis, or the Eccho sound. otherwise, the slow return.

Ye haue an other ſorte of repetition, when ye make one worde both beginne and end your verſe, which therefore I call the ſlow retourne, otherwiſe the Eccho ſound, as thus:

Much muſt he be beloued, that loueth much,
Feare many muſt he needs, whom many feare.

Vnleſſe I called him the *eccho ſound*, I could not tell what name to giue him, vnleſſe it were the ſlow returne.

Epizeuxis, the Vnderlay, or Coocko-spel.

Ye haue another ſort of repetition when in one verſe or clauſe of a verſe, ye iterate one word without any intermiſſion, as thus:

It was Maryne, Maryne that wrought mine woe.

And this bemoaning the departure of a deere friend.

The chiefest ſtaffe of mine aſſured ſtay,
With no ſmall griefe, is gon, is gon away.

And that of Sir *Walter Raleighs* very ſweet.

With wiſdomes eyes had but blind fortune ſeene,
Than had my looue, my looue for euer beene.

The Greeks call him *Epizeuxis*, the Latines *Subiunctio*, we may call him the *vnderlay*, me thinks if we regard his manner of iteration, and would depart from the originall, we might very properly, in our vulgar and for pleasure call him the *cuckowspell*, for right as the cuckow repeats his lay, which is but one manner of note, and doth not insert any other tune betwixt, and sometimes for hast stammers out two or three of them one immediatly after another, as *cuck*, *cuck*, *cuckow*, so doth the figure *Epizeuxis* in the former verses, *Maryne*, *Maryne*, without any intermission at all.

Ploche, or the Doubler.

Yet haue ye one sorte of repetition, which we call the *doubler*, and is as the next before, a speedie iteration of one word, but with some little intermission by inserting one or two words betweene, as in a most excellent dittie written by Sir *Walter Raleigh* these two closing verses:

Yet vvhen I savve my selfe to you vvas true,
I loued my selfe, bycause my selfe loued you.

And this spoken in common Prouerbe.

An ape vvilbe an ape, by kinde as they say,
Though that ye clad him all in purple array.

Or as we once sported vpon a fellowes name who was called *Woodcock*, and for an ill part he had plaid entreated fauour by his friend.

I praie you intreate no more for the man,
Woodcocke vvilbe a vvoodcocke do vvhat ye can.

Now also be there many other sortes of repetition if a man would vse them, but are nothing commendable, and therefore are not obserued in good poesie, as a vulgar rimer who doubled one word in the end of euery verse, thus: *adieu*, *adieu*,
my face, *my face*.

And an other that did the like in the beginning of his verse, thus:

To loue him and loue him, as sinners should doo.

These repetitions be not figuratiue but phantastical, for a figure is euer vsed to a purpose, either of beautie or of efficacie: and these last recited be to no purpose,

for neither can ye ſay that it vrges affection, nor that it beautifieth or enforceth the ſence, nor hath any other ſubtilitie in it, and therfore is a very fooliſh impertinency of ſpeech, and not a figure.

Prosonomasia, or the Nicknamer.

Ye haue a figure by which ye play with a couple of words or names much reſembling, and becauſe the one ſeemes to anſwere th'other by manner of illuſion, and doth, as it were, nick him, I call him the *Nicknamer*. If any other man can geue him a fitter Engliſh name, I will not be angrie, but I am ſure mine is very neere the originall ſence of the *Proſonomaſia*, and is rather a by-name geuen in ſport, than a ſurname geuen of any earneſt purpoſe. As, *Tiberius* the Emperor, becauſe he was a great drinker of wine, they called him by way of deriſion to his owne name, *Caldius Biberius Mero*, in ſteade of *Claudius Tiberius Nero*: and ſo a ieſting frier that wrate againſt *Eraſmus*, called him by reſemblance to his own name, *Errans mus*, and are mainteined by this figure *Proſonomaſia*, or the Nicknamer. But euery name geuen in ieſt or by way of a ſurname, if it do not reſemble the true, is not by this figure, as, the Emperor of Greece, who was ſurnamed *Conſtantinus Cepronimus*, becauſe he beſhit the foont at the time he was chriſtened: and ſo ye may ſee the difference betwixt the figures *Antonomaſia* and *Proſonomatia*. Now when ſuch reſemblance happens betweene words of another nature, and not vpon mens names, yet doeth the Poet or maker finde prety ſport to play with them in his verſe, ſpecially the Comicall Poet and the Epigrammatiſt. Sir *Philip Sidney* in a dittie plaide very pretily with theſe two words, *Loue and liue*, thus.

And all my life I will confeſſe,
The leſſe I loue, I liue the leſſe.

And we in our Enterlude called the woer, plaid with theſe two words, *lubber* and *louer*, thus, the countrey clowne came and woed a young maide of the Citie, and being agreeued to come ſo oft, and not to haue his anſwere, ſaid to the old nurſe very impatiently.

Iche pray you good mother tell our young dame, Woer.
Whence I am come and what is my name,
I cannot come a woing euery day.

Quoth the nurſe.

They be lubbers not louers that ſo vſe to ſay. Nurse.

Or as one replyed to his miſtreſſe charging him with ſome diſloyaltie towards her.

Proue me madame ere ye fall to reproue,
Meeke mindes ſhould rather excuſe than accuſe.

Here the words proue and reproue, excuſe and accuſe, do pleaſantly encounter, and (as it were) mock one another by their much reſemblance: and this is by the figure *Proſonomatia*, as wel as if they were mens proper names, alluding to each other.

Traductio, or the Tranlacer.

Then haue ye a figure which the Latines call *Traductio*, and I the tranlacer: which is when ye turne and tranlace a word into many ſundry ſhapes as the Tailor doth his garment, and after that ſort do play with him in your dittie: as thus,

Who liues in loue his life is full of feares,
To loſe his loue, liuelode or libertie
But liuely ſprites that young and reckleſſe be,
Thinke that there is no liuing like to theirs.

Or as one who much gloried in his owne wit, whom *Perſius* taxed in a verſe very pithily and pleaſantly, thus.

Scire tuum nihil eſt niſi te ſcire, hoc ſciat alter.

Which I haue turned into Engliſh, not ſo briefly, but more at large of purpoſe the better to declare the nature of the figure: as thus,

Thou vveeneſt thy vvit nought vvorth if other vveet it not
As vvel as thou thy ſelfe, but o thing vvell I vvot,
Who ſo in earneſt vveenes, he doth in mine aduiſe,
Shevv himſelfe vvitleſſe, or more vvittie than vviſe.

Here ye ſee how in the former rime this word life is tranlaced into liue, liuing, liuely, liuelode: and in

the latter rime this word wit is tranſlated into weete, weene, wotte, witleſſe, witty and wiſe: which come all from one originall.

Antipophora, or Figure of responce.

Ye haue a figuratiue ſpeach which the Greeks cal *Antipophora*, I name him the *Reſponce*, and is when we will ſeeme to aske a queſtion to th'intent we will aunſwere it our ſelues, and is a figure of argument and alſo of amplification. Of argument, becauſe proponing ſuch matter as our aduerſarie might obiect and then to anſwere it our ſelues, we do vnfurniſh and preuent him of ſuch helpe as he would otherwiſe haue vſed for himſelfe: then becauſe ſuch obiection and anſwere ſpend much language it ſerues as well to amplifie and enlarge our tale. Thus for example.

Wylie vworldling come tell me I thee pray,
Wherein hopeſt thou, that makes thee ſo to ſvvell?
Riches? alack it taries not a day,
But vvhere fortune the fickle liſt to dvvell:
In thy children? hovv hardlie ſhalt thou finde,
Them all at once, good and thriftie and kinde:
Thy vvife? ô faire but fraile mettall to truſt,
Seruants? what theeues? what treachours and iniuſt?
Honour perchance? it reſtes in other men:
Glorie? a ſmoake: but wherein hopeſt thou then?
In Gods iuſtice? and by what merite tell?
In his mercy? ô now thou speakeſt vvel,
But thy lewd life hath loſt his loue and grace,
Daunting all hope to put diſpaire in place.

We read that *Crates* the Philoſopher Cinicke in reſpect of the manifold diſcommodities of mans life, held opinion that it was beſt for man neuer to haue bene borne or ſoone after to dye, [*Optimum non naſci vel citò mori*] of whom certaine verſes are left written in Greeke which I haue Engliſhed, thus.

What life is the liefeſt? the needy is full of woe and awe,
The wealthie full of brawle and brabbles of the law:
To be a maried man? how much art thou beguild,
Seeking thy reſt by carke, for houſhold wife and child:

To till it is a toyle, to grafe fome honeft gaine,
But fuch as gotten is with great hazard and paine:
The fayler of his fhippe, the marchant of his ware,
The fouldier in armes, how full of dread and care?
A fhrewd wife brings thee bate, wiue not and neuer thriue,
Children a charge, childlefe the greatest lacke aliue:
Youth witlefe is and fraile, age ficklie and forlorne,
Then better to dye foone, or neuer to be borne.

Metrodorus the Philofopher *Stoick* was of a contrary opinion reuerfing all the former fuppofitions againft *Crates*, thus.

What life lift ye to lead? in good Citie and towne
Is wonne both wit and wealth, Court gets vs great renowne:
Countrey keepes vs in heale, and quietnefe of mynd, [*find:*
Where holefome aires and exercife and pretie fports we
Traffick it turnes to gaine, by land and eke by feas.
The land-borne liues fafe, the forreine at his eafe:
Houfholder hath his home, the roge romes with delight,
And makes moe merry meales, then doth the Lordly wight:
Wed and thou haft a bed, of folace and of ioy,
Wed not and haue a bed, of rest without annoy:
The fetled loue is fafe, fweete is the loue at large,
Children they are a fore, no children are no charge,
Luftie and gay is youth, old age honourd and wife:
Then not to dye or be vnborne, is beft in myne aduife.

Edvvard Earle of Oxford a moft noble and learned Gentleman made in this figure of refponce an emble of defire otherwife called *Cupide* which from his excellencie and wit, I fet downe fome part of the verfes, for example.

When wert thou borne defire?
In pompe and pryme of May,
By whom fweete boy wert thou begot?
By good conceit men fay,
Tell me who was thy nurfe?
Frefh youth in fugred ioy.
What was thy meate and dayly foode?
Sad fighes with great annoy.

What hadſt thou then to drinke?
Vnfayned louers teares.
What cradle wert thou rocked in?
In hope deuoyde of feares.

Ye haue another figure which me thinkes may well be called (not much ſweruing from his originall in ſence) the *Croſſe-couple*, becauſe it takes me two contrary words, and tieth them as it were in a paire of couples, and ſo makes them agree like good fellowes, as I ſaw once in Fraunce a wolfe coupled with a maſtiffe, and a foxe with a hounde. Thus it is.

Syneciosis, or the Crosse copling.

The niggards fault and the vnthrifts is all one,
For neither of them both knoweth how to vſe his owne.

Or thus.

The couetous miſer, of all his goods ill got,
Afwell wants that he hath, as that he hath not.

In this figure of the *Croſſe-couple* we wrate for a forlorne louer complaining of his miſtreſſe crueltie theſe verſes among other.

Thus for your ſake I dayly dye,
And do but ſeeme to liue in deede:
Thus is my bliſſe but miſerie,
My lucre loſſe without your meede.

Atanaclasis. or the Rebounde.

Ye haue another figure which by his nature we may call the *Rebound*, alluding to the tennis ball which being ſmitten with the racket reboundes backe againe, and where the laſt figure before played with two wordes ſomewhat like, this playeth with one word written all alike but carrying diuers ſences as thus.

The maide that ſoone married is, ſoone marred is.

Or thus better becauſe *married* and *marred* be different in one letter.

To pray for you euer I cannot refuſe,
To pray vpon you I ſhould you much abuſe.

Or as we once ſported vpon a countrey fellow who came to runne for the beſt game, and was by his occupation a dyer and had very bigge ſwelling legges.

He is but courſe to runne a courſe,
Whoſe ſhankes are bigger then his thye:
Yet is his lucke a little worſe,
That often dyes before he dye.

Where ye ſee this word *courſe* and *dye*, vſed in diuers ſences, one giuing the *Rebounde* vpon th'other.

Ye haue a figure which as well by his Greeke and Latine originals, and alſo by alluſion to the maner of a mans gate or going may be called the *marching figure*, for after the firſt ſteppe all the reſt proceede by double the ſpace, and ſo in our ſpeach one word proceedes double to the firſt that was ſpoken, and goeth as it were by ſtrides or paces ; it may aſwell be called the *clyming* figure, for *Clymax* is as much to ſay as a ladder, as in one of our Epitaphes ſhewing how a very meane man by his wiſedome and good fortune came to great eſtate and dignitie.

Clymax. or the Marching figure.

His vertue made him wiſe, his wiſedome brought him wealth,
His wealth wan many friends, his friends made much ſupply:
Of aides in weale and woe in ſickneſſe and in health,
Thus came he from a low, to ſit in ſeate ſo hye.

Or as *Ihean de Mehune* the French Poet.

Peace makes plentie, plentie makes pride,
Pride breeds quarrell, and quarrell brings warre:
Warre brings ſpoile, and ſpoile pouertie,
Pouertie pacience, and pacience peace:
So peace brings warre, and warre brings peace.

Ye haue a figure which takes a couple of words to play with in a verſe, and by making them to chaunge and ſhift one into others place they do very pretily exchange and ſhift the ſence, as thus.

Antimetauole or the Counterchange.

We dwell not here to build vs boures,
And halles for pleaſure and good cheare:
But halles we build for vs and ours,
To dwell in them whilest we are here.

Meaning that we dwell not here to build, but we build to dwel, as we liue not to eate, but eate to liue, or thus.

We wiſh not peace to maintaine cruell warre,
But vve make vvarre to maintaine vs in peace.

Or thus,

If Poeſie be, as ſome haue ſaid,
A ſpeaking picture to the eye:
Then is a picture not denaid,
To be a muet Poeſie.

Or as the Philoſopher *Muſonius vvrote.*

With pleaſure if vve vvorke vnhonestly and ill,
The pleaſure paſſeth, the bad it bideth ſtill:
Well if vve vvorke vvith trauaile and vvith paines,
The paine paſſeth and still the good remaines.

A wittie fellow in Rome wrate under the Image of *Cæſar* the Dictator theſe two verſes in Latine, which becauſe they are ſpoken by this figure of *Counterchaunge* I haue turned into a couple of Engliſh verſes very well keeping the grace of the figure.

Brutus for caſting out of kings, was firſt of Conſuls past,
Cæſar for caſting Conſuls out, is of our kings the last.

Cato of any Senatour not onely the graueſt but alſo the prompteſt and wittieſt in any ciuill ſcoffe, miſliking greatly the engroſſing of offices in Rome that one man ſhould haue many at once, and a great number goe without that were as able men, ſaid thus by *Counterchaunge.*

It feemes your offices are very litle worth,
Or very few of you worthy of offices.

Againe:

In trifles earnest as any man can bee,
In earnest matters no ſuch trifler as hee.

Insultatio, or the Disdainefull.

Yee haue another figure much like to the *Sarcaſmus*, or bitter taunt wee ſpake of before: and is when with proud and inſolent words, we doo vpbraid a man, or ride him as we terme it: for which cauſe the Latines alſo call it *Inſultatio*, I chooſe to name him the *Reprochfull* or

ſcorner, as when Queene *Dido* ſaw, that for all her great loue and entertainements beſtowed vpon *Æneas*, he would needs depart, and follow the *Oracle* of his deſtinies, ſhe brake out in a great rage and ſaid very diſdaineſully.

Hye thee, and by the wild waues and the wind,
Seeke Italie and Realmes for thee to raigne,
If piteous Gods haue power amidst the mayne,
On ragged rocks thy penaunce thou maiſt find.

Or as the poet *Iuuenall* reproched the couetous Merchant, who for lucres ſake paſſed on no perill either by land or ſea, thus:

Goe now and giue thy life vnto the winde,
Trusting vnto a piece of bruckle wood,
Foure inches from thy death or ſeauen good
The thickeſt planke for ſhipboord that we finde.

Ye haue another figure very pleaſant and fit for amplification, which to anſwer the Greeke terme, we may call the encounter, but following the Latine name by reaſon of his contentious nature, we may call him the Quarreller, for ſo be al ſuch perſons as delight in taking the contrary part of whatſoeuer ſhalbe ſpoken: when I was a ſcholler at Oxford they called euery ſuch one *Iohannes ad oppoſitum.*

Antitheton, or the The renconter.

Good haue I doone you, much, harme did I neuer none,
Ready to ioy your gaines, your loſſes to bemone,
Why therefore ſhould you grutch ſo ſore at my welfare:
Who onely bred your bliſſe, and neuer cauſd your care.

Or as it is in theſe two verſes where one ſpeaking of *Cupids* bowe, deciphered thereby the nature of ſenſual loue, whoſe beginning is more pleaſant than the end, thus allegorically and by *antitheton.*

His bent is ſweete, his looſe is ſomewhat ſowre,
In ioy begunne, ends oft in wofull howre.

Maiſter *Diar* in this quarrelling figure.

Nor loue hath now the force, on me which it ones had,
Your frownes can neither make me mourne, nor fauors make me glad.

Iſocrates the Greek Oratour was a litle too full of this figure, and ſo was the Spaniard that wrote the life of *Marcus Aurelius*, and many of our moderne writers in vulgar, vſe it in exceſſe and incurre the vice of fond affectation: otherwiſe the figure is very commendable.

In this quarrelling figure we once plaid this merry Epigrame of an importune and ſhrewd wife, thus:

My neighbour hath a wife, not fit to make him thriue,
But good to kill a quicke man, or make a dead reuiue.
So ſhrewd ſhe is for God, ſo cunning and ſo wiſe,
To counter vvith her goodman, and all by contraries.
For vvhen he is merry, ſhe lurcheth and ſhe loures,
When he is ſad ſhe ſinges, or laughes it out by houres.
Bid her be ſtill her tongue to talke ſhall neuer ceaſe, [*peace,*
When ſhe ſhould ſpeake and pleaſe, for ſpight ſhe holds her
Bid ſpare and ſhe vvill ſpend, bid ſpend ſhe ſpares as faſt,
What firſt ye vvould haue done, be ſure it ſhalbe laſt.
Say go, ſhe comes, ſay come, ſhe goes, and leaues him all alone,
Her husband (as I thinke) calles her ouerthvvart Ione.

Erotema. or the Questioner.

There is a kinde of figuratiue ſpeach when we aske many queſtions and looke for none anſwere, ſpeaking indeed by interrogation, which we might as well ſay by affirmation. This figure I call the *Queſtioner* or inquiſitiue, as whan *Medea* excuſing her great crueltie vſed in the murder of her owne children which ſhe had by *Iaſon*, ſaid:

Was I able to make them I praie you tell,
And am I not able to marre them all afvvell?

Or as another wrote very commendably.

Why ſtriue I vvith the ſtreame, or hoppe againſt the hill,
Or ſearch that neuer can be found, and looſe my labour ſtill?

Cato vnderſtanding that the Senate had appointed three citizens of Rome for embaſſadours to the king of *Bithinia*, whereof one had the Gowte, another the Meigrim, the third very little courage or diſcretion to be employd in any ſuch buſineſſe, ſaid by way of skoffe in this figure.

Muſt not (trovve ye) this meſſage be vvell ſped,
That hath neither heart, nor heeles, nor hed?

And as a great Princeſſe aunſwered her ſeruitour, who diſtruſting in her fauours toward him, praiſed his owne conſtancie in theſe verſes.

No fortune baſe or frayle can alter me:

To whome ſhe in this figure repeting his words:

No fortune baſe or frayle can alter thee.
And can ſo blind a vvitch ſo conquere mee?

The figure of exclamation, I call him [*the outcrie*] becauſe it vtters our minde by all ſuch words as do ſhew any extreme paſſion, whether it be by way of exclamation or crying out, admiration or wondering, imprecation or curſing, obteſtation or taking God and the world to witnes, or any ſuch like as declare an impotent affection, as *Chaucer* of the Lady *Creſſeida* by exclamation.

Ecphonisis. or the Outcry.

O ſoppe of ſorrow ſoonken into care,
O caytife Creſſeid, for now and euermare.

Or as *Gaſcoigne* wrote very paſſionatly and well to purpoſe.

Ay me the dayes that I in dole conſume,
Alas the nights which vvitneſſe vvell mine vvoe:
O vvrongfull vworld vvhich makeſt my fancie fume,
Fie fickle fortune, fie, fie thou art my foe:
Out and alas ſo frovvard is my chance,
No nights nor daies, nor vworldes can me auance.

Petrarche in a ſonet which Sir *Thomas Wiat* Engliſhed excellently well, ſaid in this figure by way of imprecation and obteſtation: thus,

Perdie I ſaid it not,
Nor neuer thought to doo:
Aſwell as I ye wot,
I haue no power thereto:
" *And if I did the lot*
That firſt did me enchaine,
May neuer ſlake the knot
But ſtraite it to my paine.

" And if I did each thing,
That may do harme or woe:
Continually may wring,
My harte where ſo I goe.
" Report may alwaies ring:
Of ſhame on me for aye,
If in my hart did ſpring,
The wordes that you doo ſay.
" And if I did each ſtarre,
That is in heauen aboue.

And ſo forth, &c.

Brachiologa, or the Cutted comma

We vſe ſometimes to proceede all by ſingle words, without any cloſe or coupling, ſauing that a little pauſe or comma is geuen to euery word. This figure for pleaſure may be called in our vulgar the cutted comma, for that there cannot be a ſhorter diuiſion then at euery words end. The Greekes in their language call it ſhort language, as thus.

Enuy, malice, flattery, diſdaine,
Auarice, deceit, falſhed, filthy gaine.

If this looſe language be vſed, not in ſingle words, but in long clauſes, it is called *Aſindeton*, and in both caſes we vtter in that faſhion, when either we be earneſt, or would ſeeme to make haſt.

Parison, or the Figure of euen.

Ye haue another figure which we may call the figure of euen, becauſe it goeth by clauſes of egall quantitie, and not very long, but yet not ſo ſhort as the cutted comma: and they geue good grace to a dittie; but ſpecially to a proſe. In this figure we once wrote in a melancholike humor theſe verſes.

The good is geaſon, and ſhort is his abode,
The bad bides long, and eaſie to be found:
Our life is loathſome, our ſinnes a heauy lode,
Conſcience a curst iudge, remorſe a priuie goade.
Diſeaſe, age and death ſtill in our eare they round,
That hence we muſt the ſickly and the ſound:
Treading the ſteps that our forefathers troad,
Rich, poore, holy, wiſe, all fleſh it goes to ground.

In a profe there fhould not be vfed at once of fuch euen claufes paft three or foure at the moft.

When fo euer we multiply our fpeech by many words or claufes of one fence, the Greekes call it *Sinonimia*, as who would fay, like or confenting names: the Latines hauing no fitte terme to giue him, called it by a name of euent, for (faid they) many words of one nature and fence, one of them doth expound another. And therefore they called this figure the [*Interpreter*] I for my part had rather call him the figure of [*ftore*] becaufe plenty of one manner of thing in our vulgar we call fo. *Æneas* asking whether his Captaine *Orontes* were dead or aliue, vfed this ftore of fpeeches all to one purpofe.

Sinonimia, or the Figure of store.

Is he aliue,
Is he as I left him queauing and quick,
And hath he not yet geuen vp the ghost,
Among the reft of thofe that I haue lost?

Or if it be in fingle words, then thus.

What is become of that beautifull face,
Thofe louely lookes, that fauour amiable,
Thofe fweete features, and vifage full of grace,
That countenance which is alonly able
To kill and cure?

Ye fee that all thefe words, face, lookes, fauour, features, vifage, countenance, are in fence all but one. Which ftore, neuertheleffe, doeth much beautifie and inlarge the matter. So faid another.

My faith, my hope, my truft, my God and eke my guide,
Stretch forth thy hand to faue the foule, vvhat ere the body bide.

Here faith, hope and truft be words of one effect, allowed to vs by this figure of ftore.

Otherwhiles we fpeake and be forry for it, as if we had not wel fpoken, fo that we feeme to call in our word againe, and to put in another fitter for the purpofe: for which refpects the Greekes called this manner of fpeech the

Metanoia, or the Penitent.

figure of repentance: then for that vpon repentance commonly follows amendment, the Latins called it the figure of correction, in that the ſpeaker ſeemeth to reforme that which was ſaid amiſſe. I following the Greeke originall, chooſe to call him the penitent, or repentant: and ſinging in honor of the mayden Queene, meaning to praiſe her for her greatneſſe of courage, ouerſhooting myſelfe, called it firſt by the name of pride: then fearing leaſt fault might be found with that terme, by and by turned this word pride to praiſe: reſembling her Maieſty to the Lion, being her owne noble armory, which by a ſlie conſtruction purporteth magnanimitie. Thus in the latter end of a Parthemiade.

O peereles you, or els no one aliue,
" *Your pride ſerues you to ſeaze them all alone:*
" *Not pride madame, but praiſe of the lion.*
To conquer all and be conquerd by none.

And in another Parthemiade thus inſinuating her Maieſties great conſtancy in refuſall of all marriages offred her, thus:

" *Her heart is hid none may it ſee,*
" *Marble or flinte folke vveene it be.*

Which may imploy rigour and cruelty, than correcteth it thus.

Not flinte I trovve I am a lier,
But Siderite that feeles no fire.

By which is intended, that it proceeded of a cold and chaſt complexion not eaſily allured to loue.

Antenagoge. or the Recompencer.

We haue another manner of ſpeech much like to the *repentant*, but doth not as the ſame recant or vnſay a word that hath bene ſaid before, putting another fitter in his place, but hauing ſpoken any thing to depraue the matter or partie, he denieth it not, but as it were helpeth it againe by another more fauourable ſpeach: and ſo ſeemeth to make amends, for which cauſe it is called by the originall name in both languages, the *Recompencer*, as he that was merily asked the queſtion, whether his wife were not a ſhrewe as well as others

of his neighbours wiues, anſwered in this figure as pleaſantly, for he could not well denie it.

I muſt needs ſay, that my wife is a ſhrevve,
But ſuch a huſvvife as I knovv but a fevve.

Another in his firſt prepoſition giuing a very faint commendation to the Courtiers life, weaning to make him amends, made it worſer by a ſecond propoſition, thus:

The Courtiers life full delicate it is,
But vvhere no vvife man vvill euer ſet his blis.

And an other ſpeaking to the incoragement of youth in ſtudie and to be come excellent in letters and armes, ſaid thus:

Many are the paines and perils to be paſt,
But great is the gaine and glory at the laſt.

Epithonema. or the Surclose.

Our poet in his ſhort ditties, but ſpecially playing the Epigrammatiſt will vſe to conclude and ſhut vp his Epigram with a verſe or two, ſpoken in ſuch ſort, as it may ſeeme a manner of allowance to all the premiſſes, and that with a ioyfull approbation, which the Latines call *Acclamatio*, we therefore call this figure the *ſurcloze* or *conſenting cloſe*, as *Virgill* when he had largely ſpoken of Prince *Eneas* his ſucceſſe and fortunes concluded with this cloſe.

Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

In Engliſh thus:

So huge a peece of vvorke it vvas and ſo hie,
To reare the houſe of Romane progenie.

Sir *Philip Sidney* very pretily cloſed vp a dittie in this ſort.

What medcine then, can ſuch diſeaſe remoue,
Where loue breedes hate, and hate engenders loue.

And we in *Partheniade* written of her Maieſtie, declaring to what perils vertue is generally ſubiect, and applying that fortune to her ſelfe, cloſed it vp with this *Epiphoneme.*

Than if there bee,
Any ſo cancard hart to grutch,
At your glories: my Queene: in vaine,

Repining at your fatall raigne:
It is for that they feele too much,
Of your bountee.

As who would ſay her owne ouermuch lenitie and goodneſſe, made her ill willers the more bold and preſumptuous.

Lucretius Carus the philoſopher and poet inueighing ſore againſt the abuſes of the ſuperſtitious religion of the Gentils, and recompting the wicked fact of king *Agamemnon* in ſacrificing his only daughter *Iphigenia*, being a yoong damſell of excellent bewtie, to th'intent to pleaſe the wrathfull gods, hinderers of his nauigation, after he had ſaid all, cloſed it vp in this one verſe, ſpoken in *Epiphonema.*

Tantum relligio potuit ſuadere malorum.

In Engliſh thus:

Lo what an outrage, could cauſe to be done,
The peeuiſh ſcruple of blinde religion.

Auxesis, or the Auancer.

It happens many times that to vrge and enforce the matter we ſpeake of, we go ſtill mounting by degrees and encreaſing our ſpeech with wordes or with ſentences of more waight one then another, and is a figure of great both efficacie and ornament, as he that declaring the great calamitie of an infortunate prince, ſaid thus:

He loſt beſides his children and his vvife,
His realme, ronovvne, liege, libertie and life.

By which it appeareth that to any noble Prince the loſſe of his eſtate ought not to be ſo greeuous, as of his honour, nor any of them both like to the lacke of his libertie, but that life is the deareſt detriment of any other. We call this figure by the Greeke originall the *Auancer* or figure of encreaſe becauſe euery word that is ſpoken is one of more weight then another. And as we lamented the crueltie of an inexorable and vnfaithfull miſtreſſe.

If by the lavves of loue it be a falt,
The faithfull friend, in abſence to forget:
But if it be (once do thy heart but halt,)

A ſecret ſinne: vvhat forfet is ſo great:
As by deſpite in view of euery eye,
The ſolemne vovves oft ſvvorne vvith teares ſo ſalt,
And holy Leagues faſt ſeald vvith hand and hart:
For to repeale and breake ſo vvilfully?
But novv (alas) vvithout all iuſt deſart,
My lot is for my troth and much good vvill,
To reape diſdaine, hatred and rude refuſe,
Or if ye vvould vvorke me ſome greater ill:
And of myne earned ioyes to feele no part,
What els is this (ô cruell) but to vſe,
Thy murdring knife the guiltleſſe bloud to ſpill.

Where ye ſee how ſhe is charged firſt with a fault, then with a ſecret ſinne, afterward with a foule forfet, laſt of all with a moſt cruell and bloudy deede. And thus againe in a certaine louers complaint made to the like effect.

They ſay it is a ruth to ſee thy louer neede,
But you can ſee me vveepe, but you can ſee me bleede:
And neuer ſhrinke nor ſhame, ne ſhed no teare at all,
You make my wounds your ſelfe, and fill them vp with gall:
Yea you can ſee me ſound, and ſaint for want of breath,
And gaſpe and grone for life, and ſtruggle still with death,
What can you now do more, ſweare by your maydenhead,
Then for to flea me quicke, or ſtrip me being dead.

In theſe verſes you ſee how one crueltie ſurmounts another by degrees till it come to the very ſlaughter and beyond, for it is thought a deſpite done to a dead carkas to be an euidence of greater crueltie then to haue killed him.

Meiosis, or the Disabler.

After the Auancer followeth the abbaſer working by wordes and ſentences of extenuation or diminution. Whereupon we call him the *Diſabler* or figure of *Extenuation:* and this extenuation is vſed to diuers purpoſes, ſometimes for modeſties ſake, and to auoide the opinion of arrogancie, ſpeaking of our ſelues or of ours, as he that diſabled himſelfe to his miſtreſſe, thus.

Not all the skill I haue to ſpeake or do,

Which litle is God wot (ſet loue apart:)
Liueload nor life, and put them both thereto,
Can counterpeiſe thē due of your deſart.

It may be alſo done for deſpite to bring our aduerſaries in contempt, as he that ſayd by one (commended for a very braue ſouldier) diſabling him ſcornefully, thus.

A iollie man (forſooth) and fit for the warre,
Good at hand grippes, better to fight a farre:
Whom bright weapon in ſhevv as it is ſaid,
Yea his ovvne ſhade, hath often made afraide.

The ſubtilitie of the ſcoffe lieth in theſe Latin wordes [*eminus et cominus pugnare*]. Alſo we vſe this kind of Extenuation when we take in hand to comfort or cheare any perillous enterpriſe, making a great matter ſeeme ſmall, and of litle difficultie, and is much vſed by captaines in the warre, when they (to giue courage to their ſouldiers) will ſeeme to diſable the perſons of their enemies, and abaſe their forces, and make light of euery thing that might be a diſcouragement to the attempt, as *Hanniball* did in his Oration to his ſouldiers, when they ſhould come to paſſe the Alpes to enter Italie, and for ſharpneſſe of the weather, and ſteepneſſe of the mountaines their hearts began to faile them.

We vſe it againe to excuſe a fault, and to make an offence ſeeme leſſe then it is, by giuing a terme more fauorable and of leſſe vehemencie then the troth requires, as to ſay of a great robbery, that it was but a pilfry matter: of an arrant ruffian that he is a tall fellow of his hands: of a prodigall foole, that he is a kind hearted man: of a notorious vnthrift, a luſtie youth, and ſuch like phraſes of extenuation, which fall more aptly to the office of the figure *Curry fauell* before remembred.

And we vſe the like termes by way of pleaſant familiaritie, and as it were for a Courtly maner of ſpeach with our egalls or inferiours, as to call a young Gentlewoman *Mall* for *Mary*, *Nell* for *Elner*: *Iack* for *Iohn*,

Robin for *Robert:* or any other like affected termes ſpoken of pleaſure, as in our triumphals calling familiarly vpon our *Muſe*, I called her *Moppe.*

But vvill you vveet,
My litle muſe, my prettie moppe:
If vve ſhall algates change our stoppe,
Choſe me a ſvveet.

Vnderſtanding by this word [*Moppe*] a litle prety Lady, or tender young thing. For ſo we call litle fiſhes, that be not come to their full growth [*moppes,*] as whiting moppes, gurnard moppes.

Alſo ſuch termes are vſed to be giuen in deriſion and for a kind of contempt, as when we ſay Lording for Lord, and as the Spaniard that calleth an Earle of ſmall reuenue *Contadilio:* the Italian calleth the poore man, by contempt *pouerachio*, or *pouerino*, the little beaſt *animalculo* or *animaluchio*, and ſuch like *diminutiues* apperteining to this figure, the [*Diſabler*] more ordinary in other languages than in our vulgar.

Epanodis, or the figure of Retire.

This figure of retire holds part with the propounder of which we ſpake before (*prolepſis*) becauſe of the reſumption of a former propoſition vttered in generalitie to explane the ſame better by a particular diuiſion. But their difference is, in that the propounder reſumes but the matter only. This [*retire*] reſumes both the matter and the termes, and is therefore accompted one of the figures of repetition, and in that reſpect may be called by his originall Greeke name the [*Reſounde*] or the [*retire*] for this word [ὀδος] ſerues both ſences reſound and retire. The vſe of this figure, is ſeen in this dittie following,

Loue hope and death, do ſtirre in me much strife,
As neuer man but I lead ſuch a life:
For burning loue doth vvound my heart to death:
And vvhen death comes at call of invvard grief,
Cold lingring hope doth feede my fainting breath:
Againſt my vvill, and yeelds my vvound relief,
So that I liue, and yet my life is ſuch:
As neuer death could greeue me halfe ſo much.

Dialisis, or the Dismembrer.

Then haue ye a maner of ſpeach, not ſo figuratiue as fit for argumentation, and worketh not vnlike the *dilemma* of the Logicians, becauſe he propones two or moe matters entierly, and doth as it were ſet downe the whole tale or rekoning of an argument and then cleare euery part by it ſelfe, as thus.

It can not be but nigardſhip or neede,
Made him attempt this foule and vvicked deede:
Nigardſhip not, for alvvayes he vvas free,
Nor neede, for vvho doth not his richeſſe ſee?

Or as one that entreated for a faire young maide who was taken by the watch in London and carried to Bridewell to be puniſhed.

Novv gentill Sirs let this young maide alone,
For either ſhe hath grace or els ſhe hath none:
If ſhe haue grace, ſhe may in time repent,
If ſhe haue none vvhat bootes her puniſhment.

Or as another pleaded his deſerts with his miſtreſſe.

Were it for grace, or els in hope of gaine,
To ſay of my deſerts, it is but vaine:
For vvell in minde, in caſe ye do them beare,
To tell them oft, it ſhould but irke your eare:
Be they forgot: as likely ſhould I faile, [*uaile.*
To vvinne vvith vvordes, vvhere deedes can not pre-

Merismus, or the Distributer.

Then haue ye a figure very meete for Orators or eloquent perſwaders ſuch as our maker or Poet muſt in ſome caſes ſhew him ſelfe to be, and is when we may conueniently vtter a matter in one entier ſpeach or propoſition and will rather do it peecemeale and by diſtribution of euery part for amplification ſake, as for example he that might ſay, a houſe was outragiouſly plucked downe: will not be ſatisfied ſo to ſay, but rather will ſpeake it in this ſort: they firſt vndermined the groundſills, they beate downe the walles, they vnfloored the loftes, they vntiled it and pulled downe the roofe. For ſo in deede is a houſe pulled downe by circumſtances, which this figure of diſtribution doth ſet forth euery one apart,

and therefore I name him the *distributor* according to his originall, as wrate the *Tuſcane* Poet in a Sonet which Sir *Thomas Wyat* tranſlated with very good grace, thus.

Set me vvhereas the ſunne doth parch the greene,
Or vvhere his beames do not diſſolue the yce:
In temperate heate vvhere he is felt and ſeene,
In preſence preſt of people mad or vviſe:
Set me in hye or yet in low degree,
In longeſt night or in the ſhorteſt day:
In cleareſt skie, or where clouds thickeſt bee,
In lustie youth or when my heares are gray:
Set me in heauen, in earth or els in hell,
In hill or dale or in the foming flood:
Thrall or at large, aliue where ſo I dwell,
Sicke or in health, in euill fame or good:
Hers will I be, and onely with this thought,
Content my ſelfe, although my chaunce be naught.

All which might haue bene ſaid in theſe two verſes.

Set me wherefoeuer ye vvill,
I am and vvilbe yours ſtill.

The zealous Poet writing in prayſe of the maiden Queene would not ſeeme to wrap vp all her moſt excellent parts in a few words them entierly comprehending, but did it by a diſtributor or *meriſmus* in the negatiue for the better grace, thus.

Not your bewtie, moſt gracious foueraine,
Nor maidenly lookes, mainteind vvith maieſtie:
Your ſtately port, vvhich doth not match but ſtaine,
For your preſence, your pallace and your traine,
All Princes Courts, mine eye could euer ſee:
Not your quicke vvits, your ſober gouernaunce:
Your cleare forſight, your faithful memorie,
So ſweete features, in ſo ſtaid countenaunce:
Nor languages, with plentuous vtterance,
So able to diſcourſe, and entertaine:
Not noble race, farre beyond Cæſars raigne,
Runne in right line, and bloud of nointed kings:
Not large empire, armies, treaſurs, domaine,
Luſtie liueries, of fortunes dearst darlings:

Not all the skilles, fit for a Princely dame,
Your learned Muſe, vvith vſe and ſtudie brings.
Not true honour, ne that immortall fame
Of mayden raigne, your only owne renowne
And no Queenes els, yet ſuch as yeeldes your name
Greater glory than doeth your treble crowne.

And then concludes thus.

Not any one of all theſe honord parts
Your Princely happes, and habites that do moue,
And as it were, enforcell all the hearts
Of Chriſten kings to quarrell for your loue,
But to poſſeſſe, at once and all the good
Arte and engine, and euery ſtarre aboue
Fortune or kinde, could farce in fleſh and bloud,
Was force inough to make ſo many ſtriue
For your perſon, which in our world ſtoode
By all conſents the minionſt mayde to wiue.

Where ye ſee that all the parts of her commendation which were particularly remembred in twenty verſes before, are wrapt vp in the two verſes of this laſt part, videl.

Not any one of all your honord parts,
Thoſe Princely haps and habites, &c.

This figure ſerues for amplification, and alſo for ornament, and to enforce perſwaſion mightely. Sir *Geffrey Chaucer*, father of our Engliſh Poets, hath theſe verſes following the diſtributor.

When faith failes in Prieſtes ſawes,
And Lords heſtes are holden for lawes,
And robberie is tane for purchaſe,
And lechery for ſolace
Then ſhall the Realme of Albion
Be brought to great confuſion.

Where he might haue ſaid as much in theſe words: when vice abounds, and vertue decayeth in Albion, then &c. And as another said,

When Prince for his people is wakefull and wiſe,
Peeres ayding with armes, Counſellors with aduiſe,
Magiſtrate ſincerely vſing his charge,
People preſt to obey, nor let to runne at large,

Prelate of holy life, and with deuotion
Preferring pietie before promotion,
Priest ſtill preaching, and praying for our heale:
Then bleſſed is the ſtate of a common-weale.

All which might haue bene ſaid in theſe few words, when euery man in charge and authoritie doeth his duety, and executeth his function well, then is the common-wealth happy.

Epimone, or the Loueburden.

The Greeke Poets who made muſicall ditties to be ſong to the lute or harpe, did vſe to linke their ſtaues together with one verſe running throughout the whole ſong by equall diſtance, and was, for the moſt part, the firſt verſe of the ſtaffe, which kept ſo good ſence and conformitie with the whole, as his often repetition did geue it greater grace. They called ſuch linking verſe *Epimone*, the Latines *verſus intercalaris*, and we may terme him the Loue-burden, following the originall, or if it pleaſe you, the long repeate: in one reſpect becauſe that one verſe alone beareth the whole burden of the ſong according to the originall: in another reſpect, for that it comes by large diſtances to be often repeated, as in this ditty made by the noble knight Sir *Philip Sidney*,

My true loue hath my heart and I haue his,
By iuſt exchange one for another geuen:
I holde his deare, and mine he cannot miſſe,
There neuer was a better bargaine driuen.
My true loue hath my heart and I haue his.
My heart in me keepes him and me in one,
My heart in him his thoughts and ſences guides:
He loues my heart, for once it was his owne,
I cheriſh his becauſe in me it bides.
My true loue hath my heart, and I haue his.

Paradoxon, or the Wondrer.

Many times our Poet is caried by ſome occaſion to report of a thing that is maruelous, and then he will ſeeme not to ſpeake it ſimply but with ſome ſigne of admiration, as in our enterlude called the *Woer*.

I woonder much to ſee ſo many husbands thriue,

That haue but little wit, before they come to wiue:
For one would eaſily weene who ſo hath little wit,
His wife to teach it him, vvere a thing much vnfit.

Or as *Cato* the Romane Senatour ſaid one day merily to his companion that walked with him, pointing his finger to a yong vnthrift in the ſtreete who lately before ſold his patrimonie, of a goodly quantitie of ſalt marſhes, lying neere vnto *Capua* ſhore.

Now is it not, a wonder to behold,
Yonder gallant skarce twenty winter old,
By might (marke ye) able to doo more?
Than the mayne ſea that batters on his ſhore?
For what the waues could neuer waſh away,
This proper youth hath waſted in a day.

Aporia, or the Doubtfull.

Not much vnlike the *vvondrer* haue ye another figure called the *doubtfull*, becauſe oftentimes we will ſeeme to caſt perils, and make doubt of things when by a plaine manner of ſpeech wee might affirme or deny him, as thus of a cruell mother who murdred her owne child.

Whether the cruell mother were more to blame,
Or the ſhrevvd childe come of ſo curſt a dame:
Or vvhether ſome ſmatch of the fathers blood,
Whoſe kinne vvere neuer kinde, nor neuer good.
Mooued her thereto, &c.

Epitropis, or the Figure of Reference.

This manner of ſpeech is vſed when we will not ſeeme, either for manner ſake or to auoid tedioufneſſe, to trouble the iudge or hearer with all that we could ſay, but hauing ſaid inough already, we referre the reſt to their conſideration, as he that ſaid thus:

Me thinkes that I haue ſaid, vvhat may vvell ſuffiſe,
Referring all the reſt, to your better aduiſe.

Parisia, or the Licentious.

The fine and ſubtill perſwader when his intent is to ſting his aduerſary, or els to declare his mind in broad and liberal ſpeeches, which might breede offence or ſcandall, he will ſeeme to beſpeake pardon before hand, whereby his licentiouſnes may be the better borne withall, as he that ſaid:

If my ſpeech hap t'offend you any vvay,
Thinke it their fault, that force me ſo to ſay.

Not much vnlike to the figure of *reference*, is there another with ſome little diuerſitie which we call *impartener*, becauſe many times in pleading and perſwading, we thinke it a very good pollicie to acquaint our iudge or hearer or very aduerſarie with ſome part of our Counſell and aduice, and to aske their opinion, as who would ſay they could not otherwiſe thinke of the matter then we do. As he that had tolde a long tale before certaine noble women, of a matter ſomewhat in honour touching the Sex.

Anachinosis, or the Impartener.

Tell me faire Ladies, if the caſe were your owne,
So foule a fault would you haue it be knowen?

Maiſter *Gorge* in this figure, ſaid very ſweetly.

All you who read theſe lines and skanne of my defart,
Iudge whether was more good, my hap or els my hart.

The good Orator vſeth a manner of ſpeach in his perſwaſion and is when all that ſhould ſeeme to make againſt him being ſpoken by th'other ſide, he will firſt admit it, and in th'end auoid all for his better aduantage, and this figure is much vſed by our Engliſh pleaders in the Star-chamber and Chancery, which they call to confeſſe and auoid, if it be in caſe of crime or iniury, and is a very good way. For when the matter is ſo plaine that it cannot be denied or trauerſed, it is good that it be iuſtified by confeſſall and auoidance. I call it the figure of *admittance*. As we once wrate to the reproofe of a Ladies faire but crueltie.

Paramologia, or the figure of Admittance.

I know your witte, I know your pleaſant tongue,
Your ſome ſweete ſmiles, your ſome, but louely lowrs:
A beautie to enamour olde and yong.
Thoſe chaſt deſires, that noble minde of yours,
And that chiefe part whence all your honor ſprings,
A grace to entertaine the greatest kings.
All this I know: but ſinne it is to ſee,
So faire partes ſpilt by too much crueltie.

Etiologia, or the Reason rend or the Tell cause.

In many caſes we are driuen for better perſwaſion to tell the cauſe that mooues vs to ſay thus or thus: or els when we would fortifie our allegations by rendring reaſons to euery one, this aſſignation of cauſe the Greekes called *Etiologia*, which if we might without ſcorne of a new inuented terme call [*Tell cauſe*] it were right according to the Greeke originall: and I pray you why ſhould we not? and with as good authoritie as the Greekes? Sir *Thomas Smith*, her Maieſties principall Secretary, and a man of great learning and grauitie, ſeeking to geue an Engliſh word to this Greeke word ἄγαμος called it Spitewed, or wedſpite. Maſter Secretary *Wilſon* geuing an Engliſh name to his arte of Logicke, called it *Witcraft*, me thinke I may be bolde with like liberty to call the figure *Etiologia* [*Tell cauſe.*] And this manner of ſpeech is alwayes contemned, with theſe words, for, becauſe, and ſuch other confirmatiues. The Latines hauing no fitte name to geue it in one ſingle word, gaue it no name at all, but by circumlocution. We alſo call him the reaſon-rendrer, and leaue the right Engliſh word [*Tel cauſe*] much better anſwering the Greeke originall. *Ariſtotle* was moſt excellent in vſe of this figure, for he neuer propones any allegation, or makes any ſurmiſe, but he yeelds a reaſon or cauſe to fortifie and proue it, which geues it great credit. For example ye may take theſe verſes, firſt pointing, than confirming by ſimilitudes.

When fortune ſhall haue spit out all her gall,
I truſt good luck ſhall be to me allowde,
For I haue ſeene a ſhippe in hauen fall,
After the ſtorme had broke both maſte and ſhrowde.

And this.

Good is the thing that moues vs to deſire,
That is to ioy the beauty we behold:
Els were we louers as in an endleſſe fire,
Alwaies burning and euer chill a colde.

And in theſe verſes.

Accuſed though I be without deſart,

Sith none can proue beleeue it not for true:
For neuer yet ſince firſt ye had my hart,
Entended I to falſe or be vntrue.

And in this Diſticque.

And for her beauties praiſe, no wight that with her warres:
For where ſhe comes ſhe ſhewes her ſelfe like ſun among [the ſtars.

And in this other dittie of ours where the louer complaines of his Ladies crueltie, rendring for euery ſurmiſe a reaſon, and by telling the cauſe, ſeeketh (as it were) to get credit, thus.

Cruel you be who can ſay nay,
Since ye delight in others wo:
Vnwiſe am I, ye may well ſay,
For that I haue, honourd you ſo.
But blameleſſe I, who could not chuſe,
To be enchaunted by your eye:
But ye to blame, thus to refuſe
My ſeruice, and to let me die.

Dichologia, or the Figure of excuse.

Sometimes our error is ſo manifeſt, or we be ſo hardly preſt with our aduerſaries, as we cannot deny the fault layd vnto our charge: in which caſe it is good pollicie to excuſe it by ſome allowable pretext, as did one whom his miſtreſſe burdened with ſome vnkinde ſpeeches which he had paſt of her, thus.

I ſaid it: but by lapſe of lying tongue,
When furie and iuſt griefe my heart oppreſt:
I ſayd it: as ye ſee, both fraile and young,
When your rigor had ranckled in my breſt.
The cruell wound that ſmarted me ſo ſore,
Pardon therefore (ſweete ſorrow) or at leaſt
Beare with mine youth that neuer fell before,
Leaſt your offence encreaſe my griefe the more.

And againe in theſe,

I ſpake amyſſe I cannot it deny
But cauſed by your great diſcourteſie:
And if I ſaid that which I now repent,
And ſaid it not, but by miſgouernment
Of youthfull yeres, your ſelfe that are ſo young

Pardon for once this error of my tongue,
And thinke amends can neuer come to late:
Loue may be curſt, but loue can neuer hate.

Speaking before of the figure [*Synecdoche*] wee called him [*Quicke conceit*] becauſe he inured in a ſingle word onely by way of intendment or large meaning, but ſuch as was ſpeedily diſcouered by euery quicke wit, as by the halfe to vnderſtand the whole, and many other waies appearing by the examples. But by this figure [*Noema*] the obſcurity of the ſence lieth not in a ſingle word, but in an entier ſpeech, whereof we do not ſo eaſily conceiue the meaning, but as it were by coniecture, becauſe it is wittie and ſubtile or darke, which makes me therefore call him in our vulgar the [*Cloſe conceit*] as he that ſaid by himſelfe and his wife, I thanke God in fortie winters that we haue liued together, neuer any of our neighbours ſet vs at one, meaning that they neuer fell out in all that ſpace, which had bene the directer ſpeech and more apert, and yet by intendment amounts all to one, being neuertheleſſe diſſemblable and in effect contrary. *Pawlet* Lord Treaſorer of England, and firſt Marques of Wincheſter, with the like ſubtill ſpeech gaue a quippe to Sir *William Gyfford*, who had married the Marques ſiſter, and all her life time could neuer loue her nor like of her company, but when ſhe was dead made the greateſt moane for her in the world, and with teares and much lamentation vttered his griefe to the L. Treaſorer, ô good brother quoth the Marques, I am right ſory to ſee you now loue my ſiſter ſo well, meaning that he ſhewed his loue too late, and ſhould haue done it while ſhe was a liue.

Noema, or the Figure of close conceit.

A great counſellour ſomewhat forgetting his modeſtie, vſed theſe words: Gods lady I reckon my ſelfe as good a man as he you talke of, and yet I am not able to do ſo. Yea ſir quoth the party, your L. is too good to be a man, I would ye were a Saint, meaning he would he were dead, for none are ſhrined for Saints before they be dead.

Orismus, or the Definer of difference.

The Logician vſeth a definition to expreſſe the truth or nature of euery thing by his true kinde and difference, as to ſay wiſedome is a prudent and wittie foreſight and conſideration of humane or worldly actions with their euentes. This definition is Logicall. The Oratour vſeth another maner of definition, thus: Is this wiſedome? no it is a certaine ſubtill knauiſh craftie wit, it is no induſtrie as ye call it, but a certaine buſie brainſickneſſe, for induſtrie is a liuely and vnweried ſearch and occupation in honeſt things, egerneſſe is an appetite in baſe and ſmall matters.

It ſerueth many times to great purpoſe to preuent our aduerſaries arguments, and take vpon vs to know before what our iudge or aduerſary or hearer thinketh, and that we will ſeeme to vtter it before it be ſpoken or alleaged by them, in reſpect of which boldneſſe to enter ſo deepely into another mans conceit or conſcience, and to be ſo priuie of another mans mynde, gaue cauſe that this figure was called the [*preſumptuous*] I will alſo call him the figure of *preſuppoſall* or the *preuenter*, for by reaſon we ſuppoſe before what may be ſaid, or perchaunce would be ſaid by our aduerſary, or any other, we do preuent them of their aduantage, and do catch the ball (as they are wont to ſay) before it come to the ground.

Procatalepsis, or the presumptuous, otherwise the figure of Presupposall.

It is alſo very many times vſed for a good pollicie in pleading or perſwaſion to make wiſe as if we ſet but light of the matter, and that therefore we do paſſe it ouer ſlightly when in deede we do then intend moſt effectually and deſpightfully if it be inuectiue to remember it: it is alſo when we will not ſeeme to know a thing, and yet we know it well inough, and may be likened to the maner of women, who as the common ſaying is, will ſay nay and take it.

Paralepsis, or the Passager.

I hold my peace and will not ſay for ſhame,
The much vntruth of that vnciuill dame:

For if I ſhould her coullours kindly blaze,
It would ſo make the chaſt eares amaze. &c.

It is ſaid by maner of a prouerbiall ſpeach that he who findes himſelfe well ſhould not wagge, euen ſo the perſwader finding a ſubſtantiall point in his matter to ſerue his purpoſe, ſhould dwell vpon that point longer then vpon any other leſſe aſſured, and vſe all endeuour to maintaine that one, and as it were to make his chief aboad thereupon, for which cauſe I name him the figure of aboad, according to the Latine name: Some take it not but for a courſe of argument and therefore hardly may one giue any examples thereof.

Commoratio, or the figure of abode.

Now as arte and good pollicy in perſwaſion bids vs to abide and not to ſtirre from the point of our moſt aduantage, but the ſame to enforce and tarry vpon with all poſſible argument, ſo doth diſcretion will vs ſometimes to flit from one matter to another, as a thing meete to be forſaken, and another entred vpon, I call him therefore the *flitting* figure, or figure of *remoue*, like as the other before was called the figure of *aboade.*

Metastasis, or the flitting figure. or the Remoue.

Euen ſo againe, as it is wiſdome for a perſwader to tarrie and make his aboad as long as he may conueniently without tedioufnes to the hearer, vpon his chiefe proofes or points of the cauſe tending to his aduantage, and likewiſe to depart againe when time ſerues, and goe to a new matter ſeruing the purpoſe aſwell. So is it requiſite many times for him to talke farre from the principall matter, and as it were to range aſide, to th'intent by ſuch extraordinary meane to induce or inferre other matter, aſwell or better ſeruing the principal purpoſe, and neuertheles in ſeaſon to returne home where he firſt ſtrayed out. This maner of ſpeech is termed the figure of digreſſion by the Latines, following the Greeke originall, we alſo call him the *ſtraggler* by alluſion to the ſouldier that marches out of his array, or by thoſe that keepe no order in their marche, as the battailes well

Parecnasis, or the Stragler.

ranged do: of this figure there need be geuen no example.

Occaſion offers many times that our maker as an oratour, or perſwader, or pleader ſhould go roundly to worke, and by a quick and ſwift argument diſpatch his perſwaſion, and as they are woont to ſay not to ſtand all day trifling to no purpoſe, but to rid it out of the way quickly. This is done by a manner of ſpeech, both figuratiue and argumentatiue, when we do briefly ſet downe all our beſt reaſons ſeruing the purpoſe, and reiect all of them ſauing one, which we accept to ſatisfie the cauſe: as he that in a litigious caſe for land would prooue it not the aduerſaries, but his clients.

Expeditio, or the speedie dispatcher.

No man can ſay its his by heritage,
Nor by Legacie, or Teſtatours deuice:
Nor that it came by purchaſe or engage,
Nor from his Prince for any good ſeruice.
Then needs muſt it be his by very vvrong,
Which he hath offred this poore plaintife ſo long.

Though we might call this figure very well and properly the [*Paragon*] yet dare I not ſo to doe for feare of the Courtiers enuy, who will haue no man vſe that terme but after a courtly manner, that is, in prayſing of horſes, haukes, hounds, pearles, diamonds, rubies, emerodes, and other precious ſtones: ſpecially of faire women whoſe excellencie is diſcouered by paragonizing or ſetting one to another, which moued the zealous Poet, ſpeaking of the mayden Queene, to call her the paragon of Queenes. This conſidered, I will let our figure enioy his beſt beknowen name, and call him ſtil in all ordinarie caſes the figure of compariſon: as when a man wil ſeeme to make things appeare good or bad, or better or worſe, or more or leſſe excellent, either vpon ſpite or for pleaſure, or any other good affection, then he ſets the leſſe by the greater, or the greater to the leſſe, the equall to his equall, and by ſuch confronting of them together, driues out the true ods that is betwixt them, and makes it better appeare,

as when we ſang of our Soueraigne Lady thus, in the twentieth Partheniade.

As falcon fares to buſſards flight,
As egles eyes to owlates ſight,
As fierce ſaker to coward kite,
As brighteſt noone to darkeſt night:
As ſummer ſunne exceedeth farre,
The moone and euery other ſtarre:
So farre my Princeſſe praiſe doeth paſſe,
The famoust Queene that euer was.

And in the eighteene Partheniade thus.

Set rich rubie to red eſmayle,
The rauens plume to peacocks tayle,
Lay me the larkes to lizards eyes,
The duskie cloude to azure skie,
Set ſhallow brookes to ſurging ſeas,
An orient pearle to a white peaſe:

&c. Concluding.

There ſhall no leſſe an ods be ſeene
In mine from euery other Queene.

Dialogismus, or the right reasoner.

We are ſometimes occaſioned in our tale to report ſome ſpeech from another mans mouth, as what a king ſaid to his priuy counſell or ſubiect, a captaine to his ſouldier, a ſouldiar to his captaine, a man to a woman, and contrariwiſe: in which report we muſt alwaies geue to euery perſon his fit and naturall, and that which beſt becommeth him. For that ſpeech becommeth a king which doth not a carter, and a young man that doeth not an old: and ſo in euery ſort and degree. *Virgil* ſpeaking in the perſon of *Eneas*, *Turnus* and many other great Princes, and ſometimes of meaner men, ye ſhall ſee what decencie euery of their ſpeeches holdeth with the qualitie, degree and yeares of the ſpeaker. To which examples I will for this time referre you.

So if by way of fiction we will ſeem to ſpeake in another mans perſon, as if king *Henry* were aliue, and ſhould ſay of the towne of Bulleyn, what we by warre to the hazard of our perſon hardly obteined, our young ſonne

without any peril at all, for litle mony deliuered vp againe. Or if we ſhould faine king *Edward* the thirde, vnderſtanding how his ſucceſſour Queene *Marie* had loſt the towne of Calays by negligence, ſhould ſay: That which the ſword wanne, the diſtaffe hath loſt. This manner of ſpeech is by the figure *Dialogiſmus*, or the right reaſoner.

Gnome, or the Director.

In waightie cauſes and for great purpoſes, wiſe perſwaders vſe graue and weighty ſpeaches, ſpecially in matter of aduiſe or counſel, for which purpoſe there is a maner of ſpeach to alleage textes or authorities of wittie ſentence, ſuch as ſmatch morall doctrine and teach wiſedome and good behauiour, by the Greeke originall we call him the *directour*, by the Latin he is called *ſententia:* we may call him the *ſage ſayer*, thus.

Sententia, or the Sage sayer.

" *Nature bids vs as a louing mother,*
" *To loue our ſelues firſt and next to loue another.*

" *The Prince that couets all to know and ſee,*
" *Had neede full milde and patient to bee.*

" *Nothing ſtickes faſter by vs as appeares,*
" *Then that which we learne in our tender yeares.*

And that which our ſoueraigne Lady wrate in defiance of fortune.

Neuer thinke you fortune can beare the ſway,
Where vertues force, can cauſe her to obay.

Heede muſt be taken that ſuch rules or ſentences be choiſly made and not often vſed leaſt exceſſe breed lothſomneſſe.

Sinathrismus. or the Heaping figure.

Arte and good pollicie moues vs many times to be earneſt in our ſpeach, and then we lay on ſuch load and ſo go to it by heapes as if we would winne the game by multitude of words and ſpeaches, not all of one but of diuers matter and ſence, for which cauſe the Latines called it *Congeries* and we the *heaping figure*, as he that ſaid

To muſe in minde how faire, how vviſe, how good,

Hovv braue, hovv free, hovv curteous and hovv true,
My Lady is doth but inflame my blood.

Or thus.

I deeme, I dreame, I do, I taſt, I touch,
Nothing at all but ſmells óf perfit bliſſe.

And thus by maiſter *Edvvard Diar*, vehement ſwift and paſſionatly.

But if my faith my hope, my loue my true intent,
My libertie, my ſeruice vowed, my time and all be ſpent,
In vaine, &c.

But if ſuch earneſt and haſtie heaping vp of ſpeaches be made by way of recapitulation, which commonly is in the end of euery long tale and Oration, becauſe the ſpeaker ſeemes to make a collection of all the former materiall points, to binde them as it were in a bundle and lay them forth to enforce the cauſe and renew the hearers memory, then ye may geue him more properly the name of the [*collectour*] or recapitulatour, and ſerueth to very great purpoſe as in an hympne written by vs to the Queenes Maieſtie entitled (*Minerua*) wherein ſpeaking of the mutabilitie of fortune in the caſe of all Princes generally, wee ſeemed to exempt her Maieſtie of all ſuch caſualtie, by reaſon ſhe was by her deſtinie and many diuine partes in her, ordained to a moſt long and conſtant proſperitie in this world, concluding with this recapitulation.

But thou art free, but were thou not in deede,
But were thou not, come of immortall ſeede:
Neuer yborne, and thy minde made to bliſſe,
Heauens mettall that euerlaſting is:
Were not thy vvit, and that thy vertues ſhall,
Be deemd diuine thy fauour face and all:
And that thy loze, ne name may neuer dye,
Nor thy ſtate turne, ſtayd by deſtinie:
Dread were least once thy noble hart may ſeele,
Some rufull turne, of her vnſteady vvheele.

Apostrophe, or the turne tale.

Many times when we haue runne a long race in our tale ſpoken to the hearers, we do ſodainly flye out and either ſpeake or

exclaime at ſome other perſon or thing, and therefore the Greekes call ſuch figure (as we do) the turnway or turnetale, and breedeth by ſuch exchaunge a certaine recreation to the hearers minds, as this vſed by a louer to his vnkind miſtreſſe.

And as for you (faire one) ſay now by proofe ye finde,
That rigour and ingratitude ſoone kill a gentle minde.

And as we in our triumphals, ſpeaking long to the Queenes Maieſtie, vpon the ſodaine we burſt out in an exclamation to *Phebus*, ſeeming to draw in a new matter, thus.

But O Phebus,
All gliſtering in thy gorgious gowne,
Wouldſt thou vvitſafe to ſlide a dovvne:
And dvvell with vs,

But for a day,
I could tell thee cloſe in thine eare,
A tale that thou hadſt leuer heare
I dare vvell ſay:

Then ere thou vvert,
To kiſſe that vnkind runneavvay,
Who vvas transformed to boughs of bay:
For her curſt hert. &c.

And ſo returned againe to the firſt matter.

Hypotiposis, or the counterfait representation.

The matter and occaſion leadeth vs many times to deſcribe and ſet foorth many things, in ſuch ſort as it ſhould appeare they were truly before our eyes though they were not preſent, which to do it requireth cunning: for nothing can be kindly counterfait or repreſented in his abſence, but by great diſcretion in the doer. And if the things we couet to deſcribe be not naturall or not veritable, than yet the ſame axeth more cunning to do it, becauſe to faine a thing that neuer was nor is like to be, proceedeth of a greater wit and ſharper inuention than to deſcribe things that be true.

Prosopographia.

And theſe be things that a poet or maker is woont to deſcribe ſometimes as

true or naturall, and ſometimes to faine as artificiall and not true. *viz.* The viſage, ſpeach and countenance of any perſon abſent or dead : and this kinde of repreſentation is called the Counterfait countenance: as *Homer* doth in his *Iliades*, diuerſe perſonages: namely *Achilles* and *Therſites*, according to the truth and not by fiction. And as our poet *Chaucer* doth in his Canterbury tales ſet foorth the Sumner, Pardoner, Manciple, and the reſt of the pilgrims, moſt naturally and pleaſantly.

Prosopopeia. or the Counterfait in personation.

But if ye wil faine any perſon with ſuch features, qualities and conditions, or if ye wil attribute any humane quality, as reaſon or ſpeech to dombe creatures or other inſenſible things, and do ſtudy (as one may ſay) to giue them a humane perſon, it is not *Profopographia*, but *Profopopeia*, becauſe it is by way of fiction, and no prettier examples can be giuen to you thereof, than in the Romant of the roſe tranſlated out of French by *Chaucer*, deſcribing the perſons of auarice, enuie, old age, and many others, whereby much moralitie is taught.

So if we deſcribe the time or ſeaſon of the yeare, as

Cronographia, or the Counterfait time.

winter, ſummer, harueſt, day, midnight, noone, euening, or ſuch like : we call ſuch deſcription the counterfait time. *Cronographia* examples are euery where to be found.

Topographia, or the Counterfait place.

And if this deſcription be of any true place, citie, caſtell, hill, valley or ſea, and ſuch like: we call it the counterfait place *Topographia*, or if ye fayne places vntrue, as heauen, hell, paradiſe, the houſe of fame, the pallace of the ſunne, the denne of ſheep, and ſuch like which ye ſhall ſee in Poetes: ſo did *Chaucer* very well deſcribe the country of *Saluces* in *Italie*, which ye may ſee, in his report of the Lady *Gryſyll*.

Pragmatographia. or the Counterfait action.

But if ſuch deſcription be made to repreſent the handling of any buſines with the circumſtances belonging therevnto as the manner of a battell, a feaſt, a marriage, a buriall or

any other matter that lieth in feat and actiuitie: we call it then the counterfait action [*Pragmatographia.*]

In this figure the Lord *Nicholas Vaux* a noble gentleman, and much delighted in vulgar making, and a man otherwife of no great learning but hauing herein a maruelous facillitie, made a dittie reprefenting the battayle and affault of *Cupide*, fo excellently well, as for the gallant and propre application of his fiction in euery part, I cannot choofe but fet downe the greateft part of his ditty, for in truth it can not be amended.

When Cupid fcaled firft the fort,
Wherein my hart lay wounded fore
The battrie was of fuch a fort,
That I muft yeeld or die therefore.
There faw I loue vpon the wall,
How he his banner did difplay,
Alarme alarme he gan to call,
And bad his fouldiers keepe aray.
The armes the vvhich that Cupid bare,
Were pearced harts with teares befprent:
In filuer and fable to declare
The fledfast loue he alvvaies meant.
There might you fee his band all drest
In colours like to vvhite and blacke,
With pouder and vvith pellets preft,
To bring them forth to fpoile and facke,
Good vvill the maifter of the fhot,
Stood in the Rampire braue and proude,
For expence of pouder he fpared not,
Affault affault to crie aloude.
There might you heare the Canons rore,
Eche peece difcharging a louers looke, &c.

Omiosis. or Resemblance.

As well to a good maker and Poet as to an excellent perfwader in profe, the figure of *Similitude* is very neceffary, by which we not onely bewtifie our tale, but alfo very much inforce and inlarge it. I fay inforce becaufe no one thing more preuaileth with all ordinary iudgements than perfwafion by *fimilitude.* Now becaufe there

are ſundry ſorts of them, which alſo do worke after diuerſe faſhions in the hearers conceits, I will ſet them all foorth by a triple diuiſion, exempting the generall *Similitude* as their common Aunceſtour, and I will cal him by the name of *Refemblance* without any addition, from which I deriue three other ſorts: and I giue euery one his particular name, as *Refemblance* by Pourtrait or Imagery, which the Greeks call *Icon*, *Refemblance* morall or miſticall, which they call *Parabola*, and *Refemblance* by example, which they call *Paradigma*, and firſt we will ſpeake of the generall *refemblance*, or bare *ſimilitude*, which may be thus ſpoken.

But as the watrie ſhowres delay the raging wind,
So doeth good hope cleane put away diſpaire out of my [*mind.*

And in this other likening the forlorne louer to a ſtriken deere.

Then as the ſtriken deere, withdrawes himſelfe alone,
So do I ſeeke ſome ſecret place, where I may make my mone.

And in this of ours where we liken glory to a ſhadow.

As the ſhadow (his nature beyng ſuch,)
Followeth the body, vvhether it vvill or no,
So doeth glory, refuſe it nere ſo much,
Wait on vertue, be it in vveale or vvo.
And euen as the ſhadow in his kind,
What time it beares the carkas company,
Goth oft before, and often comes behind:
So doth renowme, that raiſeth vs ſo hye,
Come to vs quicke, ſometime not till vve dye.
But the glory, that growth not ouer faſt,
Is euer great, and likelieſt long to laſt.

Againe in a ditty to a miſtreſſe of ours, where we likened the cure of Loue to *Achilles* launce.

The launce ſo bright, that made Telephus vvound,
The ſame ruſty, ſalued the ſore againe,
So may my meede (Madame) of you redownd,
Whoſe rigour vvas first authour of my paine.

The *Tuskan* poet vſeth this *Refemblance*, inuring as well by *Diſſimilitude* as *Similitude*, likening himſelfe (by *Implication*) to the flie, and neither to the eagle nor

to the owle: very well Englifhed by Sir *Thomas Wiat* after his fafhion, and by my felfe thus:

There be fome fowles of fight fo prowd and ſtarke,
As can behold the funne, and neuer ſhrinke,
Some fo feeble, as they are faine to vvinke,
Or neuer come abroad till it be darke:
Others there be fo ſimple, as they thinke,
Becaufe it ſhines, to ſport them in the fire,
And feele vnware, the vvrong of their deſire,
Fluttring amidſt the flame that doth them burne,
Of this last ranke (alas) am I aright,
For in my ladies lookes to ſtand or turne
I haue no povver, ne find place to retire,
Where any darke may ſhade me from her ſight
But to her beames fo bright whilst I aſpire,
I periſh by the bane of my delight.

Againe in thefe likening a wife man to the true louer.

As true loue is content with his enioy,
And asketh no witneffe nor no record,
And as faint loue is euermore moſt coy,
To boaſt and brag his troth at euery vvord:
Euen fo the vviſe vvithouten other meede:
Contents him with the guilt of his good deede.

And in this refembling the learning of an euill man to the feedes fowen in barren ground.

As the good feedes fowen in frutefull foyle,
Bring foorth foyfon when barren doeth them ſpoile:
So doeth it fare when much good learning hits,
Vpon ſhrewde willes and ill diſpoſed wits.

And in thefe likening the wife man to an idiot.

A fage man faid, many of thofe that come
To Athens ſchoole for vviſdome, ere they went
They first feem'd wife, then louers of wiſdome,
Then Orators, then idiots, which is meant
That in wiſdome all ſuch as profite moſt,
Are least furlie, and little apt to boast.

Againe, for a louer, whofe credit vpon fome report had bene ſhaken, he prayeth better opinion by ſimilitude.

After ill crop the foyle muſt eft be fowen,

And fro ſhipwracke we fayle to ſeas againe,
Then God forbid whoſe fault hath once bene knowen,
Should for euer a ſpotted wight remaine.

And in this working by reſemblance in a kinde of diſſimilitude betweene a father and a maſter.

It fares not by fathers as by masters it doeth fare,
For a fooliſh father may get a wiſe ſonne,
But of a fooliſh maſter it haps very rare
Is bread a wiſe ſeruant where euer he wonne.

And in theſe, likening the wiſe man to the Giant, the foole to the Dwarfe.

Set the Giant deepe in a dale, the dwarfe vpon an hill,
Yet will the one be but a dwarfe, th'other a giant ſtill.
So will the wiſe be great and high, euen in the lowest place:
The foole when he is moſt aloft, will ſeeme but low and baſe.

Icon. or Resemblance by imagerie.

But when we liken an humane perſon to another in countenaunce, ſtature, ſpeach or other qualitie, it is not called bare reſemblance, but reſemblaunce by imagerie or pourtrait, alluding to the painters terme, who yeldeth to th'eye a viſible repreſentation of the thing he deſcribes and painteth in his table. So we commending her Maieſtie for wiſedome bewtie and magnanimitie likened her to the Serpent, the Lion and the Angell, becauſe by common vſurpation, nothing is wiſer then the Serpent, more couragious then the Lion, more bewtifull then the Angell. Theſe are our verſes in the end of the ſeuenth *Partheniade.*

Nature that ſeldome vworkes amiſſe,
In vvomans breſt by paſſing art:
Hath lodged ſafe the Lyons hart,
And feately fixt vvith all good grace,
To Serpents head an Angels face.

And this maner of reſemblaunce is not onely performed by likening of liuely creatures one to another, but alſo of any other naturall thing, bearing a proportion of ſimilitude, as to liken yealow to gold, white to ſiluer, red to the roſe, ſoft to ſilke, hard to the ſtone and ſuch like. Sir *Philip Sidney* in the deſcription of

his miſtreſſe excellently well handled this figure of reſemblaunce by imagerie, as ye may ſee in his booke of *Archadia:* and ye may ſee the like, of our doings, in a *Partheniade* written of our ſoueraigne Lady, wherein we reſemble euery part of her body to ſome naturall thing of excellent perfection in his kind, as of her forehead, browes and hair, thus.

Of ſiluer vvas her forehead hye,
Her browes two bowes of hebenie,
Her treſſes trust vvere to behold
Frizled and fine as fringe of gold.

And of her lips.

Two lips vvrought out of rubie rocke,
Like leaues to ſhut and to vnlock.
As portall dore in Princes chamber:
A golden tongue in mouth of amber.

And of her eyes.

Her eyes God wot vvhat ſluffe they are,
I durſt be ſworne each is a ſtarre:
As cleere and bright as woont to guide
The Pylot in his vvinter tide.

And of her breaſts.

Her boſome fleake as Paris plaster,
Helde vp two balles of alabaſter,
Eche byas was a little cherrie:
Or els I thinke a strawberie.

And all the reſt that followeth, which may ſuffice to exemplifie your figure of *Icon*, or reſemblance by imagerie and portrait.

Parabola. or Resemblance misticall

But whenſoeuer by your ſimilitude ye will ſeeme to teach any moralitie or good leſſon by ſpeeches miſticall and darke, or farre fette, vnder a ſence metaphoricall applying one naturall thing to another, or one caſe to another, inferring by them a like conſequence in other caſes the Greekes call it *Parabola*, which terme is alſo by cuſtome accepted of vs: neuertheleſſe we may call him in Engliſh the reſemblance miſticall: as when we liken a young childe to a greene twigge which ye may

eaſilie bende euery way ye liſt: or an old man who laboureth with continuall infirmities, to a drie and drickſie oke. Such parables were all the preachings of Chriſt in the Goſpell, as thoſe of the wiſe and fooliſh virgins, of the euil ſteward, of the labourers in the vineyard, and a number more. And they may be fayned aſwell as true: as thoſe fables of *Æſope*, and other apologies inuented for doctrine ſake by wiſe and graue men.

Paradigma, or a resemblance by example.

Finally, if in matter of counſell or perſwaſion we will ſeeme to liken one caſe to another, ſuch as paſſe ordinarily in mans affaires, and doe compare the paſt with the preſent, gathering probabilitie of like ſucceſſe to come in the things wee haue preſently in hand: or if ye will draw the iudgements precedent and authorized by antiquitie as veritable, and peraduenture fayned and imagined for ſome purpoſe, into ſimilitude or diſſimilitude with our preſent actions and affaires, it is called reſemblance by example: as if one ſhould ſay thus, *Alexander* the great in his expedition to Aſia did thus, ſo did *Hanniball* comming into Spaine, ſo did *Cæſar* in Egypt, therfore all great Captains and Generals ought to doe it.

And conſulting vpon the affaires of the low countreis at this day, peraduenture her Maieſtie might be thus aduiſed: The Flemings are a people very vnthankfull and mutable, and rebellious againſt their Princes, for they did riſe againſt *Maximilian* Archduke of Auſtria, who had maried the daughter and heire of the houſe of Burgundie, and tooke him priſoner, till by the Emperour *Frederike* the third his father, he was ſet at libertie. They rebelled againſt *Charles* the fift Emperor, their naturall Prince. They haue falſed their faith to his ſonne *Philip* king of Spaine their ſoueraign Lord: and ſince to Archduke *Matthias*, whom they elected for their gouernor, after to their adopted Lord Monſieur of Fraunce, Duke of Aniou: I pray you what likelihood is there they ſhould be

more aſſured to the Queene of England, than they haue bene to all theſe princes and gouernors, longer than their diſtreſſe continueth, and is to be relieued by her goodnes and puiſſance.

[PASSAGE SUBSTITUTED FOR THE ABOVE, IN SOME COPIES.

And thus againe, It hath bene alwayes vſuall among great and magnanimous princes in all ages, not only to repulſe any iniury and inuaſion from their owne realmes and dominions, but alſo with a charitable and Princely compaſſion to defend their good neighbors Princes and Potentats, from all oppreſſion of tyrants and vſurpers. So did the Romaines by their armes reſtore many Kings of Aſia and Affricke expulſed out of their kingdoms. So did K. *Edward* I. reſtabliſh *Baliol* rightfull owner of the crowne of Scotland againſt *Robert le brus* no lawfull King. So did king *Edward* the third aide *Dampeeter* king of Spaine againſt *Henry* baſtard and vſurper. So haue many Engliſh Princes holpen with their forces the poore Dukes of Britaine their ancient friends and allies, againſt the outrages of the French kings: and why may not the Queene our ſoueraine Lady with like honor and godly zele yeld protection to the people of the Low countries, her neereſt neighbours to reſcue them a free people from the Spaniſh ſeruitude.]

And as this reſemblance is of one mans action to another, ſo may it be made by examples of bruite beaſtes, aptly correſponding in qualitie or euent, as one that wrote certaine prety verſes of the Emperor *Maximinus*, to warne him that he ſhould not glory too much in his owne ſtrength, for ſo he did in very deede, and would take any common ſouldier to taske at wraſtling, or weapon, or in any other actiuitie and feates of armes, which was by the wiſer ſort miſliked, theſe were the verſes.

The Elephant is ſtrong, yet death doeth it ſubdue,
The bull is ſtrong, yet cannot death eſchue.

The Lion ſtrong, and ſlaine for all his ſtrength:
The Tygar ſtrong, yet kilde is at the length.
Dread thou many, that dreadest not any one,
Many can kill, that cannot kill alone.

And ſo it fell out, for *Maximinus* was ſlaine in a mutinie of his ſouldiers, taking no warning by theſe examples written for his admonition.

*CHAP. XX.

The last and principall figure of our poeticall Ornament.

Exargasia, or The Gorgious.

Or the glorious luſtre it ſetteth vpon our ſpeech and language, the Greeks call it (*Exargaſia*) the Latine (*Expolitio*) a terme transferred from theſe poliſhers of marble or porphirite, who after it is rough hewen and reduced to that faſhion they will, ſet vpon it a goodly glaſſe, ſo ſmoth and cleere, as ye may ſee your face in it, or otherwiſe as it fareth by the bare and naked body, which being attired in rich and gorgious apparell, ſeemeth to the common vſage of th'eye much more comely and bewtifull then the naturall. So doth this figure (which therefore I call the *Gorgious*) poliſh our ſpeech and as it were attire it with copious and pleaſant amplifications and much varietie of ſentences, all running vpon one point and one intent: ſo as I doubt whether I may terme it a figure, or rather a maſſe of many figuratiue ſpeaches, applied to the bewtifying of our tale or argument. In a worke of ours intituled *Philocalia* we haue ſtrained to ſhew the vſe and application of this figure and al others mentioned in this booke, to which we referre you. I finde none example [in Engliſh meetre] that euer I could ſee, ſo well maintayning this figure in Engliſh meetre as that ditty of her Maieſties owne making paſſing ſweete and harmonicall, which figure beyng as his very originall name purporteth the moſt bewtifull [and gorgious] of all others, it asketh in reaſon

* There is a slight variation, just here, in the text between copies: what is probably the later form—found in copies with the *substituting* passage of the previous page—is inserted between [ ] on this and the next pages.

to be reſerued for a laſt complement, and deſciphred by the arte of a ladies penne, her ſelfe beyng the moſt gorgious and bewtifull, or rather bewtie of Queenes: and this was th'action [the occaſion], our ſoueraigne Lady perceiuing how by the Sc. Q. reſidence within this Realme at ſo great libertie and eaſe, as were skarce worthy of [meete for] ſo great and dangerous a pryſoner, bred ſecret factions among her people, and made many of her [the] nobilitie incline to fauour her partie: many [ſome] of them deſirous of innouation in the ſtate: ſome of them [others] aſpiring to greater fortunes by her libertie and life. The Queene our ſoueraigne Lady to declare that ſhe was nothing ignorant in [of] thoſe ſecret fauours [practizes], though ſhe had long with great wiſdome and pacience diſſembled it, writeth this ditty moſt ſweet and ſententious, not hiding from all ſuch aſpiring minds the daunger of their ambition and diſloyaltie, which afterward fell out moſt truly by th'exemplary chaſtiſement of ſundry perſons, who in fauour of the ſaid Sc. Q. . derogating [declining] from her Maieſtie, ſought to interrupt the quiet of the Realme by many euill and vndutifull practizes. The ditty is as followeth.

The doubt of future foes, exiles my preſent ioy,
And wit me warnes to ſhun ſuch ſnares as threaten mine annoy.
For falſhood novv doth flow, and ſubiect faith doth ebbe,
Which would not be, if reaſon rul'd or wiſdome weu'd the webbe.
But clowdes of tois vntried, do cloake aſpiring mindes,
Which turne to raigne of late repent, by courſe of changed vvindes.
The toppe of hope ſuppoſed, the roote of ruth vvil be,
And fruteleſſe all their graffed guiles, as ſhortly ye ſhall ſee.
Then dazeld eyes vvith pride, vvhich great ambition blinds,
Shalbe vnſeeld by vvorthy wights, vvhose foreſight falſhood finds,
The daughter of debate, that eke diſcord doth ſovve
Shal reap no gaine where formor rule hath taught ſtil peace to growe.

No forreine bannifht vvight ſhall ancre in this port,
Our realme it brookes no ſtrangers force, let them elſvvhere refort.
Our ruſty ſvvorde vvith rest, ſhall firſt his edge employ,
To polle their toppes that ſeeke, ſuch change and gape for ioy.

In a worke of ours entituled [*Philo Calia*] where we entreat of the loues betwene prince *Philo* and Lady *Calia*, in their mutual letters, meſſages, and ſpeeches: we haue ſtrained our muſe to ſhew the vſe and application of this figure, and of all others.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the vices or deformities in ſpeach and vvriting principally noted by auncient Poets.

IT hath bene ſaid before how by ignorance of the maker a good figure may become a vice, and by his good diſcretion, a vicious ſpeach go for a vertue in the Poeticall ſcience. This ſaying is to be explained and qualified, for ſome maner of ſpeaches are alwayes intollerable and ſuch as cannot be vſed with any decencie, but are euer vndecent namely barbarouſneſſe, incongruitie, ill diſpoſition, fond affectation, ruſticitie, and all extreme darkneſſe, ſuch as it is not poſſible for a man to vnderſtand the matter without an interpretour, all which partes are generally to be baniſhed out of euery language, vnleſſe it may appeare that the maker or Poet do it for the nonce, as it was reported by the Philoſopher *Heraclitus* that he wrote in obſcure and darke termes of purpoſe not to be vnderſtood, whence he merited the nickname *Scotinus*, otherwiſe I ſee not but the reſt of the common faultes may be borne with ſometimes, or paſſe without any great reproofe, not being vſed ouermuch or out of ſeaſon as I ſaid before: ſo as euery ſurpluſage or prepoſterous placing or vndue iteration or darke word, or doubtfull ſpeach are not ſo narrowly to be looked vpon in a large poeme, nor ſpecially in the pretie Poeſies and deuiſes of Ladies, and Gentlewomen makers,

whom we would not haue too preciſe Poets leaſt with their ſhrewd wits, when they were maried they might become a little too phantaſticall wiues, neuertheleſſe becauſe we ſeem to promiſe an arte, which doth not iuſtly admit any wilful errour in the teacher, and to th'end we may not be carped at by theſe methodicall men, that we haue omitted any neceſſary point in this buſineſſe to be regarded, I will ſpeake ſomewhat touching theſe viciofities of language particularly and briefly, leauing no little to the Grammarians for maintenaunce of the ſcholaſticall warre, and altercations: we for our part condeſcending in this deuiſe of ours, to the appetite of Princely perſonages and other ſo tender and queſie complexions in Court, as are annoyed with nothing more then long leſſons and ouermuch good order.

CHAP. XXII.

Some vices in ſpeaches and vvriting are alwayes intollerable, ſome others now and then borne vvithall by licence of approued authors and custome.

THe fouleſt vice in language is to ſpeake barbarouſly: this terme grew by the great pride of the Greekes and Latines, when they were dominatours of the world reckoning no language ſo ſweete and ciuill as their owne, and that all nations beſide them ſelues were rude and vnciuill, which they called barbarous: So as when any ſtraunge word not of the naturall Greeke or Latin was ſpoken, in the old time they called it *barbariſme*, or when any of their owne naturall wordes were ſounded and pronounced with ſtraunge and ill ſhapen accents, or written by wrong ortographie, as he that would ſay with vs in England, a douſand for a thouſand, iſterday, for yeſterday, as commonly the Dutch and French people do, they ſaid it was barbarouſly ſpoken. The Italian at this day by like arrogance calleth the Frenchman, Spaniard, Dutch, Engliſh, and all other breed behither their mountaines *Appennines*, *Tramontani*, as who would

Barbarismus. or Forrein speech.

ſay Barbarous. This terme being then ſo vſed by the auncient Greekes, there haue bene ſince, notwithſtanding who haue digged for the Etimologie ſomewhat deeper, and many of them haue ſaid that it was ſpoken by the rude and barking language of the Affricans now called Barbarians, who had great trafficke with the Greekes and Romanes, but that can not be ſo, for that part of Affricke hath but of late receiued the name of Barbarie, and ſome others rather thinke that of this word Barbarous, that countrey came to be called *Barbaria* and but few yeares in reſpect agone. Others among whom is *Ihan Leon* a Moore of *Granada*, will ſeeme to deriue *Barbaria*, from this word *Bar*, twiſe iterated thus *Barbar*, as much to ſay as flye, flye, which chaunced in a perſecution of the Arabians by ſome ſeditious Mahometanes in the time of their Pontif. *Habdul mumi*, when they were had in the chaſe, and driuen out of Arabia Weſtward into the countreys of *Mauritania*, and during the purſuite cried one vpon another flye away, flye away, or paſſe paſſe, by which occaſion they ſay, when the Arabians which were had in chaſe came to ſtay and ſettle them ſelues in that part of Affrica, they called it *Barbar*, as much to ſay, the region of their flight or purſuite. Thus much for the terme, though not greatly pertinent to the matter, yet not vnpleaſant to knowe for them that delight in ſuch niceties.

Solecismus. or Incongruitie.

Your next intollerable vice is *ſolecifmus* or incongruitie, as when we ſpeake falſe Engliſh, that is by miſuſing the *Grammaticall* rules to be obſerued in caſes, genders, tenſes and ſuch like, euery poore ſcholler knowes the fault, and cals it the breaking of *Priſcians* head, for he was among the Latines a principall Grammarian.

Cacozelia. or Fonde affectation.

Ye haue another intollerable ill maner of ſpeach, which by the Greekes originall we may call *fonde affectation*, and is when we affect new words and phraſes other then the good ſpeakers and writers in any language, or then

cuſtome hath allowed, and is the common fault of young ſchollers not halfe ſo well ſtudied before they come from the Vniuerſitie or ſchooles, and when they come to their friends, or happen to get ſome benefice or other promotion in their countreys, will ſeeme to coigne fine wordes out of the Latin, and to vſe new fangled ſpeaches, thereby to ſhew themſelues among the ignorant the better learned.

Another of your intollerable vices is that which the Greekes call *Soraiſmus*, and we may call the [*mingle mangle*] as when we make our ſpeach or writinges of ſundry languages vſing ſome Italian word, or French, or Spaniſh, or Dutch, or Scottiſh, not for the nonce or for any purpoſe (which were in part excuſable) but ignorantly and affectedly as one that ſaid vſing this French word *Roy*, to make ryme with another verſe, thus.

Soraiſmus. or The mingle mangle.

O mightie Lord of loue, dame Venus onely ioy,
Whoſe Princely power exceedes ech other heauenly roy.

The verſe is good but the terme peeuiſhly affected.

Another of reaſonable good facilitie in tranſlation finding certaine of the hymnes of *Pyndarus* and of *Anacreons odes*, and other *Lirickes* among the Greekes very well tranſlated by *Rounſard* the French Poet, and applied to the honour of a great Prince in France, comes our minion and tranſlates the ſame out of French into Engliſh, and applieth them to the honour of a great noble man in England (wherein I commend his reuerent minde and duetie) but doth ſo impudently robbe the French Poet both of his prayſe and alſo of his French termes, that I cannot ſo much pitie him as be angry with him for his iniurious dealing (our ſayd maker not being aſhamed to vſe theſe French wordes *freddon*, *egar*, *ſuperbous*, *filanding*, *celeſt*, *calabrois*, *thebanois* and a number of others, for Engliſh wordes, which haue no maner of conformitie with our language either by cuſtome or deriuation which may make them tollerable. And in the end (which is worſt of all) makes his vaunt that neuer Engliſh finger but

his hath toucht *Pindars* ſtring which was neuertheleſſe word by word as *Rounſard* had ſaid before by like braggery. Theſe be his verſes.

And of an ingenious inuention, infanted with pleaſant trauaille.

Whereas the French word is *enfante* as much to ſay borne as a child, in another verſe he saith.

I vvill freddon in thine honour.

For I will ſhake or quiuer my fingers, for ſo in French is *freddon*, and in another verſe.

But if I vvill thus like pindar,
In many diſcourſes egar.

This word *egar* is as much to ſay as to wander or ſtray out of the way, which in our Engliſh is not receiued, nor theſe wordes *calabrois*, *thebanois*, but rather *calabrian*, *theban* [*filanding ſiſters*] for the ſpinning ſifters : this man deſerues to be endited of pety *larceny* for pilfering other mens deuiſes from them and conuerting them to his owne vſe, for in deede as I would wiſh euery inuentour which is the very Poet to receaue the prayſes of his inuention, ſo would I not haue a tranſlatour to be aſhamed to be acknowen of his tranſlation.

Cacosintheton or the Misplacer.

Another of your intollerable vices is ill diſpoſition or placing of your words in a clauſe or ſentence : as when you will place your adiectiue after your ſubſtantiue, thus : *Mayde faire*, *vvidovv riche*, *prieſt holy*, and ſuch like, which though the Latines did admit, yet our Engliſh did not, as one that ſaid ridiculouſly.

In my yeares luſtie, many a deed doughtie did I.

All theſe remembred faults be intollerable and euer vndecent.

Cacemphaton. or the figure of foule speech.

Now haue ye other vicious manners of ſpeech, but ſometimes and in ſome caſes tollerable, and chiefly to the intent to mooue laughter, and to make ſport, or to giue it ſome prety ſtrange grace, and is when we vſe ſuch wordes as may be drawen to a foule and vnſhamefaſt ſence, as one that would ſay to a young woman, *I pray you let me iape with*

you, which in deed is no more but let me ſport with you. Yea and though it were not altogether ſo directly ſpoken, the very ſounding of the word were not commendable, as he that in the preſence of Ladies would vſe this common Prouerbe,

Iape vvith me but hurt me not,
Bourde vvith me but ſhame me not.

For it may be taken in another peruerſer ſence by that ſorte of perſons that heare it, in whoſe eares no ſuch matter ought almoſt to be called in memory, this vice is called by the Greekes *Cacemphaton*, we call it the vnſhamefaſt or figure of foule ſpeech, which our courtly maker ſhall in any caſe ſhunne, leaſt of a Poet he become a Buffon or rayling companion, the Latines called him *Scurra*. There is alſo another ſort of ilfauoured ſpeech ſubiect to this vice, but reſting more in the manner of the ilſhapen ſound and accent, than for the matter it ſelfe, which may eaſily be auoyded in chooſing your wordes thoſe that bee of the pleaſanteſt orthography, and not to rime too many like ſounding words together.

Tautologia, or the figure of selfe saying.

Ye haue another manner of compoſing your metre nothing commendable, ſpecially if it be too much vſed, and is when our maker takes too much delight to fill his verſe with wordes beginning all with a letter, as an Engliſh rimer that ſaid:

The deadly droppes of darke diſdaine,
Do daily drench my due deſartes.

And as the Monke we ſpake of before, wrote a whole Poeme to the honor of *Carolus Caluus*, euery word in his verſe beginning with C, thus:

Carmina clariſonæ Caluis cantate camenæ.

Many of our Engliſh makers vſe it too much, yet we confeſſe it doth not ill but pretily becomes the meetre, if ye paſſe not two or three words in one verſe, and vſe it not very much, as he that ſaid by way of *Epithete*.

The ſmoakie ſighes: the trickling teares.

And ſuch like, for ſuch compoſition makes the meetre runne away ſmoother, and paſſeth from the lippes with more facilitie by iteration of a letter then by alteration, which alteration of a letter requires an exchange of miniſtery and office in the lippes, teeth or palate, and ſo doth not the iteration.

Histeron, proteron. or the Preposterous.

Your miſplacing and prepoſterous placing is not all one in behauiour of language, for the miſplacing is alwaies intollerable, but the prepoſterous is a pardonable fault, and many times giues a pretie grace vnto the ſpeech. We call it by a common ſaying to *ſet the carte before the horſe*, and it may be done, eyther by a ſingle word or by a clauſe of ſpeech: by a ſingle word thus:

And if I not performe, God let me neuer thriue.

For performe not: and this vice is ſometime tollerable inough, but if the word carry away notable ſence, it is a vice not tollerable, as he that ſaid praiſing a woman for her red lippes, thus:

A corral lippe of hew.

Which is no good ſpeech, becauſe either he ſhould haue ſayd no more but a corrall lip, which had bene inough to declare the redneſſe, or els he ſhould haue ſaid, a lip of corrall hew, and not a corrall lip of hew. Now if this diſorder be in a whole clauſe which carieth more ſentence then a word, it is then worſt of all.

Acyron, or the Vncouthe.

Ye haue another vicious ſpeech which the Greekes call *Acyron*, we call it the *vncouthe*, and is when we vſe an obſcure and darke word, and vtterly repugnant to that we would expreſſe, if it be not by vertue of the figures *metaphore*, *allegorie*, *abuſion*, or ſuch other laudable figure before remembred, as he that ſaid by way of *Epithete*.

A dongeon deepe, a dampe as darke as hell.

Where it is euident that a dampe being but a breath or vapour, and not to be diſcerned by the eye, ought not to haue this *epithete* (*darke*,) no more then another that prayſing his miſtreſſe for her bewtifull haire, ſaid very improperly and with a vncouth terme.

Her haire ſurmounts Apollos pride,
In it ſuch bewty raignes.

Whereas this word *raigne* is ill applied to the bewtie of a womans haire, and might better haue bene ſpoken of her whole perſon, in which bewtie, fauour and good grace, may perhaps in ſome ſort be ſaid to raigne as our ſelues wrate, in a *Partheniade* praiſing her Maieſties countenance, thus :

A cheare vvhere loue and Maieſtie do raigne,
Both milde and ſterne, &c.

Becauſe this word Maieſtie is a word expreſſing a certaine Soueraigne dignitie, as well as a quallitie of countenance, and therefore may properly be ſaid to *raigne*, and requires no meaner a word to ſet him foorth by. So it is not of the bewtie that remaines in a womans haire, or in her hand or in any other member : therfore when ye ſee all theſe improper or harde Epithets vſed, ye may put them in the number of [*vncouths*] as one that ſaid, *the flouds of graces :* I haue heard of *the flouds of teares*, and *the flouds of eloquence*, or of any thing that may reſemble the nature of a water-courſe, and in that reſpect we ſay alſo, *the ſtreames of teares*, and *the ſtreames of vtterance*, but not *the ſtreames of graces*, or of *beautie.* Such manner of vncouth ſpeech did the Tanner of Tamworth vſe to king *Edward* the fourth, which Tanner hauing a great while miſtaken him, and vſed very broad talke with him, at length perceiuing by his traine that it was the king, was afraide he ſhould be puniſhed for it, ſaid thus with a certaine rude repentance.

I hope I ſhall be hanged to morrow.

For [*I feare me*] *I ſhall be hanged*, whereat the king laughed a good, not only to ſee the Tanners vaine feare, but alſo to heare his ill ſhapen terme, and gaue him for recompence of his good ſport, the inheritance of Plumton parke, I am afraid the Poets of our time that ſpeake more finely and correctedly will come too ſhort of ſuch a reward.

Alſo the Poet or makers ſpeech becomes vicious

The vice of Surplusage.

and vnpleaſant by nothing more than by vſing too much ſurpluſage: and this lieth not only in a word or two more than ordinary, but in whole clauſes, and peraduenture large ſentences impertinently ſpoken, or with more labour and curioſitie than is requiſite. The firſt ſurpluſage the Greekes call *Pleonaſmus*, I call him [*too full ſpeech*] and is no great fault, as if one ſhould ſay, *I heard it with mine eares, and ſaw it vvith mine eyes*, as if a man could heare with his heeles, or ſee with his noſe. We our ſelues vſed this ſuperfluous ſpeech in a verſe written of our miſtreſſe, neuertheles, not much to be miſliked, for euen a vice ſometime being ſeaſonably vſed, hath a pretie grace.

Pleonasmus, or Too ful speech

For euer may my true loue liue and neuer die
And that mine eyes may ſee her crownde a Queene.

As, if ſhe liued euer. ſhe could euer die, or that one might ſee her crowned without his eyes.

Macrologia, or Long language

Another part of ſurpluſage is called *Macrologia*, or long language, when we vſe large clauſes or ſentences more than is requiſite to the matter: it is alſo named by the Greeks *Periſſologia*, as he that ſaid, the Ambaſſadours after they had receiued this anſwere at the kings hands, they tooke their leaue and returned home into their countrey from whence they came.

So ſaid another of our rimers, meaning to ſhew the great annoy and difficultie of thoſe warres of Troy, cauſed for *Helenas* ſake.

Nor Menelaus vvas vnwife,
Or troupe of Troians mad,
When he vvith them and they vvith him,
For her ſuch combat had.

Theſe clauſes (*he vvith them and they vvith him*) are ſurpluſage, and one of them very impertinent, becauſe it could not otherwiſe be intended, but that *Menelaus*,

fighting with the Troians, the Troians muſt of neceſſitie fight with him.

Another point of ſurpluſage lieth not ſo much in ſuperfluitie of your words, as of your trauaile to deſcribe the matter which yee take in hand, and that ye ouerlabour your ſelfe in your buſineſſe. And therefore the Greekes call it *Periergia*, we call it ouerlabor, iumpe with the originall: or rather [*the curious*] for his ouermuch curioſitie and ſtudie to ſhew himſelfe fine in a light matter, as one of our late makers who in the moſt of his things wrote very well, in this (to mine opinion) more curiouſly than needed, the matter being ripely conſidered: yet is his verſe very good, and his meetre cleanly. His intent was to declare how vpon the tenth day of March he croſſed the riuer of Thames, to walke in Saint *Georges* field, the matter was not great as ye may ſuppoſe.

Periergia, or Ouer labour, otherwise called the curious.

The tenth of March vvhen Aries receiued
Dan Phœbus raies into his horned head,
And I my ſelfe by learned lore perceiued
That Ver approcht and froſty vvinter fled
I croſt the Thames to take the cheerefull aire,
In open fields, the vveather was ſo faire.

Firſt, the whole matter is not worth all this ſolemne circumſtance to deſcribe the tenth day of March, but if he had left at the two firſt verſes, it had bene inough. But when he comes with two other verſes to enlarge his deſcription, it is not only more than needes, but alſo very ridiculous, for he makes wiſe, as if he had not bene a man learned in ſome of the mathematickes (by learned lore) that he could not haue told that the x. of March had fallen in the ſpring of the yeare: which euery carter, and alſo euery child knoweth without any learning Then alſo, when he ſaith [*Ver approcht, and froſty winter fled*] though it were a ſurpluſage (becauſe one ſeaſon muſt needes geue place to the other) yet doeth it well inough paſſe without blame

in the maker. Theſe, and a hundred more of ſuch faultie and impertinent ſpeeches may yee finde amongſt vs vulgar Poets, when we be careleſſe of our doings.

Tapinosis, or the Abbaser.

It is no ſmall fault in a maker to vſe ſuch wordes and termes as do diminiſh and abbaſe the matter he would ſeeme to ſet forth, by imparing the dignitie, height vigour or maieſtie of the cauſe he takes in hand, as one that would ſay king *Philip* ſhrewdly harmed the towne of *S. Quintaines*, when in deede he wanne it and put it to the ſacke, and that king *Henry* the eight made ſpoiles in *Turwin*, when as in deede he did more then ſpoile it, for he cauſed it to be defaced and razed flat to the earth, and made it inhabitable. Therefore the hiſtoriographer that ſhould by ſuch wordes report of theſe two kings geſtes in that behalfe, ſhould greatly blemiſh the honour of their doings and almoſt ſpeake vntruly and iniurioufly by way of abbaſement, as another of our bad rymers that very indecently ſaid.

A miſers mynde thou haſt, thou haſt a Princes pelfe.

A lewd terme to be giuen to a Princes treaſure (*pelfe*) and was a little more manerly ſpoken by *Seriant Bendlowes*, when in a progreſſe time comming to ſalute the Queene in Huntingtonſhire he ſaid to her Cochman, ſtay thy cart good fellow, ſtay thy cart, that I may ſpeake to the Queene, whereat her Maieſtie laughed as ſhe had bene tickled, and all the reſt of the company although very graciouſly (as her manner is) ſhe gaue him great thankes and her hand to kiſſe. Theſe and ſuch other baſe wordes do greatly diſgrace the thing and the ſpeaker or writer: the Greekes call it [*Tapinoſis*] we the [*abbaſer.*]

Bomphiologia, or Pompious speech.

Others there be that fall into the contrary vice by vſing ſuch bombaſted wordes, as ſeeme altogether farced full of winde, being a great deale to high and loftie for the matter, whereof ye may finde too many in all popular rymers.

Then haue ye one other vicious ſpeach with which

we will finiſh this Chapter, and is when we ſpeake or write doubtfully and that the ſence may be taken two wayes, ſuch ambiguous termes they call *Amphibologia*, we call it the *ambiguous*, or figure of ſence incertaine, as if one ſhould ſay *Thomas Tayler* ſaw *William Tyler* dronke, it is indifferent to thinke either th'one or th'other dronke. Thus ſaid a gentleman in our vulgar pretily notwithſtanding becauſe he did it not ignorantly, but for the nonce.

Amphibologia or the Ambiguous.

I ſat by my Lady ſoundly ſleeping,
My miſtreſſe lay by me bitterly weeping.

No man can tell by this, whether the miſtreſſe or the man, ſlept or wept: theſe doubtfull ſpeaches were vſed much in the old times by their falſe Prophets as appeareth by the Oracles of *Delphos* and of the *Sybilles* prophecies deuiſed by the religious perſons of thoſe dayes to abuſe the ſuperſtitious people, and to encomber their buſie braynes with vaine hope or vaine feare.

Lucianus the merry Greeke reciteth a great number of them, deuiſed by a cooſening companion one *Alexander*, to get himſelfe the name and reputation of the God *Æſculapius*, and in effect all our old Brittiſh and Saxon propheſies be of the ſame ſort, that turne them on which ſide ye will, the matter of them may be verified, neuertheleſſe carryeth generally ſuch force in the heades of fonde people, that by the comfort of thoſe blind prophecies many inſurrections and rebellions haue bene ſtirred vp in this Realme, as that of *Iacke Straw*, and *Iacke Cade* in *Richard* the ſeconds time, and in our time by a ſeditious fellow in Norffolke calling himſelfe Captaine Ket and others in other places of the Realme lead altogether by certaine propheticall rymes, which might be conſtred two or three wayes as well as to that one whereunto the rebelles applied it, our maker ſhall therefore auoyde all ſuch ambiguous ſpeaches vnleſſe it be when he doth it for the nonce and for ſome purpoſe.

CHAP. XXIII.

What it is that generally makes our ſpeach well pleaſing and commendable, and of that which the Latines call Decorum.

IN all things to vſe decencie, is it onely that giueth euery thing his good grace and without which nothing in mans ſpeach could ſeeme good or gracious, in ſo much as many times it makes a bewtifull figure fall into a deformitie, and on th'other ſide a vicious ſpeach ſeeme pleaſaunt and bewtifull: this decencie is therfore the line and leuell for al good makers to do their buſines by. But herein reſteth the difficultie, to know what this good grace is, and wherein it conſiſteth, for peraduenture it be eaſier to conceaue then to expreſſe, we wil therfore examine it to the bottome and ſay: that euery thing which pleaſeth the mind or ſences, and the mind by the ſences as by means inſtrumentall, doth it for ſome amiable point or qualitie that is in it, which draweth them to a good liking and contentment with their proper obiects. But that cannot be if they diſcouer any illfauoredneſſe or diſproportion to the partes apprehenſiue, as for example, when a ſound is either too loude or too low or otherwiſe confuſe, the eare is ill affected: ſo is th'eye if the coulour be ſad or not liminous and recreatiue, or the ſhape of a membred body without his due meaſures and ſimmetry, and the like of euery other ſence in his proper function. Theſe exceſſes or defectes or confuſions and diſorders in the ſenſible obiectes are deformities and vnſeemely to the ſence. In like ſort the mynde for the things that be his mentall obiectes hath his good graces and his bad, whereof th'one contents him wonderous well, th'other diſpleaſeth him continually, no more nor no leſſe then ye ſee the diſcordes of muſicke do to a well tuned eare. The Greekes call this good grace of euery thing in his kinde, το πρεπον, the Latines [*decorum*] we in our vulgar call it by a

ſcholaſticall terme [*decencie*] our owne Saxon Engliſh terme is [*ſeemelyneſſe*] that is to ſay, for his good ſhape and vtter appearance well pleaſing the eye, we call it alſo [*comelyneſſe*] for the delight it bringeth comming towardes vs, and to that purpoſe may be called [*pleaſant approche*] ſo as euery way ſeeking to expreſſe this πρέπον of the Greekes and *decorum* of the Latines, we are faine in our vulgar toung to borrow the terme which our eye onely for his noble prerogatiue ouer all the reſt of the ſences doth vſurpe, and to apply the ſame to all good, comely, pleaſant and honeſt things, euen to the ſpirituall obiectes of the mynde, which ſtand no leſſe in the due proportion of reaſon and diſcourſe than any other materiall thing doth in his ſenſible bewtie, proportion and comelyneſſe.

Now becauſe his comelyneſſe reſteth in the good conformitie of many things and their ſundry circumſtances, with reſpect one to another, ſo as there be found a iuſt correſpondencie betweene them by this or that relation, the Greekes call it *Analogie* or a conuenient proportion. This louely conformitie, or proportion, or conueniencie betweene the ſence and the ſenſible hath nature her ſelfe firſt moſt carefully obſerued in all her owne workes, then alſo by kinde graft it in the appetites of euery creature working by intelligence to couet and deſire: and in their actions to imitate and performe: and of man chiefly before any other creature aſwell in his ſpeaches as in euery other part of his behauiour. And this in generalitie and by an vſuall terme is that which the Latines call [*decorum.*] So albeit we before alleaged that all our figures be but tranſgreſſions of our dayly ſpeech, yet if they fall out decently to the good liking of the mynde or eare and to the bewtifying of the matter or language, all is well, if indecently, and to the eares and myndes miſliking (be the figure of it ſelfe neuer ſo commendable) all is amiſſe, the election is the writers, the iudgement is the worlds, as theirs to whom the reading apperteineth. But ſince the actions of man with their circumſtances

be infinite, and the world likewiſe repleniſhed with many iudgements, it may be a queſtion who ſhal haue the determination of ſuch controuerſie as may ariſe whether this or that action or ſpeach be decent or indecent: and verely it ſeemes to go all by diſcretion, not perchaunce of euery one, but by a learned and experienced diſcretion, for otherwiſe ſeemes the *decorum* to a weake and ignorant iudgement, then it doth to one of better knowledge and experience: which ſheweth that it reſteth in the diſcerning part of the minde, ſo as he who can make the beſt and moſt differences of things by reaſonable and wittie diſtinction is to be the fitteſt iudge or ſentencer of [*decencie.*] Such generally is the diſcreeteſt man, particularly in any art the moſt skilfull and diſcreeteſt, and in all other things for the more part thoſe that be of much obſeruation and greateſt experience. The caſe then ſtanding that diſcretion muſt chiefly guide all thoſe buſineſſe, ſince there be ſundry ſortes of diſcretion all vnlike, euen as there be men of action or art, I ſee no way ſo fit to enable a man truly to eſtimate of [*decencie*] as example, by whoſe veritie we may deeme the differences of things and their proportions, and by particular diſcuſſions come at length to ſentence of it generally, and alſo in our behauiours the more eaſily to put it in execution. But by reaſon of the ſundry circumſtances, that mans affaires are as it were wrapt in, this [*decencie*] comes to be very much alterable and ſubiect to varietie, in[ſo]much as our ſpeach asketh one maner of *decencie*, in reſpect of the perſon who ſpeakes: another of his to whom it is ſpoken: another of whom we ſpeake: another of what we ſpeake, and in what place and time and to what purpoſe. And as it is of ſpeach, ſo of al other our behauiours. We wil therefore ſet you down ſome few examples of euery circumſtance how it alters the decencie of ſpeach or action. And by theſe few ſhal ye be able to gather a number more to confirme and eſtabliſh your iudgement by a perfit diſcretion.

This decencie, ſo farfoorth as apperteineth to the

conſideration of our art, reſteth in writing, ſpeech and behauiour. But becauſe writing is no more then the image or character of ſpeech, they ſhall goe together in theſe our obſeruations. And firſt wee wil ſort you out diuers points, in which the wiſe and learned men of times paſt haue noted much decency or vndecencie, euery man according to his diſcretion, as it hath bene ſaid afore : but wherein for the moſt part all diſcreete men doe generally agree, and varie not in opinion, whereof the examples I will geue you be worthie of remembrance : and though they brought with them no doctrine or inſtitution at all, yet for the ſolace they may geue the readers, after ſuch a rable of ſcholaſtical precepts which be tedious, theſe reports being of the nature hiſtoricall, they are to be embraced : but olde memories are very profitable to the mind, and ſerue as a glaſſe to looke vpon and behold the euents of time, and more exactly to skan the trueth of euery caſe that ſhall happen in the affaires of man, and many there be that haply doe not obſerue euery particularitie in matters of decencie or vndecencie : and yet when the caſe is tolde them by another man, they commonly geue the ſame ſentence vpon it. But yet whoſoeuer obſerueth much, ſhalbe counted the wiſeſt and diſcreeteſt man, and whoſoeuer ſpends all his life in his owne vaine actions and conceits, and obſerues no mans elſe, he ſhal in the end prooue but a ſimple man. In which reſpect it is alwaies ſaid, one man of experience is wiſer than tenne learned men, becauſe of his long and ſtudious obſeruation and often triall.

And your decencies are of ſundrie ſorts, according to the many circumſtances accompanying our writing, ſpeech or behauiour, ſo as in the very ſound or voice of him that ſpeaketh, there is a decencie that becommeth, and an vndecencie that misbecommeth vs, which th'Emperor *Anthonine* marked well in the Orator *Philiſeus*, who ſpake before him with ſo ſmall and ſhrill a voice as the Emperor was greatly annoyed therewith, and to make him ſhorten his tale, ſaid, by

thy beard thou ſhouldſt be a man, but by thy voice a woman.

Phauorinus the Philoſopher was counted very wiſe and well learned, but a little too talkatiue and full of words: for the which *Timocrates* reprooued him in the hearing of one *Polemon*. That is no wonder quoth *Polemon*, for ſo be all women. And beſides, *Phauorinus* being knowen for an Eunuke or gelded man, came by the ſame nippe to be noted as an effeminate and degenerate perſon.

And there is a meaſure to be vſed in a mans ſpeech or tale, ſo as it be neither for ſhortneſſe too darke, nor for length too tedious. Which made *Cleomenes* king of the Lacedemonians geue this vnpleaſant anſwere to the Ambaſſadors of the Samiens, who had tolde him a long meſſage from their Citie, and deſired to know his pleaſure in it. My maiſters (ſaith he) the firſt part of your tale was ſo long, that I remember it not, which made that the ſecond I vnderſtoode not, and as for the third part I doe nothing well allow of. Great princes and graue counſellers who haue little ſpare leiſure to hearken, would haue ſpeeches vſed to them ſuch as be ſhort and ſweete.

And if they be ſpoken by a man of account, or one who for his yeares, profeſſion or dignitie ſhould be thought wiſe and reuerend, his ſpeeches and words ſhould alſo be graue, pithie and ſententious, which was well noted by king *Antiochus*, who likened *Hermogenes* the famous Orator of Greece, vnto theſe fowles in their moulting time, when their feathers be ſick, and be ſo loaſe in the fleſh that at any little rowſe they can eaſilie ſhake them off: ſo ſaith he, can *Hermogenes* of all the men that euer I knew, as eaſilie deliuer from him his vaine and impertinent ſpeeches and words.

And there is a decencie, that euery ſpeech ſhould be to the appetite and delight, or dignitie of the hearer and not for any reſpect arrogant or vndutifull, as was that of *Alexander* ſent Embaſſadour from the *Athenians* to th'Emperour *Marcus*, this man ſeing th'emperour

not ſo attentiue to his tale, as he would haue had him, ſaid by way of interruption, *Cæſar* I pray thee giue me better eare, it ſeemeſt thou knoweſt me not, nor from whom I came: the Emperour nothing well liking his bold malapert ſpeech, ſaid: thou art deceyued, for I heare thee and know well inough, that thou art that fine, fooliſh, curious, ſawcie *Alexander* that tendeſt to nothing but to combe and cury thy haire, to pare thy nailes, to pick thy teeth, and to perfume thy ſelfe with ſweet oyles, that no man may abide the ſent of thee. Prowde ſpeeches, and too much fineſſe and curioſitie is not commendable in an Embaſſadour. And I haue knowen in my time ſuch of them, as ſtudied more vpon what apparell they ſhould weare, and what countenaunces they ſhould keepe at the times of their audience, then they did vpon th'effect of their errant or commiſſion.

And there is decency in that euery man ſhould talke of the things they haue beſt skill of, and not in that, their knowledge and learning ſerueth them not to do, as we are wont to ſay, he ſpeaketh of Robin hood that neuer ſhot in his bow: there came a great Oratour before *Cleomenes* king of *Lacedemonia*, and vttered much matter to him touching fortitude and valiancie in the warres: the king laughed: why laugheſt thou quoth the learned man, ſince thou art a king thy ſelfe, and one whom fortitude beſt becommeth? why ſaid *Cleomenes* would it not make any body laugh, to heare the ſwallow who feeds onely vpon flies, to boaſt of his great pray, and ſee the eagle ſtand by and ſay nothing? if thou wert a man of warre or euer hadſt bene day of thy life, I would not laugh to here thee ſpeake of valiancie, but neuer being ſo, and ſpeaking before an old captaine I can not chooſe but laugh.

And ſome things and ſpeaches are decent or indecent in reſpect of the time they be ſpoken or done in. As when a great clerk preſented king *Antiochus* with a booke treating all of iuſtice, the king that time lying at the ſiege of a towne, who lookt vpon the title of the

booke, and caſt it to him againe: ſaying, what a diuell telleſt thou to me of iuſtice, now thou ſeeſt me vſe force and do the beſt I can to bereeue mine enimie of his towne? euery thing hath his ſeaſon which is called Oportunitie, and the vnfitneſſe or vndecency of the time is called Importunitie.

Sometime the vndecen[c]y ariſeth by the indignitie of the word in reſpect of the ſpeaker himſelfe, as whan a daughter of Fraunce and next heyre generall to the crowne (if the law *Salique* had not barred her) being ſet in a great chaufe by ſome harde words giuen her by another prince of the bloud, ſaid in her anger, thou durſt not haue ſaid thus much to me if God had giuen me a paire of, etc. and told all out, meaning if God had made her a man and not a woman ſhe had bene king of Fraunce. The word became not the greatneſſe of her perſon, and much leſſe her ſex, whoſe chiefe vertue is ſhameſaſtneſſe, which the Latines call *Verecundia*, that is a naturall feare to be noted with any impudicitie: ſo as when they heare or ſee any thing tending that way they commonly bluſh, and is a part greatly praiſed in all women.

Yet will ye ſee in many caſes how pleaſant ſpeeches and fauouring ſome skurrillity and vnſhamefaſtnes haue now and then a certaine decencie, and well become both the ſpeaker to ſay, and the hearer to abide, but that is by reaſon of ſome other circumſtance, as when the ſpeaker himſelfe is knowne to be a common ieſter or buffon, ſuch as take vpon them to make princes merry, or when ſome occaſion is giuen by the hearer to induce ſuch a pleaſaunt ſpeach, and in many other caſes whereof no generall rule can be giuen, but are beſt knowen by example: as when Sir *Andrew Flamock* king *Henry* the eights ſtanderdbearer, a merry conceyted man and apt to skoffe, waiting one day at the kings heeles when he enterd the parke at Greenewich, the king blew his horne, *Flamock* hauing his belly full, and his tayle at commaundement, gaue out a rappe nothing faintly, that the king turned him about

and ſaid how now ſirra? *Flamock* not well knowing how to excuſe his vnmanerly act, if it pleaſe you Sir quoth he, your Maieſty blew one blaſt for the keeper and I another for his man. The king laughed hartily and tooke it nothing offenſiuely: for indeed as the caſe fell out it was not vndecently ſpoken by Sir *Andrew Flamock*, for it was the cleaneliest excuſe he could make, and a merry implicatiue in termes nothing odious, and therefore a ſporting ſatisfaction to the kings mind, in a matter which without ſome ſuch merry anſwere could not haue bene well taken. So was *Flamocks* acting moſt vncomely, but his ſpeech excellently well becomming the occaſion.

But at another time and in another like caſe, the ſame skurrillitie of *Flamock* was more offenſiue, becauſe it was more indecent. As when the king hauing *Flamock* with him in his barge, paſſing from Weſtminſter to Greenewich to viſite a fayre Lady whom the king loued and was lodged in the tower of the Parke: the king comming within ſight of the tower, and being diſpoſed to be merry, ſaid, *Flamock* let vs rime: as well as I can ſaid *Flamock* if it pleaſe your grace. The king began thus:

Within this towre,
There lieth a flowre,
That hath my hart.

Flamock for aunſwer: *Within this hower, ſhe will, etc.* with the reſt in ſo vncleanly termes, as might not now become me by the rule of *Decorum* to vtter writing to ſo great a Maieſtie, but the king tooke them in ſo euill part, as he bid *Flamock* auant varlet, and that he ſhould no more be ſo neere vnto him. And wherein I would faine learne, lay this vndecencie? in the skurrill and filthy termes not meete for a kings eare? perchance ſo. For the king was a wiſe and graue man, and though he hated not a faire woman, yet liked he nothing well to heare ſpeeches of ribaudrie: as they report of th'emperour *Octauian: Licet fuerit ipſe incontinentiſſimus, fuit tamen incontinente ſeueriſſimus vltor.* But the very

cauſe in deed was for that *Flamocks* reply anſwered not the kings expectation, for the kings rime commencing with a pleaſant and amorous propoſition: Sir *Andrew Flamock* to finiſh it not with loue but with lothſomneſſe, by termes very rude and vnciuill, and ſeing the king greatly fauour that Ladie for her much beauty by like or ſome other good partes, by his faſtidious aunſwer to make her ſeeme odious to him, it helde a great diſproportion to the kings appetite, for nothing is ſo vnpleaſant to a man, as to be encountred in his chiefe affection, and ſpecially in his loues, and whom we honour we ſhould alſo reuerence their appetites, or at the leaſt beare with them (not being wicked and vtterly euill) and whatſoeuer they do affect, we do not as becommeth vs if we make it ſeeme to them horrible. This in mine opinion was the chiefe cauſe of the vndecencie and alſo of the kings offence. *Ariſtotle* the great philoſopher knowing this very well, what time he put *Caliſtenes* to king *Alexander* the greats ſeruice gaue him this leſſon. Sirra quoth he, ye go now from a ſcholler to be a courtier, ſee ye ſpeake to the king your maiſter, either nothing at all, or elſe that which pleaſeth him, which rule if *Calistenes* had followed and forborne to croſſe the kings appetite in diuerſe ſpeeches, it had not coſt him ſo deepely as afterward it did. A like matter of offence fell out betweene th'Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and an Embaſſadour of king *Henry* the eight, whom I could name but will not for the great opinion the world had of his wiſdome and ſufficiency in that behalfe, and all for miſuſing of a terme. The king in the matter of controuerſie betwixt him and Ladie *Catherine* of *Caſtill* the Emperours awnt, found himſelfe grieued that the Emperour ſhould take her part and worke vnder hand with the Pope to hinder the diuorce: and gaue his Embaſſadour commiſſion in good termes to open his griefes to the Emperour, and to expoſtulat with his Maieſtie, for that he ſeemed to forget the kings great kindneſſe and friendſhip before times vſed with th'Emperour, aſwell

by diſburſing for him ſundry great ſummes of monie which were not all yet repayd: as alſo by furniſhing him at his neede with ſtore of men and munition to his warres, and now to be thus vſed he thought it a very euill requitall. The Embaſſadour for too much animoſitie and more then needed in the caſe, or perchance by ignorance of the proprietie of the Spaniſh tongue, told the Emperour among other words, that he was *Hombre el mas ingrato en el mondo*, the ingrateſt perſon in the world to vſe his maiſter ſo. The Emperour tooke him ſuddainly with the word, and ſaid: calleſt thou me *ingrato?* I tell thee learne better termes, or elſe I will teach them thee. Th'Embaſſadour excuſed it by his commiſſion, and ſaid: they were the king his maiſters words, and not his owne. Nay quoth th'Emperour, thy maiſter durſt not haue ſent me theſe words, were it not for that broad ditch betweene him and me, meaning the ſea, which is hard to paſſe with an army of reuenge. The Embaſſadour was commanded away and no more hard by the Emperor, til by ſome other means afterward the grief was either pacified or forgotten, and all this inconuenience grew by miſuſe of one word, which being otherwiſe ſpoken and in ſome ſort qualified, had eaſily holpen all, and yet the'Embaſſadour might ſufficiently haue ſatisfied his commiſſion and much better aduaunced his purpoſe, as to haue ſaid for this word [*ye are ingrate,*] ye haue not vſed ſuch gratitude towards him as he hath deſerued: ſo ye may ſee how a word ſpoken vndecently, not knowing the phraſe or proprietie of a language, maketh a whole matter many times miſcarrie. In which reſpect it is to be wiſhed, that none Ambaſſadour ſpeake his principall commandements but in his own language or in another as naturall to him as his owne, and ſo it is vſed in all places of the world ſauing in England. The Princes and their commiſſioners fearing leaſt otherwiſe they might vtter any thing to their diſaduantage, or els to their diſgrace: and I my ſelfe hauing ſeene the Courts of Fraunce, Spaine, Italie, and that of the Empire, with

mary inferior Courts, could neuer perceiue that the moſt noble perſonages, though they knew very well how to ſpeake many forraine languages, would at any times that they had bene ſpoken vnto, anſwere but in their owne, the Frenchman in French, the Spaniard in Spaniſh, the Italian in Italian, and the very Dutch Prince in the Dutch language: whether it were more for pride, or for feare of any lapſe, I cannot tell. And *Henrie* Earle of Arundel being an old Courtier and a very princely man in all his actions, kept that rule alwaies. For on a time paſſing from England towards Italie by her maieſties licence, he was very honorably enterteined at the Court of Bruſſels, by the Lady Duches of Parma, Regent there: and ſitting at a banquet with her, where alſo was the Prince of Orange, with all the greateſt Princes of the ſtate, the Earle, though he could reaſonably well ſpeake French, would not ſpeake one French word, but all Engliſh, whether he asked any queſtion, or anſwered it, but all was done by Truchemen. In ſo much as the Prince of Orange maruelling at it, looked a ſide on that part where I ſtoode a beholder of the feaſt, and ſayd, I maruell your Noblemen of England doe not deſire to be better languaged in ſorraine languages. This word was by and by reported to the Earle. Quoth the Earle againe, tell my Lord the Prince, that I loue to ſpeake in that language, in which I can beſt vtter my minde and not miſtake.

Another Ambaſſadour vſed the like ouerſight by ouerweening himſelfe that he could naturally ſpeake the French tongue, whereas in troth he was not skilfull in their termes. This Ambaſſadour being a Bohemian, ſent from the Emperour to the French Court, where after his firſt audience, he was highly feaſted and banqueted. On a time, among other, a great Princeſſe ſitting at the table, by way of talke asked the Ambaſſadour whether the Empreſſe his miſtreſſe when ſhe went a hunting, or otherwiſe trauailed abroad for her ſolace, did ride a horsback or goe in her coach. To which the Ambaſſadour anſwered vnwares and

not knowing the French terme, *Par ma foy elle cheuauche fort bien, et si en prend grand plaiſir.* She rides (ſaith he) very well, and takes great pleaſure in it. There was good ſmiling one vpon another of the Ladies and Lords, the Ambaſſador wiſt not whereat, but laughed himſelfe for companie. This word *Cheuaucher* in the French tongue hath a reprobate ſence, ſpecially being ſpoken of a womans riding.

And as rude and vnciuill ſpeaches carry a marueilous great indecencie, ſo doe ſometimes thoſe that be ouermuch affected and nice: or that doe ſauour of ignorance or adulation, and be in the eare of graue and wiſe perſons no leſſe offenſiue than the other: as when a ſutor in Rome came to *Tiberius* the Emperor and ſaid, I would open my caſe to your Maieſtie, if it were not to trouble your ſacred buſineſſe, *ſacras veſtras occupationes* as the Hiſtoriographer reporteth. What meaneſt thou by that terme quoth the Emperor, ſay *laboriofas* I pray thee, and ſo thou maiſt truely ſay, and bid him leaue off ſuch affected flattering termes.

The like vndecencie vſed a Herald at armes ſent by *Charles* the fifth Emperor, to *Fraunces* the firſt French king, bringing him a meſſage of defiance, and thinking to qualifie the bitterneſſe of his meſſage with words pompous and magnificent for the kings honor, vſed much this terme (ſacred Maieſtie) which was not vſually geuen to the French king, but to ſay for the moſt part [*Sire*] The French king neither liking of his errant, nor yet of his pompous ſpeech, ſaid ſomewhat ſharply, I pray thee good fellow clawe me not where I itch not with thy ſacred maieſtie, but goe to thy buſineſſe, and tell thine errand in ſuch termes as are decent betwixt enemies, for thy maſter is not my frend, and turned him to a Prince of the bloud who ſtoode by, ſaying, me thinks this fellow ſpeakes like Biſhop *Nicholas*, for on Saint *Nicholas* night commonly the Scholars of the Countrey make them a Biſhop, who like a fooliſh boy, goeth about bleſſing and preaching with ſo childiſh termes, as maketh the people laugh at his fooliſh counterfaite ſpeeches.

And yet in ſpeaking or writing of a Princes affaires and fortunes there is a certaine *Decorum*, that we may not vſe the ſame termes in their buſines, as we might very wel doe in a meaner perſons, the caſe being all one, ſuch reuerence is due to their eſtates. As for example, if an Hiſtoriographer ſhal write of an Emperor or King, how ſuch a day hee ioyned battel with his enemie, and being ouer-laide ranne out of the fielde, and tooke his heeles, or put ſpurre to his horſe and fled as faſt as hee could: the termes be not decent, but of a meane ſouldier or captaine, it were not vndecently ſpoken. And as one, who tranſlating certaine bookes of *Virgils Æneidos* into Engliſh meetre, ſaid that *Æneas* was fayne to trudge out of Troy: which terme became better to be ſpoken of a beggar, or of a rogue, or a lackey: for ſo wee vſe to ſay to ſuch maner of people, be trudging hence.

Another Engliſhing this word of *Virgill* [*fato profugus*] called *Æneas* [*by fate a fugitiue*] which was vndecently ſpoken, and not to the Authours intent in the ſame word: for whom he ſtudied by all means to auaunce aboue all other men of the world for vertue and magnanimitie, he meant not to make him a fugitiue. But by occaſion of his great diſtreſſes, and of the hardneſſe of his deſtinies, he would haue it appeare that *Æneas* was enforced to flie out of Troy, and for many yeeres to be a romer and a wandrer about the world both by land and ſea [*fato profugus*] and neuer to find any reſting place till he came into *Italy*, ſo as ye may euidently perceiue in this terme [*fugitiue*] a notable indignity offred to that princely perſon, and by th'other word (a wanderer) none indignitie at all, but rather a terme of much loue and commiſeration. The ſame tranſlatour when he came to theſe wordes: *Inſignem pietate virum, tot voluere caſus tot adire labores compulit.* Hee turned it thus, what moued *Iuno* to tugge ſo great a captaine as *Æneas*, which word tugge ſpoken in this caſe is ſo vndecent as none other coulde haue bene deuiſed, and tooke his firſt originall from

the cart, becauſe it ſignifieth the pull or draught of the oxen or horſes, and therefore the leathers that beare the chiefe ſtreſſe of the draught, the cartars call them tugges, and ſo wee vſe to ſay that ſhrewd boyes tugge each other by the eares, for pull.

Another of our vulgar makers, ſpake as illfaringly in this verſe written to the diſpraiſe of a rich man and couetous. Thou haſt a miſers minde (thou haſt a princes pelfe) a lewde terme to be ſpoken of a princes treaſure, which in no reſpect nor for any cauſe is to be called pelfe, though it were neuer ſo meane, for pelfe is properly the ſcrappes or ſhreds of taylors and skinners, which are accompted of ſo vile price as they be commonly caſt out of dores, or otherwiſe beſtowed vpon baſe purpoſes: and carrieth not the like reaſon or decencie, as when we ſay in reproch of a niggard or vſerer, or worldly couetous man, that he ſetteth more by a little pelfe of the world, than by his credit or health, or conſcience. For in compariſon of theſe treaſours, all the gold or ſiluer in the world may by a skornefull terme be called pelfe, and ſo ye ſee that the reaſon of the decencie holdeth not alike in both caſes. Now let vs paſſe from theſe examples, to treate of thoſe that concerne the comelineſſe and decencie of mans behauiour.

And ſome ſpeech may be whan it is ſpoken very vndecent, and yet the ſame hauing afterward ſomewhat added to it may become prety and decent, as was the ſtowte worde vſed by a captaine in Fraunce, who ſitting at the lower end of the Duke of *Guyſes* table among many, the day after there had bene a great battaile foughten, the Duke finding that this captaine was not ſeene that day to do any thing in the field, taxed him priuily thus in al the hearings. Where were you Sir the day of the battaile, for I ſaw ye not? the captaine anſwered promptly: where ye durſt not haue bene: and the Duke began to kindle with the worde, which the Gentleman perceiuing, ſaid ſpedily: I was that day among the carriages, where your excellencie would not

for a thoufand crownes haue bene feene. Thus from vndecent it came by a wittie reformation to be made decent againe.

The like hapned on a time at the Duke of Northumberlandes bourd, where merry *Iohn Heywood* was allowed to fit at the tables end. The Duke had a very noble and honorable mynde alwayes to pay his debts well, and when he lacked money, would not ftick to fell the greateft part of his plate: fo had he done few dayes before. *Heywood* being loth to call for his drinke fo oft as he was dry, turned his eye toward the cupbord and fayd I finde great miffe of your graces ftanding cups: the Duke thinking he had fpoken it of fome knowledge that his plate was lately fold, faid fomewhat fharpely, why Sir will not thofe cuppes ferue as good a man as your felfe. *Heywood* readily replied. Yes if it pleafe your grace, but I would haue one of them ftand ftill at myne elbow full of drinke that I might not be driuen to trouble your men fo often to call for it. This pleafant and fpeedy reuers of the former wordes holpe all the matter againe, whereupon the Duke became very pleafaunt and dranke a bolle of wine to *Heywood*, and bid a cup fhould alwayes be ftanding by him.

It were to bufie a peece of worke for me to tell you of all the parts of decencie and indecency which haue bene obferued in the fpeaches of man and in his writings, and this that I tell you is rather to folace your eares with pretie conceits after a fort of long fcholafticall preceptes which may happen haue doubled them, rather then for any other purpofe of inftitution or doctrine, which to any Courtier of experience, is not neceffarie in this behalfe. And as they appeare by the former examples to reft in our fpeach and writing: fo do the fame by like proportion confift in the whole behauiour of man, and that which he doth well and commendably is euer decent, and the contrary vndecent, not in euery mans iudgement alwayes one, but after their feuerall difcretion and by circumftance diuerfly, vs by the next Chapter fhalbe fhewed.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of decencie in behauiour which alſo belongs to the conſideration of the Poet or maker.

AND there is a decency to be obſerued in euery mans action and behauiour aſwell as in his ſpeach and writing which ſome peraduenture would thinke impertinent to be treated of in this booke, where we do but informe the commendable faſhions of language and ſtile: but that is otherwiſe, for the good maker or poet who is in decent ſpeach and good termes to deſcribe all things and with prayſe or diſpraiſe to report euery mans behauiour, ought to know the comelineſſe of an action aſwell as of a word and thereby to direct himſelfe both in praiſe and perſwaſion or any other point that perteines to the Oratours arte. Wherefore ſome examples we will ſet downe of this maner of decency in behauiour leauing you for the reſt to our booke which we haue written *de Decoro*, where ye ſhall ſee both partes handled more exactly. And this decencie of mans behauiour aſwell as of his ſpeach muſt alſo be deemed by diſcretion, in which regard the thing that may well become one man to do may not become another, and that which is ſeemely to be done in this place is not ſo ſeemely in that, and at ſuch a time decent, but at another time vndecent, and in ſuch a caſe and for ſuch a purpoſe, and to this and that end and by this and that euent, peruſing all the circumſtances with like conſideration. Therefore we ſay that it might become king *Alexander* to giue a hundreth talentes to *Anaxagoras* the Philoſopher, but not for a beggerly Philoſopher to accept ſo great a gift, for ſuch a Prince could not be impoueriſhed by that expence, but the Philoſopher was by it exceſſiuely to be enriched, ſo was the kings action proportionable to his eſtate and therefore decent, the Philoſophers, diſproportionable both to his profeſſion and calling and therefore indecent.

And yet if we ſhall examine the ſame point with a clearer diſcretion, it may be ſaid that whatſoeuer it might become king *Alexander* of his regal largeſſe to beſtow vpon a poore Philoſopher vnasked, that might aſwell become the Philoſopher to receiue at his hands without refuſal, and had otherwiſe bene ſome empeachement of the kings abilitie or wiſedome, which had not bene decent in the Philoſop[h]er, nor the immoderatneſſe of the kinges gift in reſpect of the Philoſophers meane eſtate made his acceptance the leſſe decent, ſince Princes liberalities are not meaſured by merite nor by other mens eſtimations, but by their owne appetits and according to their greatneſſe. So ſaid king *Alexander* very like himſelfe to one *Perillus* to whom he had geuen a very great gift, which he made curteſy to accept, ſaying it was too much for ſuch a mean perſon, what quoth the king if it be too much for thy ſelfe, haſt thou neuer a friend or kinſman that may fare the better by it? But peraduenture if any ſuch immoderat gift had bene craued by the Philoſopher and not voluntarily offred by the king it had bene vndecent to haue taken it. Euen ſo if one that ſtandeth vpon his merite, and ſpares to craue the Princes liberalitie in that which is moderate and fit for him, doth as vndecently. For men ſhould not expect till the Prince remembred it of himſelfe and began as it were the gratification, but ought to be put in remembraunce by humble ſolicitations, and that is duetifull and decent, which made king *Henry* th'eight her Maieſties moſt noble father, and for liberality nothing inferiour to king *Alexander* the great, aunſwere one of his priuie chamber, who prayd him to be good and gracious to a certaine old Knight being his ſeruant, for that he was but an ill begger, if he be aſhamed to begge we wil thinke ſcorne to giue. And yet peraduenture in both theſe caſes, the vndecencie for too much crauing or ſparing to craue, might be eaſily holpen by a decent magnificence in the Prince, as *Amazis* king of Ægypt very honorably conſidered, who asking one day for one

Diopithus a noble man of his Court, what was become of him for that he had not ſene him wait of long time, one about the king told him that he heard ſay he was ſicke and of ſome conceit he had taken that his Maieſtie had but ſlenderly looked to him, vſing many others very bountifully. I beſhrew his fooles head quoth the king, why had he not ſued vnto vs and made vs priuie of his want, then added, but in truth we are moſt to blame our ſelues, who by a mindeful beneficence without ſute ſhould haue ſupplied his baſhfulneſſe, and forthwith commaunded a great reward in money and penſion to be ſent vnto him, but it hapned that when the kings meſſengers entred the chamber of *Diopithus*, he had newly giuen vp the ghoſt: the meſſengers ſorrowed the caſe, and *Diopithus* friends ſate by and wept, not ſo much for *Diopithus* death, as for pitie that he ouerliued not the comming of the kings reward. Therupon it came euer after to be vſed for a prouerbe that when any good turne commeth too late to be vſed, to cal it *Diopithus* reward.

In Italy and Fraunce I haue knowen it vſed for common pollicie, the Princes to differre the beſtowing of their great liberalities as Cardinalſhips and other high dignities and offices of gayne, till the parties whom they ſhould ſeeme to gratiſie be ſo old or ſo ſicke as it is not likely they ſhould long enioy them.

In the time of *Charles* the ninth French king, I being at the Spaw waters, there lay a Marſhall of Fraunce called *Monſieur de Sipier*, to vſe thoſe waters for his health, but when the Phiſitions had all giuen him vp, and that there was no hope of life in him, came from the king to him a letters patents of ſix thouſand crownes yearely penſion during his life with many comfortable wordes: the man was not ſo much paſt remembraunce, but he could ſay to the meſſenger *trop tard*, *trop tard*, it ſhould haue come before, for in deede it had bene promiſed long and came not till now that he could not fare the better by it.

And it became king *Antiochus*, better to beſtow the faire Lady *Stratonica* his wife vpon his ſonne *Demetrius* who lay ſicke for her loue and would elſe haue periſhed, as the Phyſitions cunningly diſcouered by the beating of his pulſe, then it could become *Demetrius* to be inamored with his fathers wife, or to enioy her of his guift, becauſe the fathers act was led by diſcretion and of a fatherly compaſſion, not grutching to depart from his deereſt poſſeſſion to ſaue his childes life, where as the ſonne in his appetite had no reaſon to lead him to loue vnlawfully, for whom it had rather bene decent to die, then to haue violated his fathers bed with ſafetie of his life.

No more would it be ſeemely for an aged man to play the wanton like a child, for it ſtands not with the conueniency of nature, yet when king *Ageſilaus* hauing a great ſort of little children, was one day diſpoſed to ſolace himſelf among them in a gallery where they plaied, and tooke a little hobby horſe of wood and beſtrid it to keepe them in play, one of his friends ſeemed to miſlike his lightnes, ô good friend quoth *Ageſilaus*, rebuke me not for this fault till thou haue children of thine owne, ſhewing in deede that it came not of vanitie but of a fatherly affection, ioying in the ſport and company of his little children, in which reſpect and as that place and time ſerued, it was diſpenceable in him and not indecent.

And in the choiſe of a mans delights and maner of his life, there is a decencie, and ſo we ſay th'old man generally is no fit companion for the young man, nor the rich for the poore, nor the wiſe for the fooliſh. Yet in ſome reſpects and by diſcretion it may be otherwiſe, as when the old man hath the gouernment of the young, the wiſe teaches the fooliſh, the rich is wayted on by the poore for their reliefe, in which regard the conuerſation is not indecent.

And *Proclus* the Philoſopher knowing how euery indecencie is vnpleaſant to nature, and namely, how vncomely a thing it is for young men to doe as old men

doe (at leaſtwiſe as young men for the moſt part doe take it) applyed it very wittily to his purpoſe: for hauing his ſonne and heire a notable vnthrift, and delighting in nothing but in haukes and hounds, and gay apparrell, and ſuch like vanities, which neither by gentle nor ſharpe admonitions of his father, could make him leaue. *Proclus* himſelfe not onely bare with his ſonne, but alſo vſed it himſelfe for company, which ſome of his frends greatly rebuked him for, ſaying, ô *Proclus*, an olde man and a Philoſopher to play the foole and laſciuious more than the ſonne. Mary, quoth *Proclus*, and therefore I do it, for it is the next way to make my ſonne change his life, when he ſhall ſee how vndecent it is in me to leade ſuch a life, and for him being a yong man, to keepe companie with me being an old man, and to doe that which I doe.

So is it not vnſeemely for any ordinarie Captaine to winne the victory or any other auantage in warre by fraud and breach of faith: as *Hanniball* with the Romans, but it could not well become the Romaines managing ſo great an Empire, by examples of honour and iuſtice to doe as *Hanniball* did. And when *Parmenio* in a like caſe perſwaded king *Alexander* to breake the day of his appointment, and to ſet vpon *Darius* at the ſodaine, which *Alexander* refuſed to doe, *Parmenio* ſaying, I would doe it if I were *Alexander*, and I too quoth *Alexander* if I were *Parmenio:* but it behooueth me in honour to fight liberally with mine enemies, and iuſtly to ouercome. And thus ye ſee that was decent in *Parmenios* action, which was not in the king his maſters.

A great nobleman and Counſeller in this Realme was ſecretlie aduiſed by his friend, not to vſe ſo much writing his letters in fauour of euery man that asked them, ſpecially to the Iudges of the Realme in caſes of iuſtice. To whom the noble man anſwered, it becomes vs Councellors better to vſe inſtance for our friend, then for the Iudges to ſentence at inſtance: for whatſoeuer we doe require them, it is in their choiſe

to refuſe to doe, but for all that the example was ill and dangerous.

And there is a decencie in chuſing the times of a mans buſines, and as the Spaniard ſayes, *es tiempo de negotiar*, there is a fitte time for euery man to performe his buſineſſe in, and to attend his affaires, which out of that time would be vndecent: as to ſleepe al day and wake al night, and to goe a hunting by torch-light, as an old Earle of Arundel vſed to doe, or for any occaſion of little importance, to wake a man out of his ſleepe, or to make him riſe from his dinner to talke with him, or ſuch like importunities, for ſo we call euery vnſeaſonable action, and the vndecencie of the time.

Callicratides being ſent Ambaſſador by the Lacedemonians, to *Cirus* the young king of Perſia to contract with him for money and men toward their warres againſt the Athenians, came to the Court at ſuch vnſeaſonable time as the king was yet in the midſt of his dinner, and went away againe ſaying, it is now no time to interrupt the kings mirth. He came againe another day in the after noone, and finding the king at a rere-banquet, and to haue taken the wine ſomewhat plentifully, turned back againe, ſaying, I thinke there is no houre fitte to deale with *Cirus*, for he is euer in his banquets: I will rather leaue all the buſines vndone, then doe any thing that ſhall not become the Lacedemonians: meaning to offer conference of ſo great importaunce to his Countrey, with a man ſo diſtempered by ſurfet, as hee was not likely to geue him any reaſonable reſolution in the cauſe.

One *Eudamidas* brother to king *Agis* of *Lacedemonia*, comming by *Zenocrates* ſchoole and looking in, ſaw him ſit in his chaire, diſputing with a long hoare beard, asked who it was, one anſwered, Sir it is a wiſe man and one of them that ſearches after vertue, and if he haue not yet found it quoth *Eudamidas* when will he vſe it, that now at this yeares is ſeeking after it, as who would ſay it is not time to talke of matters when

they ſhould be put in execution, nor for an old man to be to ſeeke what vertue is, which all his youth he ſhould haue had in exerciſe.

Another time comming to heare a notable Philoſopher diſpute, it happened, that all was ended euen as he came, and one of his familiers would haue had him requeſted the Philoſopher to beginne againe, that were indecent and nothing ciuill quoth *Eudamidas*, for if he ſhould come to me ſupperleſſe when I had ſupped before, were it ſeemely for him to pray me to ſuppe againe for his companie.

And the place makes a thing decent or indecent, in which conſideration one *Euboidas* being ſent Embaſſadour into a forraine realme, ſome of his familiars tooke occaſion at the table to praiſe the wiues and women of that country in preſence of their owne husbands, which th'embaſſadour miſliked, and when ſupper was ended and the gueſtes departed, tooke his familiars aſide, and told them it was nothing decent in a ſtrange country to praiſe the women, nor ſpecially a wife before her husbands face, for inconueniencie that might riſe thereby, aſwell to the prayſer as to the woman, and that the chiefe commendation of a chaſt matrone, was to be knowen onely to her husband, and not to be obſerued by ſtraungers and gueſtes.

And in the vſe of apparell there is no litle decency and vndecencie to be perceiued, as well for the faſhion as the ſtuffe, for it is comely that euery eſtate and vocation ſhould be knowen by the differences of their habit: a clarke from a lay man: a gentleman from a yeoman: a ſouldier from a citizen, and the chiefe of euery degree from their inferiours, becauſe in confuſion and diſorder there is no manner of decencie.

The Romaines of any other people moſt ſeuere cenſurers of decencie, thought no vpper garment ſo comely for a ciuill man as a long playted gowne, becauſe it ſheweth much grauitie and alſo pudicitie, hiding euery member of the body which had not bin pleaſant to behold. In ſomuch as a certain *Proconſull*

or Legat of theirs dealing one day with *Ptolome* king of Egipt, ſeeing him clad in a ſtraite narrow garment very laſciuiouſly, diſcouering euery part of his body, gaue him a great checke for it: and ſaid, that vnleſſe he vſed more ſad and comely garments, the Romaines would take no pleaſure to hold amitie with him, for by the wantonnes of his garment they would iudge the vanitie of his mind, not to be worthy of their conſtant friendſhip. A pleaſant old courtier wearing one day in the ſight of a great councellour, after the new guiſe, a french cloake skarce reaching to the wast, a long beaked doublet hanging downe to his thies, and an high paire of ſilke netherſtocks that couered all his buttockes and loignes, the Councellor maruelled to ſee him in that ſort diſguiſed, and otherwiſe than he had bin woont to be. Sir quoth the Gentleman to excuſe it: if I ſhould not be able whan I had need to piſſe out of my doublet, and to do the reſt in my netherſtocks (vſing the plaine terme) all men would ſay I were but a lowte, the Councellor laughed hartily at the abſurditie of the ſpeech, but what would thoſe ſower fellowes of Rome have ſaid trowe ye? truely in mine opinion, that all ſuch perſons as take pleaſure to ſhew their limbes, ſpecially thoſe that nature hath commanded out of ſight, ſhould be inioyned either to go ſtarke naked, or elſe to reſort backe to the comely and modeſt faſhion of their owne countrie apparell, vſed by their old honorable aunceſtors.

And there is a decency of apparel in reſpect of the place it is to be vſed: as, in the Court to be richely apparrelled: in the countrey to weare more plain and homely garments. For who who would not thinke it a ridiculous thing to ſee a Lady in her milke-houſe with a veluet gowne, and at a bridall in her caſſock of mockado: a Gentleman of the Countrey among the buſhes and briers, goe in a pounced dublet and a paire of embrodered hoſen, in the Citie to weare a friſe Ierkin and a paire of leather breeches? yet ſome ſuch phantaſticals haue I knowen, and one a certaine knight, of all

other the moſt vaine, who commonly would come to the Seſſions, and other ordinarie meetings and Commiſſions in the Countrey, ſo bedect with buttons and aglets of gold and ſuch coſtly embroderies, as the poore plaine men of the Countrey called him (for his gayneſſe) the golden knight. Another for the like cauſe was called Saint Sunday: I thinke at this day they be ſo farre ſpent, as either of them would be content with a good cloath cloake: and this came by want of diſcretion, to diſcerne and deeme right of decencie, which many Gentlemen doe wholly limite by the perſon or degree, where reaſon doeth it by the place and preſence: which may be ſuch as it might very well become a great Prince to weare courſer apparrell than in another place or preſence a meaner perſon.

Neuertheleſſe in the vſe of a garment many occaſions alter the decencie, ſometimes the qualitie of the perſon, ſometimes of the caſe, otherwhiles the countrie cuſtome, and often the conſtitution of lawes, and the very nature of vſe it ſelfe. As for example a king and prince may vſe rich and gorgious apparell decently, ſo cannot a meane perſon doo, yet if an herald of armes to whom a king giueth his gowne of cloth of gold, or to whom it was incident as a fee of his office, do were the ſame, he doth it decently, becauſe ſuch hath alwaies bene th'allowances of heraldes: but if ſuch herald haue worne out, or ſold, or loſt that gowne, to buy him a new of the like ſtuffe with his owne mony and to weare it, is not decent in the eye and iudgement of them that know it.

And the country cuſtome maketh things decent in vſe, as in Aſia for all men to weare long gownes both a foot and horſebacke: in Europa ſhort gaberdins, or clokes, or iackets, euen for their vpper garments. The Turke and Perſian to weare great tolibants of ten, fifteene, and twentie elles of linnen a peece vpon their heads, which can not be remooued: in Europe to were caps or hats, which vpon euery occaſion of ſalutation we vſe to put of, as a ſigne of reuerence.

In th'Eaſt partes the men to make water couring like women, with vs ſtanding at a wall. With them to congratulat and ſalute by giuing a becke with the head, or a bende of the bodie, with vs here in England, and in Germany, and all other Northerne parts of the world to ſhake handes. In France, Italie, and Spaine to embrace ouer the ſhoulder, vnder the armes, at the very knees, according to the ſuperiors degree. With vs the wemen giue their mouth to be kiſſed, in other places their cheek, in many places their hand, or in ſteed of an offer to the hand, to ſay theſe words *Bezo los manos.* And yet ſome others ſurmounting in all courtly ciuilitie will ſay, *Los manos e los piedes.* And aboue that reach too, there be that will ſay to the Ladies, *Lombra de ſus piſadas*, the ſhadow of your ſteps. Which I recite vnto you to ſhew the phraſe of thoſe courtly ſeruitours in yeelding the miſtreſſes honour and reuerence.

And it is ſeen that very particular vſe of it ſelfe makes a matter of much decencie and vndecencie, without any countrey cuſtome or allowance, as if one that hath many yeares worne a gowne ſhall come to be ſeen weare a iakquet or ierkin, or he that hath many yeares worne a beard or long haire among thoſe that had done the contrary, and come ſodainly to be pold or ſhauen, it will ſeeme onely to himſelfe, a deshight and very vndecent, but alſo to all others that neuer vſed to go ſo, vntill the time and cuſtome haue abrogated that miſlike.

So was it here in England till her Maieſties moſt noble father for diuers good reſpects, cauſed his owne head and all his Courtiers to be polled and his beard to be cut ſhort. Before that time it was thought more decent both for old men and young to be all ſhauen and to weare long haire either rounded or ſquare. Now againe at this time the young Gentlemen of the Court haue taken vp the long haire trayling on their ſhoulders, and thinke it more decent: for what reſpect I would be glad to know.

The Lacedemonians bearing long buſhes of haire, finely kept and curled vp, vſed this ciuill argument to maintaine that cuſtome. Haire (ſay they) is the very ornament of nature appointed for the head, which therfore to vſe in his moſt ſumptuous degree is comely, ſpecially for them that be Lordes, Maiſters of men, and of a free life, hauing abilitie and leaſure inough to keepe it cleane, and ſo for a ſigne of ſeignorie, riches and libertie, the maſters of the Lacedemonians vſed long haire. But their vaſſals, ſeruaunts and ſlaues vſed it ſhort or ſhauen in ſigne of ſeruitude and becauſe they had no meane nor leaſure to kembe and keepe it cleanely. It was beſides comberſome to them hauing many buſineſſe to attende, in ſome ſeruices there might no maner of filth be falling from their heads. And to all ſouldiers it is very noyſome and a daungerous diſauantage in the warres or in any particular combat, which being the moſt comely profeſſion of euery noble young Gentleman, it ought to perſwade them greatly from wearing long haire. If there be any that ſeeke by long haire to helpe or to hide an ill featured face, it is in them allowable ſo to do, becauſe euery man may decently reforme by arte, the faultes and imperfections that nature hath wrought in them.

And all ſingularities or affected parts of a mans behauiour ſeeme vndecent, as for one man to march or iet in the ſtreet more ſtately, or to looke more ſolempnely, or to go more gayly and in other coulours or faſhioned garments then another of the ſame degree and eſtate.

Yet ſuch ſingularities haue had many times both good liking and good ſucceſſe, otherwiſe then many would haue looked for. As when *Dinocrates* the famous architect, deſirous to be knowen to king *Alexander* the great, and hauing none acquaintance to bring him to the kings ſpeech, he came one day to the Court very ſtrangely apparelled in long skarlet robes, his head compaſt with a garland of Laurell, and his face all to be ſlicked with ſweet oyle, and ſtoode in the kings

chamber, motioning nothing to any man: newes of this ſtranger came to the king, who cauſed him to be brought to his preſence, and asked his name, and the cauſe of his repaire to the Court. He aunſwered, his name was *Dinocrates* the Architect, who came to preſent his Maieſtie with a platforme of his owne deuiſing, how his Maieſtie might buylde a Citie vpon the mountaine Athos in Macedonia, which ſhould beare the figure of a mans body, and tolde him all how. Forſooth the breaſt and bulke of his body ſhould reſt vpon ſuch a flat: that hil ſhould be his head, all ſet with foregrowen woods like haire: his right arme ſhould ſtretch out to ſuch a hollow bottome as might be like his hand: holding a diſh conteyning al the waters that ſhould ſerue that Citie: the left arme with his hand ſhould hold a valley of all the orchards and gardens of pleaſure pertaining thereunto: and either legge ſhould lie vpon a ridge of rocke, very gallantly to behold, and ſo ſhould accompliſh the full figure of a man. The king asked him what commoditie of ſoyle, or ſea, or nauigable riuer lay neere vnto it, to be able to ſuſtaine ſo great a number of inhabitants. Truely Sir (quoth *Dinocrates*) I haue not yet conſidered thereof: for in trueth it is the bareſt part of all the Countrey of Macedonia. The king ſmiled at it, and ſaid very honourably, we like your deuice well, and meane to vſe your ſeruice in the building of a Citie, but we wil chuſe out a more commodious ſcituation: and made him attend in that voyage in which he conquered Aſia and Egypt, and there made him chiefe Surueyour of his new Citie of Alexandria. Thus did *Dinocrates* ſingularitie in attire greatly further him to his aduancement.

Yet are generally all rare things and ſuch as breede maruell and admiration ſomewhat holding of the vndecent, as when a man is bigger and exceeding the ordinary ſtature of a man like a Giaunt, or farre vnder the reaſonable and common ſize of men, as a dwarfe, and ſuch vndecencies do not angre vs, but either we pittie them or ſcorne at them.

But at all infolent and vnwoonted partes of a mans behauiour we find many times caufe to miflike or to be miftruftfull, which proceedeth of fome vndecency that is in it, as when a man that hath alwaies bene ftrange and vnacquainted with vs, will fuddenly become our familiar and domeftick: and another that hath bene alwaies fterne and churlifh, wilbe vpon the fuddaine affable and curteous, it is neyther a comely fight, nor a figne of any good towardes vs. Which the fubtill Italian well obferued by the fucceffes thereof, faying in Prouerbe.

Chi me fa meglio che non fuole,
Tradito me ha o tradir me vuolo.

He that fpeakes me fairer, than his woont was too
Hath done me harme, or meanes for to doo.

Now againe all maner of conceites that ftirre vp any vehement paffion in a man, doo it by fome turpitude or euill and vndecency that is in them, as to make a man angry there muft be fome iniury or contempt offered, to make him enuy there muft proceede fome vndeferued profperitie of his egall or inferiour, to make him pitie fome miferable fortune or fpectakle to behold.

And yet in euery of thefe paffions being as it were vndecencies, there is a comelineffe to be difcerned, which fome men can keepe and fome men can not, as to be angry, or to enuy, or to hate, or to pitie, or to be afhamed decently, that is none otherwife then reafon requireth. This furmife appeareth to be true, for *Homer* the father of Poets writing that famous and moft honourable poeme called the *Illiades* or warres of Troy: made his commencement the magnanimous wrath and anger of *Achilles* in his firft verfe thus: μενην αιδὲ θεα πιλιαδεοῦ ἀχιλλείους. Sing foorth my mufe the wrath of *Achilles Peleus* fonne: which the Poet would neuer haue done if the wrath of a prince had not beene in fome fort comely and allowable. But when *Arrianus* and *Curtius* hiftoriographers that wrote the noble geftes of king *Alexander* the great, came to prayfe him for

many things, yet for his wrath and anger they reproched him, becaufe it proceeded not of any magnanimitie, but vpon furfet and diftemper in his diet, nor growing of any iuft caufes, was exercifed to the deftruction of his deareft friends and familiers, and not of his enemies, nor any other waies fo honorably as th'others was, and fo could not be reputed a decent and comely anger.

So may al your other paffions be vfed decently though the very matter of their originall be grounded vpon fome vndecencie, as it is written by a certaine king of Egypt, who looking out of his window, and feing his owne fonne for fome grieuous offence, carried by the officers of his iuftice to the place of execution: he neuer once changed his countenance at the matter, though the fight were neuer fo full of ruth and atrocitie. And it was thought a decent countenance and conftant animofitie in the king to be fo affected, the cafe concerning fo high and rare a peece of his owne iuftice. But within few daies after when he beheld out of the fame window an old friend and familiar of his, ftand begging an almes in the ftreete, he wept tenderly, remembring their old familiarity and confidering how by the mutabilitie of fortune and frailtie of mans eftate, it might one day come to paffe that he himfelfe fhould fall into the like miferable eftate. He therfore had a remorfe very comely for a king in that behalfe, which alfo caufed him to giue order for his poore friends plentiful reliefe.

But generally to weepe for any forrow (as one may doe for pitie) is not fo decent in a man: and therefore all high minded perfons, when they cannot chufe but fhed teares, wil turne away their face as a countenance vndecent for a man to fhew, and fo will the ftanders by till they haue fuppreft fuch paffion, thinking it nothing decent to behold fuch an vncomely countenance. But for Ladies and women to weepe and fhed teares at euery little greefe, it is nothing vncomely, but rather a figne of much good nature and meeknes of minde, a moft decent propertie for that fexe; and therefore they be

for the more part more deuout and charitable, and greater geuers of almes than men, and zealous relieuers of priſoners, and beſeechers of pardons, and ſuch like parts of commiſeration. Yea they be more than ſo too: for by the common prouerbe, a woman will weepe for pitie to ſee a goſling goe barefoote.

But moſt certainly all things that moue a man to laughter, as doe theſe ſcurrilities and other ridiculous behauiours, it is for ſome vndecencie that is found in them: which maketh it decent for euery man to laugh at them. And therefore when we ſee or heare a natural foole and idiot doe or ſay any thing fooliſhly, we laugh not at him: but when he doeth or ſpeaketh wiſely, becauſe that is vnlike him ſelfe: and a buffonne or counterfet foole, to heare him ſpeake wiſely which is like himſelfe, it is no ſport at all, but for ſuch a counterfait to talke and looke fooliſhly it maketh vs laugh, becauſe it is no part of his naturall, for in euery vncomlineſſe there muſt be a certaine abſurditie and diſproportion to nature, and the opinion of the hearer or beholder to make the thing ridiculous. But for a foole to talke fooliſhly or a wiſeman wiſely, there is no ſuch abſurditie or diſproportion.

And though at all abſurdities we may decently laugh, and when they be no abſurdities not decently, yet in laughing is there an vndecencie for other reſpectes ſometime, than of the matter it ſelfe, which made *Philippus* ſonne to the firſt Chriſten Emperour, *Philippus Arabicus* ſitting with his father one day in the theatre to behold the ſports, giue his father a great rebuke becauſe he laughed, ſaying that it was no comely countenance for an Emperour to bewray in ſuch a publicke place, nor ſpecially to laugh at euery fooliſh toy: the poſteritie gaue the ſonne for that cauſe the name of *Philippius Agelaſtos* or without laughter.

I haue ſeene forraine Embaſſadours in the Queenes preſence laugh ſo diſſolutely at ſome rare paſtime or ſport that hath beene made there, that nothing in the world could worſe haue becomen them, and others

very wiſe men, whether it haue ben of ſome pleaſant humour and complexion, or for other default in the ſpleene, or for ill education or cuſtome, that could not vtter any graue and earneſt ſpeech without laughter, which part was greatly diſcommended in them.

And *Cicero* the wiſeſt of any Romane writers, thought it vncomely for a man to daunce: ſaying, *Saltantem ſobrium vidi neminem.* I neuer ſaw any man daunce that was ſober and in his right wits, but there by your leaue he failed, nor our young Courtiers will allow it, beſides that it is the moſt decent and comely demeanour of all exultations and reioycements of the hart, which is no leſſe naturall to man then to be wiſe or well learned, or ſober.

To tell you the decencies of a number of other behauiours, one might do it to pleaſe you with pretie reportes, but to the skilfull Courtiers it ſhalbe nothing neceſſary, for they know all by experience without learning. Yet ſome few remembraunces wee will make you of the moſt materiall, which our ſelues haue obſerued, and ſo make an end.

It is decent to be affable and curteous at meales and meetings, in open aſſemblies more ſolemne and ſtraunge, in place of authoritie and iudgement not familiar nor pleaſant, in counſell ſecret and ſad, in ordinary conferences eaſie and apert, in conuerſation ſimple, in capitulation ſubtill and miſtruſtfull, at mournings and burials ſad and ſorrowfull, in feaſts and bankets merry and ioyfull, in houſhold expence pinching and ſparing, in publicke entertainement ſpending and pompous. The Prince to be ſumptuous and magnificent, the priuate man liberall with moderation, a man to be in giuing free, in asking ſpare, in promiſe ſlow, in performance ſpeedy, in contract circumſpect but iuſt, in amitie ſincere, in ennimitie wily and cautelous [*dolus an virtus quis in hoſte requirit*, ſaith the Poet] and after the ſame rate euery ſort and maner of buſineſſe or affaire or action hath his decencie and vndecencie, either for the time or place or perſon or

ſome other circumſtaunce, as Prieſts to be ſober and ſad, a Preacher by his life to giue good example, a Iudge to be incorrupted, ſolitarie and vnacquainted with Courtiers or Courtly entertainements, and as the Philoſopher ſaith *Oportet iudicem eſſe rudem et ſimplicem*, without plaite or wrinkle, ſower in looke and churliſh in ſpeach, contrariwiſe a Courtly Gentleman to be loſtie and curious in countenaunce, yet ſometimes a creeper, and a curry fauell with his ſuperiours.

And touching the perſon, we ſay it is comely for a man to be a lambe in the houſe, and a Lyon in the field, appointing the decencie of his qualitie by the place, by which reaſon alſo we limit the comely parts of a woman to conſiſt in foure points, that is to be a ſhrewe in the kitchin, a ſaint in the Church, an Angell at the bourd, and an Ape in the bed, as the Chronicle reportes by Miſtreſſe *Shore* paramour to king *Edward* the fourth.

Then alſo there is a decency in reſpect of the perſons with whom we do negotiate, as with the great perſonages his egals to be ſolemne and ſurly, with meaner men pleaſant and popular, ſtoute with the ſturdie and milde with the meek, which is a moſt decent conuerſation and not reprochfull or vnſeemely, as the prouerbe goeth, by thoſe that vſe the contrary, a Lyon among ſheepe and a ſheepe among Lyons.

Right ſo in negotiating with Princes we ought to ſeeke their fauour by humilitie and not by ſternneſſe, nor to trafficke with them by way of indent or condition, but frankly and by manner of ſubmiſſion to their wils, for Princes may be lead but not driuen, nor they are to be vanquiſht by allegation, but muſt be ſuffred to haue the victorie and be relented vnto: nor they are not to be chalenged for right or iuſtice, for that is a maner of accuſation: nor to be charged with their promiſes, for that is a kinde of condemnation: and at their requeſt we ought not to be hardly entreated but eaſily, for that is a ſigne of deffidence and miſtruſt in their bountie and gratitude: nor to recite

the good ſeruices which they haue receiued at our hands, for that is but a kind of exprobration, but in crauing their bountie or largeſſe to remember vnto them all their former beneficences, making no mention of our owne merites, and ſo it is thankfull, and in prayſing them to their faces to do it very modeſtly: and in their commendations not to be exceſſiue for that is tedious, and alwayes ſauours of ſuttelty more then of ſincere loue.

And in ſpeaking to a Prince the voyce ought to be lowe and not lowde nor ſhrill, for th'one is a ſigne of humilitie th'other of too much audacitie and preſumption. Nor in looking on them ſeeme to ouerlooke them, nor yet behold them too ſtedfaſtly, for that is a ſigne of impudence or litle reuerence, and therefore to the great Princes Orientall their ſeruitours ſpeaking or being ſpoken vnto abbaſe their eyes in token of lowlines, which behauiour we do not obſerue to our Princes with ſo good a diſcretion as they do: and ſuch as retire from the Princes preſence, do not by and by turne tayle to them as we do, but go backward or ſideling for a reaſonable ſpace, til they be at the wal or chamber doore paſſing out of ſight, and is thought a moſt decent behauiour to their ſoueraignes. I haue heard that king *Henry* th'eight her Maieſties father, though otherwiſe the moſt gentle and affable Prince of the world, could not abide to haue any man ſtare in his face or to fix his eye too ſteedily vpon him when he talked with them: nor for a common ſuter to exclame or cry out for iuſtice, for that is offenſiue and as it were a ſecret impeachement of his wrong doing, as happened once to a Knight in this Realme of great worſhip ſpeaking to the king. Nor in ſpeaches with them to be too long, or too much affected, for th'one is tedious th'other is irkſome, nor with lowd acclamations to applaude them, for that is too popular and rude and betokens either ignoraunce, or ſeldome acceſſe to their preſence, or little frequenting their Courts: nor to ſhew too mery or light a countenance,

for that is a ſigne of little reuerence and is a peece of a contempt.

And in gaming with a Prince it is decent to let him ſometimes win of purpoſe, to keepe him pleaſant, and neuer to refuſe his gift, for that is vndutifull: nor to forgiue him his loſſes, for that is arrogant: nor to giue him great gifts, for that is either inſolence or follie: nor to feaſt him with exceſſiue charge for that is both vaine and enuious, and therefore the wiſe Prince king *Henry* the ſeuenth her Maieſties grandfather, if his chaunce had bene to lye at any of his ſubiects houſes, or to paſſe moe meales then one, he that would take vpon him to defray the charge of his dyet, or of his officers and houſhold, he would be maruelouſly offended with it, ſaying what priuate ſubiect dare vndertake a Princes charge, or looke into the ſecret of his expence? Her Maieſtie hath bene knowne oftentimes to miſlike the ſuperfluous expence of her ſubiects beſtowed vpon her in times of her progreſſes.

Likewiſe in matter of aduiſe it is neither decent to flatter him for that is ſeruile, neither to be rough or plaine with him, for that is daungerous, but truly to Counſell and to admoniſh, grauely not greuouſly, ſincerely not ſourely: which was the part that ſo greatly commended *Cineas* Counſellour to king *Pirrhus*, who kept that decencie in all his perſwaſions, that he euer preuailed in aduice, and carried the king which way he would.

And in a Prince it is comely to giue vnasked, but in a ſubiect to aske vnbidden: for that firſt is ſigne of a bountifull mynde, this of a loyall and confident. But the ſubiect that craues not at his Princes hand, either he is of no deſert, or proud, or miſtruſtfull of his Princes goodneſſe: therefore king *Henry* th'eight to one that entreated him to remember one Sir *Anthony Rouſe* with ſome reward for that he had ſpent much and was an ill beggar: the king aunſwered (noting his inſolencie,) If he be aſhamed to begge, we are aſhamed to giue, and was neuertheleſſe one of the moſt liberall Princes of the world.

And yet in ſome Courts it is otherwiſe vſed, for in Spaine it is thought very vndecent for a Courtier to craue, ſuppoſing that it is the part of an importune: therefore the king of ordinarie calleth euery ſecond, third or fourth yere for his Checker roll, and beſtoweth his *mercedes* of his owne meere motion, and by diſcretion, according to euery mans merite and condition.

And in their commendable delights to be apt and accommodate, as if the Prince be geuen to hauking, hunting, riding of horſes, or playing vpon inſtruments, or any like exerciſe, the ſeruitour to be the ſame: and in their other appetites wherein the Prince would ſeeme an example of vertue, and would not miſlike to be egalled by others: in ſuch caſes it is decent their ſeruitours and ſubiects ſtudie to be like to them by imitation, as in wearing their haire long or ſhort, or in this or that ſort of apparrell, ſuch excepted as be only fitte for Princes and none els, which were vndecent for a meaner perſon to imitate or counterfet: ſo is it not comely to counterfet their voice, or looke, or any other geſtures that be not ordinary and naturall in euery common perſon: and therefore to go vpright, or ſpeake or looke aſſuredly, it is decent in euery man. But if the Prince haue an extraordinarie countenance or manner of ſpeech, or bearing of his body, that for a common ſeruitour to counterfet is not decent, and therefore it was miſliked in the Emperor *Nero*, and thought vncomely for him to counterfet *Alexander* the great, by holding his head a little awrie, and neerer toward the tone ſhoulder, becauſe it was not his owne naturall.

And in a Prince it is decent to goe ſlowly, and to march with leyſure, and with a certaine granditie rather than grauitie: as our ſoueraine Lady and miſtreſſe, the very image of maieſtie and magnificence, is accuſtomed to doe generally, vnleſſe it be when ſhe walketh apace for her pleaſure, or to catch her a heate in the colde mornings.

Neuertheleſſe, it is not ſo decent in a meaner perſon, as I haue obſerued in ſome counterfet Ladies of the Countrey, which vſe it much to their owne deriſion. This Comelines was wanting in Queene *Marie*, otherwiſe a very good and honourable Princeſſe. And was ſome blemiſh to the Emperor *Ferdinando*, a moſt noble minded man, yet ſo careleſſe and forgetfull of himſelfe in that behalfe, as I haue ſeene him runne vp a paire of ſtaires ſo ſwift and nimble a pace, as almoſt had not become a very meane man, who had not gone in ſome haſtie buſineſſe.

And in a noble Prince nothing is more decent and welbeſeeming his greatneſſe, than to ſpare foule ſpeeches, for that breedes hatred, and to let none humble ſuiters depart out of their preſence (as neere as may be) miſcontented. Wherein her Maieſtie hath of all others a moſt Regall gift, and nothing inferior to the good Prince *Titus Veſpaſianus* in that point.

Alſo, not to be paſſionate for ſmall detriments or offences, nor to be a reuenger of them, but in caſes of great iniurie, and ſpecially of diſhonors: and therein to be very ſterne and vindicatiue, for that ſauours of Princely magnanimitie: nor to ſeeke reuenge vpon baſe and obſcure perſons, ouer whom the conqueſt is not glorious, nor the victorie honourable, which reſpect moued our ſoueraign Lady (keeping alwaies the decorum of a Princely perſon) at her firſt comming to the crowne, when a knight of this Realme, who had very inſolently behaued himſelfe toward her when ſhe was Lady *Elizabeth*, fell vpon his knee to her, and beſought her pardon: ſuſpecting (as there was good cauſe) that he ſhould haue bene ſent to the Tower, ſhe ſaid vnto him moſt mildly: do you not know that we are deſcended of the Lion, whoſe nature is not to harme or pray vpon the mouſe, or any other ſuch ſmall vermin?

And with theſe examples I thinke ſufficient to leaue, geuing you information of this one point, that all your figures Poeticall or Rhethoricall, are but obſeruations

of ſtrange ſpeeches, and ſuch as without any arte at al we ſhould vſe, and commonly do, euen by very nature without diſcipline. But more or leſſe aptly and decently, or ſcarcely, or aboundantly, or of this or that kind of figure, and one of vs more then another, according to the diſpoſition of our nature, conſtitution of the heart, and facilitie of each mans vtterance: ſo as we may conclude, that nature her ſelfe ſuggeſteth the figure in this or that forme: but arte aydeth the iudgement of his vſe and application, which geues me occaſion finally and for a full concluſion to this whole treatiſe, to enforme you in the next chapter how art ſhould be vſed in all reſpects, and ſpecially in this behalfe of language, and when the naturall is more commendable then the artificiall, and contrariwiſe.

CHAP. XXV.

That the good Poet or maker ought to diſſemble his arte, and in what caſes the artificiall is more commended then the naturall, and contrariwiſe.

Nd now (moſt excellent Queene) hauing largely ſaid of Poets and Poeſie, and about what matters they be employed: then of all the commended fourmes of Poemes, thirdly of metricall proportions, ſuch as do appertaine to our vulgar arte: and laſt of all ſet forth the poeticall ornament conſiſting chiefly in the beautie and gallantneſſe of his language and ſtile, and ſo haue apparelled him to our ſeeming, in all his gorgious habilliments, and pulling him firſt from the carte to the ſchoole, and from thence to the Court, and preferred him to your Maieſties ſeruice, in that place of great honour and magnificence to geue enterteinment to Princes, Ladies of honour, Gentlewomen and Gentlemen, and by his many moodes of skill, to ſerue the many humors of men thither haunting and reſorting, ſome by way of ſolace, ſome of ſerious aduiſe, and in matters aſwell profitable as pleaſant and honeſt. Wee haue in our humble conceit ſufficiently perfourmed

our promiſe or rather dutie to your Maieſtie in the deſcription of this arte, ſo alwaies as we leaue him not vnfurniſht of one peece that beſt beſeemes that place of any other, and may ſerue as a principall good leſſon for al good makers to beare continually in mind, in the vſage of this ſcience: which is, that being now lately become a Courtier he ſhew not himſelf a craftsman, and merit to be diſgraded, and with ſcorne ſent back againe to the ſhop, or other place of his firſt facultie and calling, but that ſo wiſely and diſcreetly he behaue himſelfe as he may worthily retaine the credit of his place, and profeſſion of a very Courtier, which is in plaine termes, cunningly to be able to diſſemble. But (if it pleaſe your Maieſtie) may it not ſeeme inough for a Courtier to know how to weare a ſether, and ſet his cappe a flaunt, his chaine *en echarpe*, a ſtraight buskin *al ingleſſe*, a looſe *alo Turquesque*, the cape *alla Spaniola*, the breech a *la Françoiſe*, and by twentie maner of new faſhioned garments to diſguiſe his body, and his face with as many countenances, whereof it ſeemes there be many that make a very arte, and ſtudie who can ſhew himſelfe moſt fine, I will not ſay moſt fooliſh and ridiculous? or perhaps rather that he could diſſemble his conceits as well as his countenances, ſo as he neuer ſpeake as he thinkes, or thinke as he ſpeaks, and that in any matter of importance his words and his meaning very ſeldome meete: for ſo as I remember it was concluded by vs ſetting foorth the figure *Allegoria*, which therefore not impertinently we call the Courtier or figure of faire ſemblant, or is it not perchance more requiſite our courtly Poet do diſſemble not onely his countenances and conceits, but alſo all his ordinary actions of behauiour, or the moſt part of them, whereby the better to winne his purpoſes and good aduantages, as now and then to haue a iourney or ſickneſſe in his ſleeue, thereby to ſhake of other importunities of greater conſequence, as they vſe their pilgrimages in Fraunce, the Diet in Spaine, the baines in Italy? and when a man is whole to faine

himſelfe ſicke to ſhunne the buſineſſe in Court, to entertaine time and eaſe at home, to ſalue offences without diſcredite, to win purpoſes by mediation in abſence, which their preſence would eyther impeach or ton greatly preferre, to harken after the popular opinions and ſpeech, to entend to their more priuate ſolaces, to practize more deepely both at leaſure and libertie, and when any publique affaire or other attempt and counſaile of theirs hath not receaued good ſucceſſe, to auoid therby the Princes preſent reproofe, to coole their chollers by abſence, to winne remorſe by lamentable reports, and reconciliation by friends intreatie. Finally by ſequeſtring themſelues for a time fro the Court, to be able the freelier and cleerer to diſcerne the factions and ſtate of the Court and of al the world beſides, no leſſe then doth the looker on or beholder of a game better ſee into all points of auauntage, then the player himſelfe? and in diſſembling of diſeaſes which I pray you? for I haue obſerued it in the Court of Fraunce, not a burning feuer or a pluriſie or a palſie, or the hpdropick and ſwelling gowte, or any other like diſeaſe, for if they be ſuch as may be either eaſily diſcerned or quickly cured, they be ill to diſſemble and doo halfe handſomly ſerue the turne.

But it muſt be either a dry dropſie, or a megrim or letarge, or a fiſtule *in ano*, or ſome ſuch other ſecret diſeaſe, as the common conuerſant can hardly diſcouer, and the Phiſition either not ſpeedily heale, or not honeſtly bewray? of which infirmities the ſcoffing *Paſquil* wrote, *Vlcus veſicæ renum dolor in pene ſcirrus.* Or as I haue ſeene in diuers places where many make themſelues hart whole, when in deede they are full ſicke, bearing it ſtoutly out to the hazard of their health, rather then they would be ſuſpected of any lothſome infirmity, which might inhibit them from the Princes preſence, or enterteinment of the ladies. Or as ſome other do to beare a port of ſtate and plentie when they haue neither penny nor poſſeſſion, that they may not ſeeme to droope, and be reiected as

vnworthy or insufficient for the greater seruices, or to be pitied for their pouertie, which they hold for a marueilous disgrace, as did the poore Squire of Castile, who had rather dine with a sheepes head at home and drinke a cruse of water to it, then to haue a good dinner giuen him by his friend who was nothing ignorant of his pouertie. Or as others do to make wise they be poore when they be riche, to shunne thereby the publicke charges and vocations, for men are not now a dayes (specially in states of *Oligarchie* as the most in our age) called somuch for their wisedome as for their wealth, also to auoyde enuie of neighbours or bountie in conuersation, for whosoeuer is reputed rich cannot without reproch, but be either a lender or a spender. Or as others do to seeme very busie when they haue nothing to doo, and yet will make themselues so occupied and ouerladen in the Princes affaires, as it is a great matter to haue a couple of wordes with them, when notwithstanding they lye sleeping on their beds all an after noone, or sit solemnly at cardes in their chambers, or enterteyning of the Dames, or laughing and gibing with their familiars foure houres by the clocke, whiles the poore suter desirous of his dispatch is aunswered by some Secretarie or page *il fault attendre, Monsieur* is dispatching the kings businesse into Languedock, Prouence, Piemont, a common phrase with the Secretaries of France. Or as I haue obserued in many of the Princes Courts of Italie, to seeme idle when they be earnestly occupied and entend to nothing but mischieuous practizes, and do busily negotiat by coulor of otiation. Or as others of them that go ordinarily to Church and neuer pray to winne an opinion of holinesse: or pray still apace, but neuer do good deede, and geue a begger a penny and spend a pound on a harlot, to speake faire to a mans face, and foule behinde his backe, to set him at his trencher and yet sit on his skirts for so we vse to say by a fayned friend, then also to be rough and churlish in speach and apparance, but inwardly affectionate and fauouring,

as I haue ſene of the greateſt podeſtates and graueſt iudges and Preſidentes of Parliament in Fraunce.

Theſe and many ſuch like diſguiſings do we find in mans behauiour, and ſpecially in the Courtiers of forraine Countreyes, where in my youth I was brought vp, and very well obſerued their maner of life and conuerſation, for of mine owne Countrey I haue not made ſo great experience. Which parts, neuertheleſſe, we allow not now in our Engliſh maker, becauſe we haue geuen him the name of an honeſt man, and not of an hypocrite: and therefore leauing theſe manner of diſſimulations to all baſe-minded men, and of vile nature or miſterie, we doe allow our Courtly Poet to be a diſſembler only in the ſubtilties of his arte: that is, when he is moſt artificiall, ſo to diſguiſe and cloake it as it may not appeare, nor ſeeme to proceede from him by any ſtudie or trade of rules, but to be his naturall: nor ſo euidently to be deſcried, as euery ladde that reades him ſhall ſay he is a good ſcholler, but will rather haue him to know his arte well, and little to vſe it.

And yet peraduenture in all points it may not be ſo taken, but in ſuch onely as may diſcouer his groſſenes or his ignorance by ſome ſchollerly affectation: which thing is very irkeſome to all men of good trayning, and ſpecially to Courtiers. And yet for all that our maker may not be in all caſes reſtrayned, but that he may both vſe, and alſo manifeſt his arte to his great praiſe, and need no more be aſhamed thereof, than a ſhomaker to haue made a cleanly ſhoe, or a Carpenter to haue buylt a faire houſe. Therefore to diſcuſſe and make this point ſomewhat cleerer, to weete, where arte ought to appeare, and where not, and when the naturall is more commendable than the artificiall in any humane action or workmanſhip, we wil examine it further by this diſtinction.

In ſome caſes we ſay arte is an ayde and coadiutor to nature, and a furtherer of her actions to good effect, or peraduenture a meane to ſupply her wants, by ren-

ſorcing the cauſes wherein ſhee is impotent and defectiue, as doth the arte of phiſicke, by helping the naturall concoction, retention, diſtribution, expulſion, and other vertues, in a weake and vnhealthie bodie. Or as the good gardiner ſeaſons his ſoyle by ſundrie ſorts of compoſt: as mucke or marle, clay or ſande, and many times by bloud, or lees of oyle or wine, or ſtale, or perchaunce with more coſtly drugs: and waters his plants, and weedes his herbes or floures, and prunes his branches, and vnleaues his boughes to let in the ſunne: and twentie other waies cheriſheth them, and cureth their infirmities, and ſo makes that neuer, or very ſeldome any of them miſcarry, but bring foorth their flours and fruites in ſeaſon. And in both theſe caſes it is no ſmal praiſe for the Phiſition and Gardiner to be called good and cunning artificers.

In another reſpect arte is not only an aide and coadiutor to nature in all her actions, but an alterer of them, and in ſome ſort a ſurmounter of her skill, ſo as by meanes of it her owne effects ſhall appeare more beautifull or ſtraunge and miraculous, as in both caſes before remembred. The Phiſition by the cordials hee will geue his patient, ſhall be able not onely to reſtore the decayed ſpirites of man, and render him health, but alſo to prolong the terme of his life many yeares ouer and aboue the ſtint of his firſt and naturall conſtitution. And the Gardiner by his arte will not onely make an herbe, or flowr, or fruite, come forth in his ſeaſon without impediment, but alſo will embelliſh the ſame in vertue, ſhape, odour and taſte, that nature of her ſelfe woulde neuer haue done: as to make ſingle gilliflowre, or marigold, or daiſie, double: and the white roſe, redde, yellow, or carnation, a bitter mellon ſweete, a ſweete apple, ſoure, a plumme or cherrie without a ſtone, a peare without core or kernell, a goord or coucumber like to a horne, or any other figure he will: any of which things nature could not doe without mans help and arte. Theſe actions alſo are moſt ſingular, when they be moſt artificiall.

In another reſpect, we ſay arte is neither an aider nor a ſurmounter, but onely a bare immitatour of natures works, following and counterfeyting her actions and effects, as the Marmeſot doth many countenances and geſtures of man, of which ſorte are the artes of painting and keruing, whereof one repreſents the naturall by light colour and ſhadow in the ſuperficiall or flat, the other in a body maſſife expreſſing the full and emptie, euen, extant, rabbated, hollow, or whatſoeuer other figure and paſſion of quantitie. So alſo the Alchimiſt counterfeits gold, ſiluer, and all other mettals, the Lapidarie pearles and pretious ſtones by glaſſe and other ſubſtances falſified, and ſophiſticate by arte. Theſe men alſo be praiſed for their craft, and their credit is nothing empayred, to ſay that their concluſions and effects are very artificiall. Finally in another reſpect arte is as it were an encountrer and contrary to nature, producing effects neither like to hers, nor by participation with her operations, nor by imitation of her paternes, but makes things and produceth effects altogether ſtrange and diuerſe, and of ſuch forme and qualitie (nature alwaies ſupplying ſtuffe) as ſhe neuer would nor could haue done of her ſelfe, as the carpenter that builds a houſe, the ioyner that makes a table or a bedſtead, the tailor a garment, the Smith a locke or a key, and a number of like, in which caſe the workman gaineth reputation by his arte, and praiſe when it is beſt expreſſed and moſt apparant, and moſt ſtudiouſly. Man alſo in all his actions that be not altogether naturall, but are gotten by ſtudy and diſcipline or exerciſe, as to daunce by meaſures, to ſing by note, to play on the lute, and ſuch like, it is a praiſe to be ſaid an artificiall dauncer, ſinger, and player on inſtruments, becauſe they be not exactly knowne or done, but by rules and precepts or teaching of ſchoolemaſters. But in ſuch actions as be ſo naturall and proper to man, as he may become excellent therein without any arte or imitation at all, (cuſtome and exerciſe excepted, which are requiſite to euery action not numbred

among the vitall or animal) and wherein nature ſhould ſeeme to do amiſſe, and man ſuffer reproch to be found deſtitute of them: in thoſe to ſhew himſelfe rather artificiall then naturall, were no leſſe to be laughed at, then for one that can ſee well inough, to vſe a paire of ſpectacles, or not to heare but by a trunke put to his eare, nor feele without a paire of ennealed glooues, which things in deede helpe an infirme ſence, but annoy the perfit, and therefore ſhewing a diſabilitie naturall mooue rather to ſcorne then commendation, and to pitie ſooner then to prayſe. But what elſe is language and vtterance, and diſcourſe and perſuaſion, and argument in man, then the vertues of a well conſtitute body and minde, little leſſe naturall then his very ſenſuall actions, ſauing that the one is perfited by nature at once, the other not without exerciſe and iteration? Peraduenture alſo it wilbe granted that a man ſees better and diſcernes more brimly his collours, and heares and feeles more exactly by vſe and often hearing and feeling and ſeing, and though it be better to ſee with ſpectacles then not to ſee at all, yet is their praiſe not egall nor in any mans iudgement comparable: no more is that which a Poet makes by arte and precepts rather then by naturall inſtinct: and that which he doth by long meditation rather then by a ſuddaine inſpiration, or with great pleaſure and facillitie then hardly (and as they are woont to ſay) in ſpite of Nature or Minerua, then which nothing can be more irkſome or ridiculous.

And yet I am not ignorant that there be artes and methodes both to ſpeake and to perſwade and alſo to diſpute, and by which the naturall is in ſome ſorte relieued, as th'eye by his ſpectacle, I ſay relieued in his imperfection, but not made more perfit then the naturall, in which reſpect I call thoſe artes of Grammer, *Logicke*, and *Rhetorick* not bare imitations, as the painter or keruers craft and worke in a forraine ſubiect viz. a liuely purtraite in his table of wood, but by long and ſtudious obſeruation rather a repetition or

reminiſcens naturall, reduced into perfection, and made prompt by vſe and exerciſe. And ſo whatſoeuer a mans ſpeakes or perſwades he doth it not by imitation artificially, but by obſeruation naturally (though one follow another) becauſe it is both the ſame and the like that nature doth ſuggeſt: but if a popingay ſpeake, ſhe doth it by imitation of mans voyce artificially and not naturally being the like, but not the ſame that nature doth ſuggeſt to man. But now becauſe our maker or Poet is to play many parts and not one alone, as firſt to deuiſe his plat or ſubiect, then to faſhion his poeme, thirdly to vſe his metricall proportions, and laſt of all to vtter with pleaſure and delight, which reſtes in his maner of language and ſtile as hath bene ſaid, whereof the many moodes and ſtraunge phraſes are called figures, it is not altogether with him as with the craſts man, nor altogether otherwiſe then with the crafts man, for in that he vſeth his metricall proportions by appointed and harmonicall meaſures and diſtaunces, he is like the Carpenter or Ioyner, for borrowing their tymber and ſtuffe of nature, they appoint and order it by art otherwiſe then nature would doe, and worke effects in apparance contrary to hers. Alſo in that which the Poet ſpeakes or reports of another mans tale or doings, as *Homer* of *Priamus* or *Vliſſes*, he is as the painter or keruer that worke by imitation and repreſentation in a forrein ſubiect, in that he ſpeakes figuratiuely, or argues ſubtillie, or perſwades copiouſly and vehemently, he doth as the cunning gardiner that vſing nature as a coadiutor, furders her concluſions and many times makes her effectes more abſolute and ſtraunge. But for that in our maker or Poet, which reſtes onely in deuiſe and iſſues from an excellent ſharpe and quick inuention, holpen by a cleare and bright phantaſie and imagination, he is not as the painter to counterfaite the naturall by the like effects and not the ſame, nor as the gardiner aiding nature to worke both the ſame and the like, nor as the Carpen-

ter to worke effectes vtterly vnlike, but even as nature her ſelfe working by her owne peculiar vertue and proper inſtinct and not by example or meditation or exerciſe as all other artificers do, is then moſt admired when he is moſt naturall and leaſt artificiall. And in the feates of his language and vtterance, becauſe they hold aſwell of nature to be ſuggeſted and vttered as by arte to be poliſhed and reformed. Therefore ſhall our Poet receaue prayſe for both, but more by knowing of his arte then by vnſeaſonable vſing it, and be more commended for his naturall eloquence then for his artificiall, and more for his artificiall well diſembled, then for the ſame ouermuch affected and groſſely or vndiſcretly bewrayed, as many makers and Oratours do.

The Concluſion.

Nd with this (my moſt gratious ſoueraigne Lady) I make an end, humbly beſeeching your pardon, in that I haue preſumed to hold your eares ſo long annoyed with a tedious trifle, ſo as vnleſſe it proceede more of your owne Princely and naturall manſuetude then of my merite, I feare greatly leaſt you may thinck of me as the Philoſopher Plato did of *Aniceris* an inhabitant of the Citie *Cirene*, who being in troth a very actiue and artificiall man in driuing of a Princes Charriot or Coche (as your Maieſtie might be) and knowing it himſelfe well enough, comming one day into Platos ſchoole, and hauing heard him largely diſpute in matters Philoſophicall, I pray you (quoth he) geue me leaue alſo to ſay ſomewhat of myne arte, and in deede ſhewed ſo many trickes of his cunning how to lanche forth and ſtay, and chaunge pace, and turne and winde his Coche, this way and that way, vphill downe hill,

and alſo in euen or rough ground, that he made the whole aſſemblie wonder at him. Quoth Plato being a graue perſonage, verely in myne opinion this man ſhould be vtterly vnfit for any ſeruice of greater importance then to driue a Coche. It is a great pitie that ſo prettie a fellow, had not occupied his braynes in ſtudies of more conſequence. Now I pray God it be not thought ſo of me in deſcribing the toyes of this our vulgar art. But when I conſider how euery thing hath his eſtimation by opportunitie, and that it was but the ſtudie of my yonger yeares in which vanitie raigned. Alſo that I write to the pleaſure of a Lady and a moſt gratious Queene, and neither to Prieſtes nor to Prophetes or Philoſophers. Beſides finding by experience, that many times idleneſſe is leſſe harmefull then vnprofitable occupation, dayly ſeeing how theſe great aſpiring mynds and ambitious heads of the world ſeriouſly ſearching to deale in matters of ſtate, be often times ſo buſie and earneſt that they were better be vnoccupied, and peraduenture altogether idle, I preſume ſo much vpon your Maieſties moſt milde and gracious iudgement howſoeuer you conceiue of myne abilitie to any better or greater ſeruice, that yet in this attempt ye wil allow of my loyall and good intent alwayes endeuouring to do your Maieſtie the beſt and greateſt of thoſe ſeruices I can.

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JAMES HOWELL, B.A.

Clerk of the Council.

INSTRUCTIONS

FOR

FORREINE TRAVELL.

1642.

COLLATED WITH THE SECOND EDITION OF 1650.

Senefco non Segnefco.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER,

Affociate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.

LONDON:

5 QUEEN SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

I. *As a separate publication.*

1 1642. London. 1 vol. 12mo. *Editio princeps:* see title at *p.* 7.

2 1650. [7 May.] London. 1 vol. 12mo. Instructions and Directions for Forren Travell [then as in first edition, with the addition of] With a new Appendix for Travelling into *Turkey* and the *Levant* parts.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

I. *As a separate publication.*

3 1868. 15 June. Lond. 8vo. *English Reprints.* See title at *p.* 1.

Short Accounts of JAMES HOWELL.

* Probable or approximate dates.

It is impossible to give here any adequate notice of Howell's career, or of his many works: both original and translative. I trust, in the course of next year, 1870, to include among the 'English Reprints' a satisfactory edition of his principal work *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*; which grew into completeness in four successive instalments, published severally in 1645, 1647, 1650, and 1655: and in that edition to give the usual Chronicle of his Life, Works, and Times.

Two short accounts of him must therefore suffice for the present.

1. A contemporary, Sergeant-Major Peter Fisher, Poet Laureate to the Protector, edited in 1664, *Mr. Howel's Poems upon divers Emergent Occasions.* In his address *To the Reader*, Fisher thus characterizes the *works* of Howell, then a Septuagenarian in years and a Patriarch in literature.

"Not to know the Author of these Poems, were an Ignorance beyond *Barbarism*, as 'twas said of a famous person in *France:* yet I held it superfluous to prefix his Name in the Title-Page, he being known and easily distinguished from others by his Genius and Stile, as a great Wit said lately of him,

Author Hic ex Calamo *notus ut ungue* Leo.

He may be called the prodigie of his Age, for the variety of his Volumes: for from his Δενδρολογία, or *Parly of Trees*, to his Θηρολογία, or *Parly of Beasts*, (not inferiour to the other) there hath pass'd the Press above forty of his Works on various subjects; useful not onely to the present times, but to all posterity.

And 'tis observed, that in all his Writings there is something still *New*, either in the *Matter*, *Method* or *Fancy*, and in an untrodden Tract. Moreover, one may discover a kinde of Vein of *Poesie* to run through the body of his *Prose*, in the Concinnity and succinctness thereof all along.

He teacheth a new way of Epistolizing; and that *Familiar Letters* may not onely consist of Words, and a bombast of Complements, but that they are capable of the highest Speculations and solidst kind of Knowledge.

He chalks out a Topical and exact way for *Forreign Travel*, not roving in general Precepts onely.

In all his Histories there are the true Rules, Laws and Language of History observed.

What infinite advantages may be got by his *Dictionaries* and *Nomenclature* by all Professions and Nations!

How strongly and indeed unanswerably doth he assert the *Royal Right* in divers learned Tracts, to the unbeguiling and conversion of many thousands abroad as well as at home! *&c.*

Touching these Poems, most of them nere saw publick Light before; for I got them in *Manuscripts*, whereof I thought fit to give the Reader an Advertisement."

2. Anthony-a-Wood gives this account of his *life* (*Ath. Oxon.* iii. 744, Ed. 1817).

*1594. 'James Howell was born in Caermarthenshire, particularly, as I conceive, at Abernant, of which place his father was minister. In what year he was born, I cannot precisely tell you, yet he himself saith, that his ascendant was that hot constellation of Cancer about the midst of the dog-days.'

[1608. Feb. 20. His elder brother Thomas, of Jesus Coll. Oxon., takes his B.A.—Wood, *Fasti Oxon.*]

1610. æt. 16. 'After he had been educated in grammar learning in the free-school at Hereford, he was sent to Jesus coll. in the beginning of 1610, aged 16 years.'

[1612. July 9. His brother Thomas takes his M.A.—Wood, *Fasti Oxon.*]

1613. Dec. 17. 'James takes his B.A.'—Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* i. 352. He

æt. 19. 'took a degree in arts, and then, being a pure cadet, a true cosmopolite, not born to land, lease, house, or office, was in a

1618–1621. manner put to it to seek his fortune. But by the endeavours of friends and some money that his father assisted him with, he travelled for three years into various countries, whereby he

advantaged himself much in the understanding of several languages.'

1622. æt. 28. 'Some years after his return, he was sent into Spain 1622, to recover of the king of that place a rich English ship, seized on by his vice-roy of Sardinia for his master's use, upon some pretence of prohibited goods therein.'

1623. æt. 29. 'He was elected fellow of Jesus coll.'

*1625. æt. 31. 'Three years after his return, he was entertained by Emanuel lord Scrope, Earl of Sunderland, and Lord President of the North, and by him was made his secretary. So that residing in York for that purpose, he was by the mayor and aldermen of Richmond chose a burgess for their corporation for that parliament that began at Westminster in the year 1627.

1631. æt. 37. 'Four years after he went secretary to Robert earl of Leicester, ambassador extraordinary from our king to the king of Denmark: before whom and his children he shew'd himself a quaint orator by divers Latin speeches spoken before them, shewing the occasion of their ambassy, to condole of death of Sophia, queen dowager of Denmark, grandmother to Charles I. king of England.'

'Afterwards going through several beneficial employments, particularly the assisting the clerks of the council,' he 'was at length, in the beginning of the civil war, made one of those clerks.'

1642. *Sept. æt. 48. 'But being prodigally inclined, and therefore running much into debt, he was seized on by order of a certain committee (after the king was forc'd from his parliament) and committed prisoner to the Fleet.'

'So that having nothing to trust to but his wits, and to the purchase of a small spot of ground upon Parnassus (which he held in fee of the Muses), he solely dedicated himself to write and translate books; which, tho' several of them are meer scribbles, yet they brought him in a comfortable subsistence, during his long stay there.'

[1644. July [1646. His brother Thomas consecrated Bishop of Bristol, but dies in 1646.]

1660. æt. 66. 'After the King's return in 1660, we never heard of his restoration to his place of clerk of the council, (having before flatter'd Oliver and sided with the commonwealth's men), only that he was made the King's historiographer, being the first in England that bore that title; and having no beneficial employment, he wrote books to his last.'

'At length after he had taken many rambles in this world in his younger years, and had suffered confinement in his last,'

1666. Nov. æt. 72. he 'gave way to fate in the beginning of Novemb. in 1666, and was buried on the north side of the Temple church in London, near the round walk. Soon after was a monument set up in the wall over his grave, with this inscription thereon. *Jacobus Howell Cambro-Britannus, Regius Historiographus, (in Anglia primus) qui post varias peregrinationes, tandem naturæ cursum peregit, satur annorum et famæ, domi forisque huc usque erraticus, hic fixus* 1666. This monument was pulled down in 1683, when the said Temple church was beautified and repaired.'

'He had a singular command of his pen, whether in verse or prose, and was well read in modern histories, especially in those of the countries wherein he had travelled, had a parabolical and allusive fancy, according to his motto *Senesco non Segnesco.* But the reader is to know that his writings having been only to gain a livelihood, and by their dedications to flatter great and noble persons, are very trite and empty, stolen from other authors without acknowledgment, and fitted only to please the humours of novices.'

Wood's account of Howell may be accepted *pro tem.*; his estimate of him should be laid by for future investigation.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FORREINE TRAVELL.

SAMUEL PURCHAS in his addreſs *To the Reader*, prefixed to his celebrated *Pilgrimes*, 1625, thus ſpeaks of foreign travel :—

As for Gentlemen, Trauell is accounted an excellent Ornament to them ; and therefore many of them comming to their Lands ſooner than to their Wits, aduenture themſelues to ſee the Faſhions of other Countries, where their ſoules and bodies find temptations to a twofold Whoredom, whence they ſee the World as *Adam* had *knowledge of good and euill*, with the loſſe or leſſening of their eſtate in this *Engliſh* (and perhaps alſo in the heauenly) Paradiſe, and bring home a few ſmattering termes, flattering garbes, Apiſh crings, ſoppiſh fancies, fooliſh guiſes and diſguiſes, the vanities of Neighbour Nations (I name not *Naples*) without furthering of their knowledge of God, the World, or themſelues. I ſpeake not againſt Trauell, ſo vſefull to vſefull men, I honour the induſtrious of the liberall and ingenuous in arts, bloud, education : and to preuent exorbitancies of the other, which cannot trauell farre, or are in danger to trauell from God and themſelues, at no great charge I offer a World of Trauellers to their domeſticke entertainment. . . .

In the ſame ſpirit, ſeventeen years afterwards, Howell wrote his *Inſtructions for Forreine Travell*,—our firſt Handbook for the Continent. He intended it as a cautionary Guide to young Engliſh gentlemen who went abroad to complete their education, and to make their firſt acquaintance with Life and Manners.

In itſelf the book is very diſcurſive. A ſurvey of foreign politics, much ſhrewd ſpeculation in language, deſcriptions of foreign cuſtoms ; and in particular, a notable diſcrimination of the differing characters of the Frenchman and the Spaniard of his day ; theſe are mingled with the legitimate ſubject of the treatiſe : while at the cloſe, he offers an apology for Epiſcopacy, and is as ſevere as Purchas upon home-imported

fooleries. So that, while the Author wanders, Poſterity gains.

One hiſtoric alluſion may be made. It is intereſting to conneſt this Traſt on Travelling with the Life of our great Epic poet. John Milton, then a young man of thirty years of age, journeyed through France to Italy and back, in 1638–9. Inverting Howell's information, we may gather ſome impreſſions of Milton's foreign tour.

In the preſent Reprint, the ſecond edition of 1650 has been collated with the firſt. Its variations—mainly grammatical—are ſhown between [ ], and its *Appendix* has been added.

The *Appendix* is not the reſult of aſtual obſervation. Howell never travelled 'into *Turky* and the *Levant* parts.' It is a brief memorandum compiled from general ſources of information.

Altogether theſe *Inſtruſtions* give us an intereſting glimpſe of the Continent between 1618—when Howell firſt went abroad, ſtaying away three years—and 1642. They are the counſels of a man, himſelf notable on many accounts. A thorough Welſhman, Howell became a celebrated Engliſh author in his day. He was paſt forty years of age before his firſt book was publiſhed. Then for the remaining twenty odd years of his life, with an inceſſant and unwearying induſtry, he wrote, compiled, or tranſlated book after book, each varying greatly in ſubjeſt. Laſtly, he is one of the earlieſt inſtances of a literary man ſucceſsfully maintaining himſelf with the fruits of his pen.

INSTRUCTIONS
FOR
FORREINE
TRAVELL.

Shewing by what *cours*, and in what *compaſſe of time*, one may take an exact Survey of the Kingdomes and States of Chriſtendome, and arrive to the practicall knowledge of the Languages, to good purpoſe.

—— *Poſt* motum *dulcior inde* Quies.

LONDON,
Printed by *T. B.* for *Humprey Moſley*, at the *Princes Armes*, in Paules Church-yard. 1642.

To the growing Glory
OF
Great Brittaine,
Prince CHARLES.

A parallell 'twixt His *Highneſſe*, and the *Black Prince*.

SIR,

Ales *had one Glorious* Prince *of* haire and hue
(Which colour *ſticks unto* Him *ſtill) like* You :
He travell'd *far*, *He won His ſpurs in* France, (*chance*
And tooke the King, *the* KING, *ô monſtrous* [*wondrous*]
Then His victorious troupes afreſh He gethers
And with the gray Gooſe-wing *his ſhafts* [*ſhaft*] *new* (*fethers*,
He beats a march up the Pyrene *Hils*,
And the Cantabrian clime *with terror fils*,
To re-inthrone Don Pedro Caſtile'*s King*,
Of which heroique Act *all Stories ring.*
Your Royall Sire travell'd *ſo far*, *and* Thay
Of all our Princes *only made* that *way.*
Who knowes, Great Sir, *but by just deſtiny*,
Your bunch of *(Youthfull)* Plumes *may further fly ?*
But Faulcon-*like*, *You may with full* ſumm'd wing
The Eagle cuff, *and from his* tallons *wring*
The *Prey, *or in exchange ſeize on his* Ore,
And fixe Your Standard on the Indian *ſhore.*
'Twas by [b]*a* Charles, France *once the Empire got*,
'Twas by a [c]Charles *the* Spaniard *dreue that lot*,
Why may not Brittaine *challenge the next call*,
And by a CHARLES *be made Imperiail ?*

——— *Sic Vaticinatur.*

* *Palatinat.*
[b] *Carolus Magnus.*
Carol. Quintus.

IA. HOWELL.

The Substance of this *Discours.*

OF the advantage, and preheminence of the Eye.
Of Forraine Travell, *and the progresse of* Learning.
What previous abilities are required in a Traveller.
A caveat touching his Religion.
Precepts for learning the French *Language.*
What Authors *to be made choyce of, for the* Government *and* Hiſtory *of* France.
Of Books *in generall.*
Of Hiſtorians, *and a method to reade them.*
Of Private Meditation.
[*A large diſcourſe of the ſtrange difference 'twixt the diſpoſition of the* French *and* Spaniard.]
Of Poets.
An eſtimat of the expences *of a* Nobleman, *or of a private* Gentleman *a broad.*
Advertiſements for writing of Letters.

INſtructions for travelling in Spaine.
Of barren and fruitful Countreys.
The ſtrange contrariety 'twixt the French *and the* Spaniard, *the reaſons* natural *and* accidental.
Of their cariage, cloathing, and diet, &c.
Of the Spaniſh Language, *how to be ſtudied, and of its affinity with the* Latine.
Of Spaniſh Authors.
The advantage of converſing with Marchants.

PRecepts for travelling in Italy.
Of the people and Language.
Of the Republique of Venice *and other* States *there.*
What obſervations are moſt uſefull in any Countrey.

A digreſſion into a politicall Diſcours *of the Princes of* Europe.
Of croſſing the Alpes, *and paſſing through* Germany.
Of the Court of Bruxells, *and the* Netherlands.
Of the wonderfull Stratagems *uſed in thoſe wars.*
The beſt Authors for the Belgick Story.
Of the States of Holland, *and their admired* Induſtry, *and* Navall ſtrength.
[*Cautions not to be deluded by falſe* Manuſcripts.]

A *Diſcours of the vulgar* languages *of* Europe, *with their ſeverall* Dialects.
Of the richneſſe of the Engliſh Tongue.
Of the Pattuecos *a People nere the heart of* Spaine, *never diſcovered til of late yeares.*
Of the abuſe of Forrain Travell.
Of S. Thomas Moore Traveller.
Of Ptolomeys Travellers, *and of the moſt materiall uſe of* Travel.
What cours a Traveller *muſt take at his returne home.*
Of the Parlamentary Governement of England, *and her happineſſe therein above other* Countreys.
Of the Mathematiques; *of Chymiſtry.*
[*Caveat for not Engaging too far in Chymiſtry.*]

Contents of the Appendix, added in the Second edition of 1650.

[T*He Extent of the* Turks *Dominions*
The beſt waies for a Traveller *to goe to Conſtantinople.*
Of Greece
Of Conſtantinople
The firſt ſight makes the firmeſt impreſſions
Of the Turkiſh Religion *how it differs from others*
Of their Civill Government
The ſpeedineſſe of Turkiſh *Iuſtice*
Of the Turkes *Militia*
Of their Puniſhments
Of their Morall behaviour
Of the Cran Cayr.]

INSTRVCTIONS
[AND DIRECTIONS]
FOR
Forraine Travell.

Section. I.

Mongſt thoſe many advantages, which conduce to enrich the mind with [variety of] Knowledge, to rectify [and aſcertain] the Iudgement, and [to] compoſe outward manners; [and build one up to the higheſt ſtory of perfection, *Peregrination*, or] *Forraine Travell* is none of the leaſt.

But to bee a Sedentary *Traveller* only, penn'd up between Wals, and to ſtand poring all day upon a Map, [upon Artificiall *Globes* or *Planiſphares*,] upon imaginary Circles and Scales, is like him, who thought to come to bee a good Fencer, by looking on *Agrippa*'s [or *Don Lius de Nervius*'] book-poſtures only: As alſo to run over and traverſe the world by *Hearesay*, and traditionall relation, with other mens eyes, and ſo take all things upon courteſie, is but a confuſed and imperfect kind of ſpeculation, which leaveth but weake and diſtruſtfull notions behind it; in regard the *Eare* is

not ſo authentique a witneſſe as the *Eye*; becauſe the *Eye*, by which as through a cleare chriſtall Caſement, wee diſcerne the various works of *Art* and *Nature*, and in one inſtant comprehend halfe the whole Vniverſe in ſo ſmall a roome after ſo admirable a manner, I ſay the *Eye* having a more quick and immediat commerce and familiarity with the *Soule* (being the principall of her *Cinq ports*, and her *Centinell* [being as it were her *centinell*, or the principall of her *Cinq ports*]) taketh in farre deeper Ideas, and ſo makes firmer and more laſting impreſſions, conveying the obiect more faithfully [and clearely] to the memory, where it remaines afterward upon [laſting] record in particular *topicall* notes, [markes,] and indelible characters: For though I confeſſe with the *Stagirite*, that *Hearing* is the ſenſe of *Learning* (and of *Faith* alſo, as the holy Text tels me) yet the *Sight* ſurpaſſeth it by many degrees [in point of activity and excellency], if [whether] you reſpect the curious workeman-ſhip [with the delicatenes] of the Organ, [and the advantage of ſituation being] *the readieſt roade to the heart, and love's beſt Intelligencer and Uſher:* As alſo for the penetrative apprehenſion of the object, with the intuitive vertue and force of affection, it worketh inwardly, as we find upon *good record* that a *heard of Sheepe* conceived once by the ſtrength of the *Eye*, as likewiſe for the wonderfull quickneſſe of this *Senſe*, [Moreover this ſenſe hath the preheminence of all the reſt for the wonderfull quicknes of its motion,] which is ſuch that it makes the *effect* oftentimes [ſeem to] fore-run the *cauſe*, as we *ſee* the *Lightning*, before wee *Heare* the *Thunder*, though thunder be firſt in Nature, being by the violent eruption it makes out of the [a] Cloud, the cauſe of ſuch fulgurations. And [hereunto that] although one ſhould reade all the Topographers that ever writ of, or anatomiz'd a Town or Countrey, and mingle Diſcourſe with the moſt exact obſervers of the Government thereof, and labour to draw and draine out of them all they poſſibly know or can remember; Yet one's own

Ocular view, and perſonall converſation will ſtill find out ſomething new and unpointed at by any other, either in the cariage [behaviour] or the *Genius* of the people, or in the *Policy* and municipall cuſtomes of the Countrey, or in the quality of the *Clime* and *Soyle*, and ſo enable him to diſcourſe more knovvingly and confidently and vvith a kind of *Authority* thereof; It being an Act of parlament in force amongſt all Nations: *That one Eye-witneſſe is of more validity than ten Auricular.*

Moreover as *every one* is ſaid *to abound with his owne ſenſe*, and that among the race of man-kind, *Opinions* and *Fancies*, are found to be as various as the ſeverall *Faces* and *Voyces*; So in each individuall man there is a differing facultie of *Obſervation*, of *Iudgement*, of *Application*, vvhich makes that every one is beſt ſatisfied, and moſt faithfully inſtructed by himſelfe, I do not meane ſoley by himſelfe, *(for ſo he may have a foole to his Master)* but *Books* alſo, and converſation with the *Dead* muſt concurre, for they are likevviſe good Teachers, and edifie infinitely; yet the ſtudy of living men, and a collation of his ovvn *Optique* obſervations and judgement vvith theirs, vvork much more ſtrongly, and where theſe meet (I meane the living and the dead) they perfect.

And indeed this is the prime uſe of *Peregrination*, which therefore may be not improperly called a *moving Academy*, or the true *Peripateticque Schoole:* This made *Uliſſes* to be cryed up ſo much amongſt the *Greeks* for their greateſt wiſe man, becauſe he had *Travelled* through many ſtrange Countreys, and obſerved the manners of divers Nations, having ſeene, as it was ſaid and ſung of him, more *Cities* than there were *Houſes* in *Athens*, which was much in that [green] age of the World: and the *Greateſt* of their Emperours did uſe to glory in nothing ſo often, *as that he had ſurveyed more Land with his Eye, than other Kings could comprehend with their thoughts.*

Amongſt other people of the Earth, *Iſlanders* ſeeme

to ſtand in moſt need of Forraine *Travell*, for they being cut off (as it were) from the reſt of the Citizens of the World, have not thoſe obvious acceſſes, and contiguity of ſituation, and [with] other advantages of ſociety, to mingle with thoſe more refined Nations, whom Learning and Knowledge did firſt Vrbanize and poliſh. And [Now] as all other things by a kind of ſecret inſtinct of Nature follow the motion of the Sun, ſo it is obſerved that the *Arts* and *Sciences* which are the greateſt helps to Civility, and all *Morall* endowments as well as *Intellectuall*, have wheel'd about and travell'd in a kind of concomitant motion with that great Luminary of Heaven: They *budded* firſt amongſt the *Brachmans* and *Gymnoſophiſts* in *India*, then they *bloſſom'd* amongſt the Chaldeans and Prieſts of *Egypt* whence they came down the *Nile*, and croſſed over to *Greece*, and there [where] they may bee ſaid to have *borne ripe fruit*, having taken ſuch firme rooting, and making ſo long a *Plantation* in *Athens* and elſe where: Afterwards they found the way to *Italy*, and thence they clammer'd over the Alpian hils to viſit *Germany* and *France*, whence the *Britaines* with other North-weſt Nations of the lower World fetch'd them over; and it is not improbable that the next Flight they will make, will bee to the Savages of the new diſcovered World [*in America*], and ſo turne round, and by this circular perambulation viſit the *Levantines* again.

Hence we *ſee* what a *Traveller Learning* hath beene having in conformitie of cours, been a kind of companion to *Apollo* himſelfe: And as the Heavenly bodies are ſaid to delight in movement and perpetuall circumgyration, wherein as *Pythagoras*, who by the *Delphian* Oracle was pronounced, the wiſeſt man that ever Greece bredd, did hold, there was a kind of Muſique and Harmonious concent that iſſued out of this regular motion, which we cannot perceive, becauſe being borne in it, it is connaturall to us, ſo it is obſerved to be the Genius of all active and generous Spirits,

Quêis meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan.

[*Whom Titian with his gentle ray,*
Hath Moulded of a finer clay;]

To have been always tranſported with a deſire of *Travell*, and not to be bounded, or confined within the ſhoares and narrow circumference of an *Iſland*, without ever-treading any peece of the *Continent*; whereas on the other ſide, meane and vulgar ſpirits, whoſe *Soules* ſore no higher than their *Senſe*, love to hover ever about home, lying ſtill as it were at dead anchor, moving no further than the length of the cable, whereunto they are tyed, not daring to lance out into the maine, to ſee the wonders of the deep: Such a one was hee of whom *Claudian* ſpeakes, to have had his *birth*, *breeding*, and *buriall* in one Pariſh; [whence he never had ſallied out the whole courſe of his life:] ſuch ſlow and ſluggiſh ſpirits may be ſaid to bee like Snailes or Tortuiſes in their ſhels, crawling always about their own home, or like the *Cynique*, ſhut up alwayes in a Tub.

Amongſt other Nations of the World the *Engliſh* are obſerved to have gained much, and improved themſelfes infinitely by voyaging both by Land and Sea, and of thoſe foure *Worthies* who compaſſed about the Terreſtriall Globe, I find the major part of them were *Engliſh*, but the ſcope of this Diſcours is to preſcribe precepts for *Land Travell* only (for the other requires another Tract apart) and firſt,

A Iove principium ———
Sic feret antennas aura ſecunda tuas.

[*Begin with Iove, then an auſpicious gale*
Will fill thy ſayles, and to ſafe harbour hale.]

Sect. II.

T is very requiſit that hee who expoſeth himſelfe to the hazard of *Forraine Travell*, ſhould bee well grounded and ſettled in his *Religion*, the *beginning* and *baſis* of all Wiſdome, and ſomwhat verſed in the Controverſies 'twixt us and [other Churches,] the Church of *Rome*, which I preſume he hath done in the *Univerſity*, where (I take it for granted, hee hath been matriculated, and beſides his initiation in the *Arts* and *Sciences*, and [hath] learn't to chop *Logick* (and [now] *Logick* though ſhe be no *Science* of her ſelf, but as ſhe is ſubſervient to another, *Like the Shoomakers Last, that may bee applyable to any foot*, yet no *Science* can bee rightly ſtudied without her method, nor indeed can the termes of *Art* be well underſtood, or any Scholler-like diſcours fram'd but by *her*) where I ſay, [I preſume that my Traveller hath bin firſt an Vniverſity man,] beſides theſe ſtudies, [where beſides other introductions to knowledge,] he hath ſucked the pure milke of true Religion, and Orthodoxall truth, and ſuch a one will be rather confirmed, than ſhaken in the tenets of his *Faith*, when he ſeeth [the indecencies, irreuerence, and bold Prophane poſtures in ſom churches, as well as] the ſundry fond fantaſtique formes, which have crept into the ſolemne ſervice [worſhip] of God, [in other places] ſince the primitive times, for the *practiſe* of the *Roman* Church is worſe than her *poſitions*, [Now for the *Roman* Church, he may obſerue that ſom of her *Practiſes* have given men more occaſion of Forſaking Her, than her *Poſitions*,] ſo that [for] I have knowne ſome, [divers] who were [being] wrought upon very far by the one, [to be] averted [from her] again by the other, I meane by [the multitud of] her Ceremonies, which in ſome places are ſo mimicall, and ſet forth in ſuch antique poſtures, that it may be not improperly ſayd, [that they give her Enemies occaſion of advantage to ſay, that] whereas *Religion*

ſhould go array'd in a grave *Matron*-like habit, [they vſe to cloath her by the dreſſes of ſom Saints] they have clad her rather like a wanton *Courtiſane* in light dreſſes: [to pleaſe the outward baſe and the common people.] Such a one, I meane he that is well inſtructed in his own *Religion*, may paſſe under the torrid Zone, and not bee Sun-burnt, if he carry this *bon-grace* about him, or [and] like the River *Danube* which ſcornes to mingle with the muddy ſtreame of *Sava*, though they run both in one Channell, or like [the chaſt River] *Arethuſa*, which *Travelleth* many hundred miles through the very bowels of the *Sea*, yet at her journeys end iſſueth out freſh again, without the leaſt mixture of ſaltneſſe or brackiſhneſſe: So ſuch a one may paſſe and repaſſe through the very midſt of the *Roman See*, [(or *Geneva lake* either)] and ſhoot the moſt dangerous *Gulphe* thereof, and yet returne home an *untainted* [Engliſh] Proteſtant; nay he will be confirmed in zeale to his owne *Religion*, and illuminated the more with the brightneſſe of the truth thereof; by the glaring lights and ſpecious gloſſes, which the other uſeth to caſt; For *Oppoſita juxta ſe poſita magis elucefcunt.* Nay the more he is encompaſſed with the ſuperſtitions, of the contrary, [with the *coldnes* of ſome Churches and the too many ceremonies of others,] the more he will bee ſtrengthned in his own *Faith*; like a good Well uſeth to be hotter in Winter than Summer, *per Antiperiſtaſin*, that is, by the coldneſſe [frigidity] of the circumambient ayre, which in a manner beſiegeth it round, and ſo makes the intrinſique heate, unite and concentre it ſelfe the more ſtrongly to reſiſt the invading Enemy.

After *Religion*, it is fitting he ſhould be well verſed in the *Topography*, *Government* and *Hiſtory* of his own Country, for ſome are found *Foris ſapere*, and *domi cæcutire*, to be *Eagles* abroad, and ſtark *Buzzards* at home, being not able to ſatisfie a ſtranger by exchange of diſcours, in any thing touching the State of their owne Countrey.

To this end it were not amiſſe to run over *Cambden*,

Sir *Iohn Smiths* Common-wealth, with thoſe ſhort pieces of Story, as [Heywood,] *Daniel* and others who have written of the *Engliſh* Kings ſince the Conqueſt, and extract out of them, what traverſes of war, what other paſſages and entercourſes of State have happened 'twixt us and other Nations ſince the laſt Conqueſt, ſpecially the *French* our neareſt neighbors: It is alſo very behooffull, that he have a paſſable underſtanding of the *Latine* tongue, whereof the *Italian*, the *Spaniſh*, and *French*, are but as it were *branches* of the ſame Tree; they are but *Dialects* or *Daughters*, and having gain'd the good will of the *Mother*, hee will quickly prevayle with the *Daughters*.

[It is requiſite] That hee underſtand the uſe of the Map and Globe, to find out the Longitude and Latitude of all places, and to obſerve and compare the temper of them as hee ſhall paſſe along.

Laſtly [tis moſt fitting] that hee ſeriouſly contemplate within himſelf, how the eyes of all the World are upon *Him*, as his are upon the *World*, [let him conſider] what his parents, kindred and acquaintance, yea his Prince will expect at his returne: [Let him think] That he is now in the very forge of his hopes, either upon making or marring: That (being of Noble extraction) he is like to be a Star of the greateſt Magnitude in the Spheare of his owne Countrey, therefore common qualities will not ſerve his turne, that the higher the building is, the more it requires exquiſit forme and ſymmetry, that *Nobility* without inward ornaments is *as faire guilded ſhels without kernels, or like a ſattin doublet with canvas linings*, whereas on the other ſide Vertue reflecting upon a Noble ſubject, is as the Sunbeames falling [glancing] upon a rock of Criſtall, which makes the reverberation ſtronger and far more reſplendent, or as rich gold-embrodery, upon a piece of [*Florence*] Tiſſue: Such thoughts as theſe will worke much upon an ingenious Spirit, and bee as a golden Spur, to ſet him forward, and cheere him in this high roade of Vertue, and Knowledge.

Sect. III.

THe firſt Countrey that is moſt requiſite for the *Engliſh* to know, is *France*, in regard of neighboured, of conformity in Government in divers things and neceſſary intelligence of State, and of [with] the uſe one ſhall have of that Language wereſoever he paſſe [paſſeth now] further: And the younger one goeth to *France* the better [it is], becauſe of the hardneſſe [difficulty] of the accent and pronunciation [to an engliſh mouth], which will be hardly overcome by one who hath paſſed his minority, and in this point the *French Tongue* may bee ſaid to be like *Fortune*, who, being a woman, loves youth beſt. Whereas for other Tongues, one may attaine to ſpeake [the ſpeaking of] them to very good purpoſe, and get their good will at any age; the *French Tongue* by reaſon of the huge difference 'twixt their writing and ſpeaking, will put one often into fits of deſpaire and paſſion, as wee read of one of the Fathers, who threw away *Perſius* againſt the wals, ſaying, *ſi non vis intelligi debes negligi*, [if thou wilt not be vnderſtood go hang thy ſelfe;] but the Learner [of French] muſt not bee daunted [choleric] awhit at that, but [though ſhe neither writes as ſhe ſpeakes, nor pronounce as ſhe writes, yet ſhe muſt not ſhake you off ſo, but] after a little intermiſſion hee muſt come on more ſtrongly, and with a pertinacity of reſolution ſet upon her again and againe, and woe her as one would do a coy Miſtres, with a kind of importunity, untill he overmaſter her [and ſhe will be very plyable at laſt].

Indeed ſome of riper plants [years] are obſerved to over-act themſelves herein, for while they labour to *trencher le mot*, to *cut the word*, as they ſay, and ſpeake like naturall *French-men*, and to get the true genuine tone (and [now] every tongue hath a tone or tune peculiar to her ſelf, ſpecially the *French*, which hath a whining kind of querulous tone ſpecially amongſt the peaſantry, which I beleeve proceeded from that pittifull ſlavery

[ſubjection] they are brought unto) I ſay while they labour for this, they fall a liſping and mincing, and to diſtort and ſtrain their mouths and voyce, ſo that they render themſelves fantaſtique and ridiculous; let it bee ſufficient for one of riper yeares, to ſpeake *French* intelligibly, roundly, and congruouſly without ſuch forc'd affectation.

The *French tongue* like the [Gentry of that] Nation, is a bold and hardy ſpeach, therefore the learner muſt not be baſhfull or meale mouth'd in ſpeaking any thing, whatſoever it is, let it come forth confidently whither true or falſe *Sintaxis*; for a bold vivacious ſpirit hath a very great advantage in attaining the *French*, or indeed any other Language [over a ſoft and baſhfull nature]: He muſt be cautelous not to force any *Anglicifmes* upon the *French Tongue*, that is certaine vulgar Phraſes, Proverbs, and Complements, which are peculiar to the *Engliſh*, and not vendible or uſed in *French*, as I heard of one that could not forbeare a great while to ſalute his Land-Lord by *bon matin:* Another would be alwayes complaining at play of his *mauvaiſe Fortune:* Another when at the racket court he had a ball ſtruck into his hazard, hee would ever and anon cry out, *estes vous là avec vos Ours, Are you there with your Beares?* which is ridiculous in any other language but *Engliſh*, for every ſpeech hath certaine *Idiomes*, and cuſtomary *Phraſes* of its own, and the *French*, of all other, hath a kind of contumacy of phraſe, in reſpect of our manner of ſpeaking, proper to it ſelfe.

He muſt alwayes have a *Diary* about him, when he is in motion of Iourneys, to ſet down what [either his eares heare, or] his *Eyes* meetes with moſt remarquable in the day time, out of which he may raiſe matter of diſcours at night, and let him take it for a rule, that *Hee offend leſſe who writes many toyes, than he, who omits one ſerious thing.* For *the* Penne *maketh the deepeſt furrowes, and doth fertilize, and enrich the memory more than any thing elſe,*

Littera ſcripta *manet*, sed *manant* lubrica *verba.*

It were very requiſit to have a book of the *Topographicall* deſcription of all places, through which hee paſſeth; and I think *Bertius*, or the Epitome of *Ortelius*, which are ſmall and portable, would bee the beſt. At his firſt comming to any Citie he ſhould repaire to the chief Church (if not Idolatrous) to offer up his ſacrifice of thanks, that hee is ſafely arrived thither, and then ſome have uſed to get on the top of the higheſt Steeple, where one may view with advantage, all the Countrey circumjacent, and the ſite of the City, with the advenues and approaches about it; and ſo take a Landskip of it.

Being come to *France*, his beſt cours will be to retire to ſome Vniverſity about the *Loire*, unfrequented by the *Engliſh*, for the greateſt bane of *Engliſh* Gentlemen abroad, is too much frequency and communication with their own Countrey-men, and there let him apply himſelfe ſerioufly to gaine the practicall knowledge of the *Language*, and for the time *hoc agere*. [Which hee may doe by ſtudying matter as well as words. And] This hee may do with more advantage, if hee repaires ſometimes to the *Courts of Pleading*, and to the *Publique Schooles*; For in France they preſently fall from the *Latine*, to diſpute in the vulgar tongue: So that it were not amiſſe for him to ſpend ſome time in the *New Academy*, erected laſtly by the *French* Cardinall in *Richelieu*, where all the *Sciences* are read in the *French* tongue, which is done of purpoſe to refine, and enrich the Language [as well as to encourage the Gentry to the Arts].

Some have uſed it as a prime help to advance Language, to have ſome ancient Nunne for a *Divota*, with whom hee may chat at the grates, when hee hath little elſe to do, for the *Nunnes* ſpeake a quaint Dialect, and beſides they have moſt commonly all the Newes that paſſe, and they will entertaine diſcours till one bee weary, if hee beſtow on them now and then ſome ſmall bagatels, as *Engliſh Gloves* or *Knifs*, or *Ribands*; and before hee go over, hee muſt furniſh himſelfe with ſuch

ſmall curioſities; but this I dare not adviſe him to [this muſt be done with much caution], in regard the *Hazard* one way may bee greater, than the *Advantage* the other way.

In this retirement he muſt aſſigne ſome peculiar dayes to read the *Hiſtory* of the Countrey exactly, which is a moſt uſefull and delightfull ſtudy: For in *Hiſtory, that great Treaſury of Time, and promptuary of Heroique actions*, there are *words* to ſpeake, and *works* to imitat, with rich and copious matter to raiſe Diſcours upon: *Hiſtory, next to Eternity only triumphs over Time, ſhe, only after God Almighty can do miracles, for ſhee can bring back Age past, and give life to the Dead*, to whom ſhe ſerves as a ſacred ſhrine to keep their names immortall.

Touching *Books* he muſt chooſe them, as hee ſhould do his *Friends, Few*, but *Choyce* ones, yet he may have many *Acquaintance:* And as for *morall* ſociety, the greateſt Wiſdome of a man is diſcerned in a judicious election of his friends, which are as Commentaries upon one's ſelfe, and are more neceſſary than fire and water, as the Philoſopher ſaid: So for ſpeculative and *private* converſation with *Authors* our *dead Aſſociates*, there muſt bee moſt judgement uſed in the choice of them, ſpecially when there is ſuch a confuſion of them, as in *France*, which as *Africk* produceth always ſomthing New, for I never knew week paſſe in *Paris*, but it brought forth ſome new kinds of Authors; but let him take heed of *Tumultuary*, and *disjointed* Authors, as well as of *frivolous*, and *pedantique.*

And touching *Bookes*, as a noble ſpeculative *Lord* of this Land ſaid, ſome are to be *taſted* only, ſome *chewed*, and ſome *ſwallowed:* Hereunto I will adde that ſome are to be *diſſected and anatomized* into Epitomes and Notes.

To this purpoſe for the generall Hiſtory of *France*, *Serres* is one of the beſt, and for the moderne times *d'Aubigni*, *Pierre Mathieu*, and *du Pleix*; for the politicall and martiall government, *du Haillan*, *de*

la Noüe, *Bodin*, and the *Cabinet*; Touching *Commines*, who was contemporary with *Machiavil*, 'twas a witty ſpeach of the laſt Queen mother of *France*, that *he made more Heretiques in Policy*, *than* Luther *ever did in Religion:* Therefore he requires a reader of riper years.

The moſt difficult taske in gaining a forrain language is to turne *Engliſh* into it, for to tranſlate another *Tongue* into *Engliſh*, is not halfe ſo hard nor profitable. In reading hee muſt couch in a faire Alphabetique paper-book the notableſt occurrences, ſuch alliances, and encounters of warre (ſpeciall in the *last Race* of the Kings) that have intervened 'twixt *England* and *France*, and ſet them by themſelves in Sections. When he meets with any great buſineſſe, hee muſt obſerve therein the *preceding Counſels*, *the action it ſelfe*, *the motives of it*, *and the mould wherein it was caſt*, *the progreſſe and even of it* [*with the aym and end of it*], which if ſucceſſeful, he muſt note by what kind of Inſtruments, confederations and cours of policy it was carried, if not, where the difficulties and defects lay. The manner and method in reading of *Annaliſts* is infinitly advantagious, if one take his riſe hanſomely from the beginning, and follow the ſeries of the matter, the Epoch of the times, and regular ſucceſſion and contemporarineſſe of Princes; otherwiſe if one read ſkippingly and by ſnatches, and not take the *threed* of the ſtory along, it muſt needs puzzle and diſtract the memory, wherein *his obſervations will lye confuſedly huddled up*, *like a skeine of intangle ſilk.*

For *Sundayes* and *Holydayes*, there bee many Treatiſes of Devotion in the *French* tongue, full of patheticall ejaculations and Heavenly raptures, and his *Cloſet* muſt not be without ſome of theſe. For he muſt make account before hand that his *Cloſet* muſt bee his *Church*, and chiefeſt *Chappel* abroad. Therefore it were neceſſary when he fixeth in any place, to have alwayes one in his chamber, whether to retire early and late, to his *ſoliloquies* and meditations, *the golden*

keyes wherewith hee must open and ſhut the day, and let in the night, and [with] *deaths Couſin-german* [*when goeth to bed*].

Peter du Moulin hath many fine pieces to this purpoſe, *du Pleſsis, Allencour*, and others; and let him bee converſant with ſuch Books only upon Sundayes, and not mingle *humane* Studies with them. His *Cloſet* alſo muſt be his Rendez-vous, whenſoever hee is ſurprized with any fit of penſiveneſſe (as thoughts of *Country* and *Kinred* will often affect one) *For no earthly thing exhilerats the heart more, and rayſeth the ſpirits to a greater height of comfort than converſation with God, than peace with Heaven, than Spirituall Meditation, whereby the Soule melts into an inconceavable ſweetneſſe of delight, and is delivered from all diſtempers, from all tumultuary confuſion and diſturbance of thoughts: And* [*Now*] *there is none, let him have the humors never ſo well balanced within him, but is ſubject unto* [*ſuch diſtempers and*] *anxiety of mind ſomtimes, for while we are compoſed of foure differing Elements, wherewith the humours within us ſymbolife we muſt have perpetuall ebbings and flowings of mirth and melancholy, which have their alternatif turnes in us, as naturally as it is for the night to ſucceed the day: For as the Phyſitians hold there is no perfection of corporall health in this life, but a convaleſſence at beſt, which is a* medium *'twixt health and ſickneſſe, ſo is it in the ſtate of the mind.* [*There is no compleat and incontrouled comfort.*] *This extends from the Lord to the Laquay, from the Peaſant to the Prince, whoſe Crown is oftentimes inlayed with thornes, whoſe robe is furred with feares, whereof the Ermine is no ill Embleme, having as many black ſpots in it as white; Nor is there any thing ſo hereditary to mankind as vexation of ſpirit, which doubtleſſe was the ground the Pagan Philoſopher built his opinion upon, that the Rationall ſoule was given to Man, for his ſelfe-puniſhment and martyrdome,*

—— *Man often is*
A tyrant to himſelfe, a Phalaris.

But as when we go abroad, we cannot hinder the birds of the ayre to fly and flutter about our heads, yet we may hinder them to roost or neſtle within our haire: So while we travaile in this life, we cannot prevent but myriads of melancholy cogitations, and [ſwarmes of] thoughtfull cares and longings will often ſeaze upon our imaginations, yet we may hinder theſe thoughts to build their nests within our boſomes, and [or] to deſcend from the head to the heart and take footing there; if they do, I told you before, what's this beſt cordiall to expell them thence.

There bee ſome *French Poets* will affoord excellent entertainment, ſpecially *Du Bartas*, and 'twere not amiſſe to give a ſlight ſalute to *Ronzard*, *Deſportes*, and the late *Theopile:* And touching *Poets, they must be uſed like flowers, ſome muſt be only [ſome ſerve only to be] ſmelt unto, but ſome are good to bee thrown into a Limbique [and] to be Distilled*; whence the memory may carry away the Elixir of them, for *true Poetry is the quinteſſence, or rather the Luxury of Learning.* Let him runne over alſo the *Proverbs* of every Countrey, and cull out the choiceſt of them, for many of them carry much *weight*, *wit*, and *caution*, with them.

And every Nation hath certaine Proverbs and Adages peculiar to it ſelfe; Neither would it be time ill ſpent to reade *Æſope* in every tongue, and make it his taske to relate ſome Fable every day to his Governor or ſome other by heart.

Thus the life of a *Traveller* is ſpent either in *Reading*, in *Meditation*, or in *Diſcours:* by the firſt hee converſeth with the *Dead*, by the ſecond with *Himſelfe*, by the laſt with the *Living*, which of all the three is moſt advantagious for attaining a Language, the *life whereof conſists in ſocietie and communication*; let his Chamber be ſtreet ward to take in the common cry and Language, and [to] ſee how the Town is ſerv'd [and the world wags about him], for it will bee no unprofitable diverſion to him, but for his *Cloſet* let it bee in the inner part.

Sect. IV.

HAving by the retirement aforefaid attained to a converfable Knowledge in the *French* tongue, hee may then adventure upon *Paris*, and the Court, and vifit Ambaffadors, and going in the equipage of a young Nobleman, hee may entertaine a Cook, a Laquay, and fome young [French] youth for his Page, to parley and chide withall, (whereof he fhall have ocafion enough) and to get fome faire lodgings to keep houfe of himfelf, and [but] fometimes he may frequent Ordinaries, for it will much breake and enbolden him: As for expences, he muft make accompt that every fervant he hath (whereof there fhould be none *Englifh* but his *Governour*) every one will ftand him in 50 pounds a piece *per annum*; And for his owne expences, he cannot allow himfelfe leffe than 300 l. I include herein all forts of exercifes, his *Riding*, *Dancing*, *Fencing*, the *Racket*, *Coach-hire*, with other cafuall charges, together with his *Apparell*, which if it bee *fafhionable*, it matters not how *plaine* it is, it being a ridiculous vanity to go gaudy amongft Strangers [in a ftrange Country, fpecially in *France*], it is, as if one ftrould light a candle to the Sun.

The time that he fpends in *Paris*, muft be chiefly employed to improve himfelfe in the exercifes aforefaid, for there the choyceft Mafters are of any part of Chriftendome. Hee muft apply himfelfe alfo to know the fafhion and garb of the Court, obferve the Perfon and Genius of the Prince, enquire of the greateft Noble-men, and their Pedigree (which I recommend to his fpeciall confideration) of the Favorits and Prime Counfellors of State, the moft eminent Courtiers, and if there bee any famous man, to feek converfation with him, for it was the faying of a great *Emperour*, *that he had rather go fifty miles to heare a wife man, than five to fee a faire City.*

For private Gentlemen and Cadets, there be divers *Academies* in *Paris*, Colledge-like, where for 150 piſtols a yeare, which come to about 110 l. ſterling *per annum* of our money, one may be very well accommodated, with lodging and diet for himſelfe and a man, and be taught to Ride, to Fence, to manage Armes, to Dance, Vault, and ply the Mathematiques.

There are in *Paris* every week commonly ſome *Odde*, *Pamphlets* and *Paſquils* diſperſed, and drop'd up and down; for there is no where elſe that monſtrous liberty (yet *London* hath exceeded her farre now of late, the more I am ſory) which with the *Gazets* and *Courants* hee ſhould do well to reade weekly, and raiſe Diſcours thereon, for though there be many triviall paſſages in them, yet are they couched in very good Language, and one ſhall feele the generall pulſe of *Chriſtendome* in them, and know the names of the moſt *famous men* that are up and down the World in action.

Some do uſe to have a ſmall leger booke fairely bound up table-book-will [table-book wiſe], wherein when they meet with any perſon of note and eminency, and journey or penſion with him any time, they deſire him to write his Name, with ſome ſhort Sentence, which they call *The mot of remembrance*, the peruſall whereof will fill one with no unpleaſing thoughts of dangers and accidents paſſed.

One thing I muſt recomend to his ſpeciall care, that he be very punctuall in writing to his Friends once a month at leaſt, which hee muſt do exactly, and not in a careleſſe perfunctory way, *For Letters are the Ideas and truest Miror of the Mind, they ſhew the inſide of a man*, and by them it will be diſcerned how he improveth himſelfe in his courſes abroad: there will be plenty of matter to fill his letters withall once a month at leaſt: And by his *Miſſives* let it appeare that he doth not only *Remember*, but *meditate* on his Friend; not to ſcribble a few curſory lines, but to write elaborately and methodically, and thereby hee will quickely come

to the habit of writing well: *And* [*Now*] *of all kind of Humane Meditations, thofe of ones abfent Friends be the pleafingft, fpecially when they are endeared and nourifhed by correfpondence of Letters, which by a Spirituall kind of power do* [*can*] *enamour, and mingle Soules more fweetly than any embraces.*

Section. V.

HAving Wintered thus in *Paris, that hudge* (*though durty*) *Theater of all Nations* (and Winter is the fitteft feafon to be there) and plyed [alfo] his exercifes to fome perfection, the fitteft Countrey for him to fee next is *Spaine*, and in his Iourney thither he fhall traverfe the whole diameter of *France* one way, and paffing through *Gafcoigne* and *Languedoc*, hee fhall prepare himfelfe by degrees to endure the heate of the *Spanifh* clime; let him not encumber himfelfe with much loggage: and for his *Apparell*, let him as foon as he enters *Spaine* go after their fafhion, for as a *Spaniard* lookes like a bug-beare in *France* in his own cut, fo a *Frenchman* appeares ridiculous in *Spaine:* nor would I advife him to cary about him any more money than is abfolutly neceffary to defray his expences, for fome in this particular have beene *Peny-wife* and *Pound-foolifh*, who in hopes of fome fmall benefit in the rates, have left [loft] their principall, expofing their *Perfons* and *Purfes*, to dayly hazard, and inviting (as it were) unto them *danger* for their *Companion*, and *feare* for their *bed-fellow*.

For although Sir *Thomas More* wifheth one to carry always his *Friends* about him, abroad, by which hee meanes *pieces of gold*: Yet too great a *number* of fuch *Friends*, is an *encomber* and may betray him: It will make his Iourney all along to be a *Motus trepidationis*. And he that loades himfelfe with a charge of money, when he may carry it about him with fuch fecurity, and eafe, in a fmall piece of paper, I meane a Letter of credit, or Bill of exchange; is as wife as he, *who*

carried the coach-wheele upon his back, when he might have trilled it before him all along.

In *Spaine* hee muſt bee much more carefull of his diet, abſtemious from fruit, more reſerved and cautelous in his Diſcours, but entertaine none at all touching *Religion*, unleſſe it be with *Silence*; a punctuall repaire of viſits, extraordinary humble in his comportment; for the *Spaniards*, of all other, love to be reſpected at their own homes, and cannot abide an inſolent cariage in a Stranger; On the other ſide, Courteſie and *Morigeration*, will gaine mightily upon them, and *courteſie is the chiefeſt cogniſance of a Gentleman, which joyned with diſcretion, can only Travaile all the World over without a Paſſeport, and of all ſorts of Friends, he is the cheapeſt who is got by Courteſie, and Complement only:* Moreover a reſpectfull and humble cariage, is a mighty advantage to gaine Intelligence and Knowledge; *It is the Key that opens the breaſt, and unlocks the heart of any one: He that looked downeward, ſaw the Stars in the water, but he who looked only upward could not ſee the water in the Stars:* therefore there is much more to bee got by *Humility* than otherwiſe.

One thing I would diſſwade him from, which is from the exceſſive commendation and magnify[i]ng of his own Countrey; for it is too much obſerved, that the *Engliſh* ſuffer themſelves to be too [over] much tranſported with this ſubject, [uſing] to undervalue and vilifie other Countreys, for which I have heard them often cenſured. *The Earth is the Lords, and all the corners thereof, he created the Mountaines of* Wales, *as well as the Wiles of* Kent; *the rugged* Alpes, *as well as the Fertile plaines of* Campagnia, *the boggy fennes of* Frizeland, *as well as the daintiest Valleys* [*Champions*] *in* France; and to inveigh againſt, or deride a Countrey for the barreneſſe thereof, is tacitly [by inference] to taxe God Almighty of *Improvidence* and *Partiality*. And it had beene wiſhed, ſome had beene more temperate in this theme at their being in the *Spaniſh* Court, in the yeare 1623. For my part, as the *Great Philoſopher* holds it for a maxime,

that *Mountaignous people, are the moſt pious; ſo are they obſerved to be the hardieſt, as alſo the barrener a Countrey is, the more Maſculine and Warlike the ſpirits of the Inhabitants are, having as it were more of men in them*; Witneſſe the *Scythian* and *Goth*, and other rough-hewen hungry *Nations*, which ſo often over-ranne *Italy*, for all her *Policy* and *Learning*; and herein Nature may ſeeme to recompence the hard condition of a Countrey the other way.

Having paſſed the *Pyreneys* hee ſhall palpably diſcerne (as I have obſerved in another larger *Diſcours*) the ſuddeneſt and ſtrangeſt difference 'twixt the Genius and Garb of two People, though diſtant but by a very ſmall ſeparation, as betwixt any other upon the ſurface of the Earth; I knowe *Nature delights and triumphs in diſsimilitudes*; but here, ſhee ſeemes to have induſtrioufly, and of ſet purpoſe ſtudied it; for they differ not onely *Accidentally* and *Outwardly* in their *Cloathing* and *Cariage*, *in their Diet*, *in their Speaches and Cuſtomes*; but even *Eſſentially* in the very *faculties of the Soule*, and *operations* thereof, and in every thing elſe, *Religion* and the forme of a *Rationall* creature only excepted; which made *Doctor Garcia* thinke to aske a Midwife once, whither the *Frenchman* and *Spaniard* came forth into the World in the ſame poſture from the womb or no.

Go firſt to the *Operations* of the *Soule*, the one is *Active* and *Mercuriall*, the other is *Speculative* and *Saturnine:* the one *Quick* and *Ayry*, the other *Slow* and *Heavy;* the one *Diſcourſive* and *Sociable*, the other *Reſerved* and *Thoughtfull*; The one addicts himſelfe for the moſt part to the ſtudy of the *Law* and *Canons*, the other to *Poſitive* and *Schoole Divinity*; the one is *Creatura ſine Præterito et Futuro*, the other hath too much of both; the one is a *Prometheus*, the other an *Epinetheus*; the one *apprehends and forgets quickly*, the other doth both *ſlowly*, with a judgement more abſtruce and better fixed, *et in ſe reconditum*; the one will diſpatch the weightieſt affaires as hee walke along in the

ſtreets, or at meales, the other upon the leaſt occaſion of buſineſſe will retire ſolemnly to a room, and if a Fly chance to hum about him, it will diſcompoſe his thoughts, and puzzle him : It is a kind of ſicknesſe for a *Frenchman* to keep a *Secret* long, and all the drugs of *Egypt* cannot get it out of a *Spaniard*.

The *French* capacity, though it apprehend and aſſent unto the *Tenets* of *Faith*, yet he reſteth not there, but examines them by his *owne reaſon*, debates the buſineſſe *pro et contra*, and ſo is often gravelled upon the quick ſands of his own brain, the *Spaniard* cleane contrary by an *implicite Faith* and *generall Obedience* beleeves the *Canons* and *Determination* of the *Church*, and preſently ſubjects his *Underſtanding* thereunto, he ſets bounds to all his *Wiſdome* and *Knowledge*, and labours to avoyd all *Speculation* [doubtings and differtation] thereon, fearing through the frailty of his *Intellectuals*, to fall into ſome Error.

Go to their *Garb* and *Clothing*, the one weares *long haire*, the other *ſhort*; the one goes *thin and open clad*, the other *cloſe and warm*, ſo that although the Sun ſhould dart down his rayes like lances upon him, yet he could not bee brought to open one button of his doublet; the one goes *gay without*, the other *underneath*; the one weares his *Cloake long*, the other *ſhort*; ſo, that one might give him a Suppoſitor with his *Cloake* about him, if need were; the one puts on his *Doublet first*, the other *last*; the *Frenchman* buttoneth alwayes *down-ward*, the *Spaniard upward*; the one goes *high-heeled*, the other *low and flat*, yet looks as high as the other; the one carieth a *Combe* and *Looking-glaſſe* in his pocket, the other a piece of *bayes* to wipe off the duſt of his ſhooes: And if the one hath a Fancy to *ſtars* [*ſtarch*] his muſtachos, the other hath a leather *bigothero* to lye upon them all night; the firſt thing the one pawns, being in neceſſity, is his *Shirt*, the other his *Cloak*, and ſo by degrees his *Caſſoke* goes off, and then his *Doublet*; the one cares more for the *Back*, and outward appearance, the other prefers the *Belly*;

the one is conſtant in his faſhion, for the other 'tis impoſſible to put him in a conſtant kind of *Habit*,

——— *You may as ſoone*
Cut out a kirtle for the Moone.

Go to their *Diet*, the one drinkes *Watered Wine*, the other *Wine watered*; the one *begins* his repaſt, where the other *ends*; the one *begins* with a *Sallet*, and *light meat*, the other concludeth his repaſt ſo; the one begins with his *boyled*, the other with his *roast*; the *Frenchman* will *Eate* and *Talke*, and *Sing ſometimes*, and ſo his *Teeth* and his *Tongue* go often together, the *Spaniards Teeth* only walk, and fals cloſely to it with as little noyſe and as ſolemnly as if he were at *Maſſe*.

Go to their *Gate*, the *Frenchman walks faſt*, (as if he had a *Sergeant* always at his heeles,) the *Spaniard ſlowly*, as if hee were newly come out of ſome quartan Ague; the *French* go up and down the ſtreets *confuſedly* in cluſters, the *Spaniards* if they be above three, they go two by two, as if they were going a *Proceſsion*; the *French Laquays march behind*, the *Spaniards before*; the one *beckens* upon you with his hand caſt *upward*, the other *downward*; the *Frenchman* will not ſtick to pull out a Peare or ſome other thing out of his pocket, and eate it as he goes along the ſtreet, the *Spaniard* will ſtarve rather than do ſo, and *would never forgive himſelfe, if he ſhould commit ſuch a rudeneſſe*; the *Frenchman* if he ſpies a *Lady* of his acquaintance, he will make boldly towards her, ſalute her with a kiſſe, and offer to Vſher her by the hand or arme, the *Spaniard* upon ſuch an encounter, uſeth to recoyle backward, with his hands hid under his Cloack, and for to *touch or kiſſe* her, he holds it a *rudeneſſe beyond all barbariſme*, a kind of ſacriledge; the *Frenchmen* is beſt and moſt proper on *Horſeback*, the *Spaniard* a *foot*; the one is good for the *Onſet*, the other for a *retrait:* the one like the *Wind* in the Fable, is full of ruffling fury, the other like the *Sun*, when they went to try their ſtrength upon the Paſſengers Cloake. The one takes the *ball before the bound*, *A la volee*, the other *ſlaycth for the*

fall; the one *ſhuffleth the Cards better*, the other *playes his game more cunningly*; your *French-man* is much the fairer *Duellist*, for when hee goeth to the *Field*, he commonly puts off his doublet and opens his breaſt; the *Spaniard* cleane contrary, beſides his ſhirt, hath his doublet quilted, his coat of maile, his caſſock, and ſtrives to make himſelfe impenetrable.

Go to their *Tune*, the one delights in *Ionique*, the other altogether in the *Dorique*.

Go to their *Speech*, the one *Speakes oft*, the other *ſeldome*; the one *Fast*, the other *ſlowly*; the one *mangleth, cuts off, and eates many Letters*, the other *pronounceth all*; the one *contracts* and *enchaines* his words, and ſpeakes *preſsingly* and *ſhort*, the other delights in *long breathed Accents*, which he prolates with ſuch *pauſes*, that before he be at the period of his Sentences, one might reach a *Second thought:* The ones *Mind* and *Tongue* go commonly together (and the *firſt* comes ſometimes in the arreare) the others *Tongue* comes flagging a fourlong after his *mind*, in ſuch a diſtance, that they ſeldome or never meet and juſtle one another.

In fine *Mercury* ſwayeth ore the one, and *Saturne* ore the other, inſomuch that out of the premiſſes, you may inferre, that there is an *Intellectuall*, *Politicall*, *Morall* and *Naturall* op[p]oſition betweene them both in their *Comportement*, *Fancies*, *Inclinations*, *Humours*, and the very *Understanding*, ſo that one may ſay, *What the one is, the other is not*; and [all this] in ſuch a viſible diſcrepancy, that if one were fetched from the remoteſt parts of the Earth, [which] the Sunne diſplayeth his beames upon, yea from the very *Antipods*, he would *agree* with either better, than they do one with another.

Sect. VI.

And truly I have many times and oft buſied my ſpirits, and beaten my brains hereupon, by taking information from *dead and living men*, and by my own *practicall obſervations*, to know the true cauſe of this

ſtrange *antipathy* betwixt two ſuch potent and ſo neare neighbouring *Nations*, which bringeth with it ſuch [ſo great a] miſchiefe into the World; and keepes *Chriſtendome* in a perpetuall alarme: For although the *Ill Spirit* bee the principall Author thereof, as *being the Father and fomenter of all diſcord and hatred* (it being alſo part of the *Turkes letany, that warres ſhould continue ſtill betweene theſe two potent Nations*) to hinder the happy fruit that might grow out of their Vnion: yet nevertheleſſe it muſt bee thought that hee cannot ſhed this poyſon, and ſow theſe curſed tares, unleſſe hee had ſome grounds to work his deſigne upon.

And to fly to the ordinary termes of *Sympathy* and *Antipathy*, I know it is the *common refuge of the ignorant, when being not able to conceive the true reaſon of naturall Actions and Paſsions in divers things, they fly to indefinite generality, and very often to theſe inexplicable termes of* Sympathy *and* Antipathy.

Some as Doctor *Garcia*, and other Philoſophicall Authors, attribute this oppoſition to the *qualities of the clymes and influences of the Stars, which are known to beare ſway over all Sublunary bodies, inſomuch that the poſition of the Heavens, and Conſtellations, which hang over* Spaine, *being of a different vertue and operation to that of* France, *the temper and humours of the Natives of the one, ought to bee accordingly diſagreeing with the other.*

An opinion which may gaine credit and ſtrength from the authority of the famous Hippocrates, *who in his Book of Ayre, Water, and Climes, affirmeth that the diverſity of Conſtellations, cauſe a diverſity of Inclinations, of humors and complexions; and make the bodies whereupon they operate, to receive ſundry ſorts of impreſsions. Which reaſon may have much apparance of truth, if one conſider the differing fancies of theſe two Nations, as it hath reference to the Predominant Conſtellations, which have the vogue, and qualifie the Seaſons amongſt them.*

For then when the heate beginneth in Spaine, *the violence thereof laſteth a long time without intenſion, or re-*

miſsion, or any conſiderable change, the humour of the Spaniard *is just ſo, for if he reſolves once upon a thing he perſeveres, he ponders and dwels conſtantly upon it, without wavering from his first deliberation; it being one of his prime axiomes, that* Deliberandum eſt diu, quod ſtatuendum eſt ſemel.

It is farre otherwiſe in France, *for be it* Sommer *or* Winter, Autumne *or* Spring, *neither the cold nor heate, nor ſerenity of Ayre continueth nere ſo long, without a ſenſible viciſsitude and change; ſo that it may be truly ſaid there in the morning,*

Neſcis quid ſerus Veſper trahat.

Therefore it being granted that all Elementary bodies depend upon the motion and vertue of the Heavenly; the people of France *must of neceſsity partake of the inconſtancy of the Clime, both in their paſsions and diſpoſitions.*

But this reaſon though probable enough, reſolves not the question to the full; for although we ſhould acknowledge, that the Celeſtiall bodies by their influxions, do domineere over Sublunary creatures, and toſſe and tumble the humours and the maſſe of bloud, as they list; it cannot be ſaid, notwithſtanding, that this virtue extends to thoſe actions that depend immediatly upon the abſolute empire of the Will, with the other faculties and powers of the ſoule, which are meerely Spirituall, as Love and Hatred, with the like.

They that diſpute thus, have much reaſon on their ſide, yet if we conſider well the order and method that our Understanding and Wils do uſe in the production of their actions, we ſhal find, that the influence of the Heavenly bodies muſt have ſomething to do therein, though indirectly and accidentally: for all Terreſtriall creatures by a graduall kind of ſubordination, being governed by the Heavenly, it muſt needs follow that whatſoever is naturall in man, as the organs of the body, and all the ſenſes muſt feele the power of their influence.

Now is the Soule ſo united and depends ſo farre upon the ſenſes, that ſhe cannot produce any act, unleſſe they miniſterially concurre and contribute thereunto, by preſent-

ing the matter to her, which is the intelligibles ſpecies: Whence it neceſſarily comes to paſſe, that in regard of this ſtraight league and bond, which is betweene them, ſhe partakes ſomewhat, and yealds to that dominion, which the Starres have over the ſenſuall appetite, which together with the Will, are diſpoſſed off, and incited (I will not ſay forced) by their influxes.

And as that famous Wiſard, *the oldeſt of the* Triſmegiſti, *did hold, that the Intelligences which are affixed to every Spheare, doe worke through the organs of the body upon the faculties of the mind, (an opinion almost as old as the World it ſelfe) ſo it may be ſaid more truly, that by the ſenſuall appetite, by the frailty and depravation of the will, the Heavenly bodies worke very farre upon the Spirituall Powers and paſsions of the Soule, and affect them diverſly, though by accident and indirectly, as I ſaid before. The poſition therefore of the Heavens and Aſteriſmes, which governe the* Spaniſh *Clime, being different in their vertue and operations to them of* France, *the Minds and Fancies of both People, muſt by a neceſſary conſequence bee alſo different.*

Yet [But] notwithſtanding that this aſſertion be true, yet it doth not follow, that the *Influxions of the Starres and diverſity of Climes*, are the ſole cauſe of this *Antipathy* and *Averſeneſſe*, for there are many *Nations* which live under farre more diſtant and differing *Climes*, which diſaffect not one another in that degree, therefore there muſt be ſome other concurring *Accidents* and extraordinary motive of this evill.

I reade it vpon record in the *Spaniſh Annales*, that *Lewis the eleventh* deſiring a perſonall Conference with the King of *Caſtile*, they both met upon the borders, the *Spaniards* came full of Iewels and Gold Chaines and richely apparelled: *Lewis*, though otherwiſe, a wiſe and gallant Prince, yet had he an humour of his own, to weare in his hat a Medaille of Lead, which he did at his enterview, nor were his attendants, but *Regis ad Exemplum*, but meanely accoutred; which made the *Spaniards* deſpiſe them, and make diſdaineſull Libels

of them, which broake out afterwards into much *contempt* and *diſaffection*, which came to bee aggravated more and more.

And if we ſay that the *Devill* made uſe of this occaſion to engender that violent *Hatred*, which raignes between theſe two *Nations*, it would not bee much from the purpoſe, for *the leaſt advantage in the World is ſufficient for him to infuſe his venom where he finds hearts never ſo little diſpoſed to receive it*, either by *naturall* or *contingent* cauſes.

Adde hereunto the vaſt extent of greatneſſe the *Spaniard* is come to within theſe *Sixe ſcore yeares*, by his ſundry new acqueſt, which fils the *French* full of jealouſies, of emulation, and apprehenſion of feare, and 'tis an olde Aphoriſme, *Oderunt omnes, quem metuunt.*

Furthermore, another concurring motive may be, that there paſſe uſually over the *Pyreneys*, from *Gascoigne* and *Bearne* great numbers of poore *French* tatterdimallians, being as it were the Scumme of the Countrey, which do all the ſordid and abject offices to make a purſe of money, whereof *Spaine* is fuller than *France*; from *Spaine* alſo there come to *France* many poore *Spaniards* to bee cured of the Kings Evill; the common people of both *Nations* meaſuring the whole by the part, and thinking all to be ſuch, it muſt needs breed mutuall apprehenſions of diſdaine and averſion between them; ſo that what was at firſt *Accidentall* ſeemes in tract of time, and by theſe degrees to diffuſe it ſelfe like Originall ſinne from Father to Sonne, and become *Naturall.*

But I have beene tranſported too farre by this ſpeculation, conſidering that I propoſed to my ſelfe brevity at firſt in this ſmall diſcours.

Sect. VII.

And now being come from *France* to *Spaine*, make accoump for matter of fertility of ſoyle, that *you are come from Gods bleſsing, to the warme Sun*, who is ſomewhat too liberall of his beames here; which makes the

ground more barren, and conſequently to be a kind of Wilderneſſe in compariſon of *France*, if you reſpect the number of People, the multitude of Townes, Hamlets, and Houſes: for about the third part of the continent of *Spaine* is made up of huge craggie Hils and Mountaines, amongſt which one ſhall feele in ſome places more difference in point of temper of heat and cold in the ayre, then 'twixt Winter and Sommer under other Climes. But where *Spaine* hath water and *Valleis* there ſhe is extraordinarily fruitfull *ſuch bleſsings humility carieth alwayes with her.* So that *Spaine* yeeldeth to none of her neighbours in perfection of any thing, but only in *Plenty*; which I beleeve was the ground of a Proverbe they have amongſt them, *No ay coſa mala en Eſpana, ſino lo que habla*, there is nothing ill in *Spaine*, but that which ſpeakes: And did *Spaine* excell in *Plenty*, as ſhe doth in *perfection* of what ſhe produceth, eſpecially did ſhe abound in *Corne*, whereof ſhe hath not enough for the fortieth mouth [month], as alſo had ſhe *Men* enough whereof, beſides the *Warres*, ſo many *Colonies* draine her, ſhee would prove formidable to all her *Neighbours.*

But let the *French* glory never ſo much of their Country as *being the richeſt embroidery of Nature upon Earth*, yet the *Spaniard* drinks better *Wine*, eates better *Fruits*, weares finer *Cloth*, hath a better *Sword* by his ſide, [goes better ſhod] and is better *Mounted* than he.

Being entred *Spaine*, he muſt take heed of *Poſting* in that hot Countrey in the Summer time, for it may ſtirre the maſſe of bloud too much. When hee comes to *Madrid* (for I know no other place ſecure enough for a Proteſtant Gentleman to live in, by reaſon of the reſidence of our Ambaſſador [, though Merchants be free every where]) he may take new *Spaniſh* ſervants, for I preſume he diſcharged his *French* when he forſooke *Paris:* There hee ſhall find the King conſtant all the Seaſons of the yeare in the midſt of his Kingdom, *as the heart in the body, or the Sun in the Firmament, whence the one giveth vigor to the little world, th'other to the great in equall proportion.* And the firſt

thing he muſt fall to, is *Language*, which hee ſhall find far more eaſie than the *French*, for in point of crabbedneſſe there is as much difference betweene the *French* and *Spaniſh*, as 'twixt *Logique* and [Naturall] *Philoſophy*, the like may be ſaid of the *Italian*, for a reaſonable capacity may attaine both theſe Languages, ſooner than *French* it ſelfe.

There was a *Spaniſh Doctor*, who had a fancy that *Spaniſh*, *Italian*, and *French*, were ſpoken in *Paradiſe*, that God Almighty *commanded in Spaniſh*, the Tempter *perſwaded in Italian*, and Adam *begged pardon in French*.

I preſume by the helpe of his *Governour* he hath made an introduction into the *Spaniſh* tongue before hee left *France*, ſo that in one Sommer and Winter he may eaſily come to ſpeake it diſcourſively, and to good purpoſe; being in my judgement the eaſieſt of all Languages, by reaſon of the openeſſe, and fulneſſe of pronunciation, the agreement 'twixt the *Tongue* and the *Text*, and the freedome [it hath] from *Apoſtrophes*, *which are the knots of a Language*, as alſo for the proximity it hath with the *Latine*, for the *Spaniſh* is nought elſe but mere *Latine*, take a few *Moriſco* words away, which are eaſily diſtinguiſhed by their gutturall pronunciation, and theſe excepted, it approacheth nearer and reſembleth the *Latine* more than *Italian*, *her eldest Daughter*, for I have beaten my braines to make one Sentence good *Italian* and congruous *Latin*, but could never do it, but in *Spaniſh* it is very feaſable, as for Example, in this *Stanza*,

Infauſta Grecia tu paris Gentes,
Lubricas, ſodomiticas, doloſas,
Machinando fraudes cauteloſas,
Ruinando animas innocentes, etc.

which is *Latin* good enough, and yet is it vulgar *Spaniſh*, intelligible by every Plebeian.

Mariana and *Acoſta*, are the moſt authentique *Annaliſts of Spaine*, and *Alvares* for the moderne ſtory, *Lope de Vegas* works wil give good entertainment for *Verſe*, and *Guevara* for pure Proſe: Nor ſhall he

be diſtracted with that confuſion of Authors, as in *France*, and elſe where, for the *Spaniard* writes *ſeldom* but *foundly*, and in a quite differing ſtraine from other *Nations* of Chriſtendome, ſavouring rather of an *African* fancy, which argues that the *Moore* did much mingle with him.

About the fall of the leafe it were not amiſſe to make a iourney to *South Spaine*, to ſee *Sevill*, and the *Contratation Houſe of the Weſt Indies*, and (if he can) to get a coppy of the *Conſtitutions* thereof, which is accounted the greateſt *Mystery* in the *Spaniſh* Government, but he muſt ſhew himſelf neither too *buſie*, nor too *bold* in this ſearch; And if he be there at the arrivall of the Plate-Fleet, which uſually commeth about that time, he ſhall ſee ſuch a *Grandeza*, that the *Roman* Monarchy in her higheſt floriſh never had the like, nor the *Gran Signior* at this day.

There he may converſe with *Marchants*, and their converſation is much to bee valued, for many of them are very gentile and knowing men in the affaires of the State, by reaſon of their long ſojourne and actuall negotiations, and [law] proceſſes in the Countrey: and in a ſhort time, one may ſuck out of them, what they have been many yeares a gathering: And very materiall it is to know here, as every where elſe, what commodities the Countrey affoordeth moſt uſefull for us, either for neceſſity or pleaſure: And what *Engliſh* commodities are there in greateſt requeſt, and what proportions the Market uſually beareth, for in the *commutative part of Government and Mercantile affaires, lieth the most uſefull part of policy 'twixt Countrey and Countrey*; but this hee ſhall obſerve better in *Italy*, where the Prince holdeth it no diſparagement to co-adventure, and put in his ſtake with the *Marchant*: So that the old *Clodian* Law is now of no force at all amongſt them.

From *South Spaine* he may returne by *Granada*, *Murcia* and *Valencia*, and ſo to *Barcelona*, and then take the Gallies for *Italy*, for there are divers Fleets

paſſe in the yeare from thence with treaſure, and croſſe the Mediterranean to *Genoa*. And it is not amiſſe to ſee ſomething *by Sea*, and to embarque in a Fleet of Gallies will much adde to ones experience, and knowledge in Sea affaires, and in the *Art of Navigation*, which is more uſefull and important for *Engliſhmen*, and indeed for all *Iſlanders*, than others, becauſe their ſecurity depends upon the Sea, and upon woodden Horſes.

Naviget hinc alia jam mihi linter aqua.

Sect. VIII.

HAving put foot aſhoare in *Genoa*, I will not wiſh him to ſtay long there, in regard the very worſt *Italian* dialect is ſpoken there, and beſides, as it is proverbially ſaid, there are in *Genoa*, *Mountaines without wood*, *Sea without fiſh*, *Women without ſhame*, *and Men without conſcience*, which makes them to be termed the *white Moores:* And when a *Jew* (and the *Jews* are held the moſt Mercuriall people in the World, by reaſon of their ſo often tranſmigrations, perſecutions, and *Neceſsity*, which is the *Mother* of *Wit*) [I ſay when a *Jew*] meeteth with a *Genoway*, and is to negotiat with him, he puts his fingers in his eyes, fearing to be overreached by him, and outmatched in cunning.

From thence let him haſten to *Toſcany*, to *Siena*, where the prime *Italian* dialect is ſpoken, and not ſtirre thence till he be maſter of the Language in ſome meaſure.

And being now in *Italy that great limbique of working braines*, he muſt be very circumſpect in his cariage, for ſhe is able to turne a *Saint* into a *Devill*, and deprave the beſt natures, if one will abandon himſelfe [to pleaſure], and become a prey to diſſolut courſes and wantonneſſe.

The *Italian*, being the *greateſt embracer of pleaſures*, [and] the *greateſt Courtier of Ladies* of any other. Here he ſhall find Vertue and Vice, Love and Hatred, Atheiſme

and Religion in their extremes; being a witty contemplative people; and *Corruptio optimi eſt peſsima. Of the beſt wines you make your tarteſt vinegar.*

Italy hath beene alwayes accounted the Nurſe of *Policy*, *Learning*, *Muſique*, *Architecture*, and *Limning*, with other perfections, which ſhe diſperſeth to the reſt of *Europe*, nor was the *Spaniard* but a dunce, till he had taken footing in her, and ſo grew ſubtilized by co-alition with her people. *She is the prime climat of Complement, which oftentimes puts ſuch a large diſtance 'twixt the tongue and the heart, that they are ſeldome relatives, but they often give the lye one to another; ſome will offer to kiſſe the hands, which they wiſh were cut off, and would be content to light a candle to the Devill, ſo they may compaſſe their owne ends: He is not accounted eſſentially wiſe, who openeth all the boxes of his breaſt to any.*

The *Italians* are for the moſt part of a ſpeculative complexion (as I have diſcovered more amply in another *Diſcours*) and *he is accounted little leſſe than a foole, who is not melancholy once a day; they are only bountifull to their betters, from whom they may expect a greater benefit; To others the purſe is cloſest ſhut, when the mouth openeth widest, nor are you like to get a cup of wine there, unleſſe your grapes be known to be in the wine-preſſe.*

From *Siena* he may paſſe to *Milan*, and ſo through the *Republiques* territories to *Venice* where he ſhall behold a thing of wonder, an *Impoſſibility in an impoſsibility*, a rich magnificent City ſeated in the very jaws of *Neptune*, where being built and bred a *Chriſtian* from her very infancy, *(a Prerogative ſhe juſtly glorieth of above all other States,)* ſhe hath continued a *Virgin* ever ſince, nere upon *twelve* long ages, under the ſame forme and face of Government, without any viſible change or ſymptome of decay, or the leaſt wrinkle of old age, though, her too neer neighbour, the *Turk* had often ſet upon her skirts and ſought to *deflowre* her, wherein he went ſo farr that he took from her *Venus*

ioynture, [I meane the Iland of Ciprus,] which ſhe had long poſſeſſed, and was the ſole Crown ſhe ever wore. But if one in Story obſerves the cours of her actions, he ſhall find that ſhe hath ſubſiſted thus long as much by *Policy* as *Armes*, as much by reach of *Wit*, and *advantage of treaty*, as by open *ſtrength*, it having beene her practiſe ever and anon to ſow a piece of *Fox* tayle to the skinne of S. *Marks Lyon.*

Here one ſhall find the moſt zealous [and politicall] Patriots of any [place], yet ſome would maintaine (though I do not) that *the Venetians, are but indifferently wife ſingle, though they be very Politique when they are together in the Senat.*

Having obſerved in the *Republique of Venice* what is moſt remarquable (and there are many things in that Government worth the carying away, ſpecially the ſight of *Nova Palma*, a Caſtle built after the neweſt rules of Fortification) he may viſit the other ancient Townes of *Italy*, and ſo to *Naples*, where he may improve his knowledge in *Horſmanſhip*, and then repaſſe through other free States, whereof *Italy* is full: And truly a wonder it is to ſee how in ſo ſmall an extent of ground, which take all dimenſions together, is not ſo big as *England*, there ſhould bee ſo many abſolute and potent *Princes* by Sea and Land, which I beleeve is the cauſe of ſo many *Dialects* in the *Italian* tongue which are above ten in number: As hee traverſeth the Countrey hee muſt note the trace, forme and ſite of any famous *Structure*, the Platforms of *Gardens*, *Aqueducts*, *Grots*, *Sculptures*, and ſuch particularites belonging to *accommodation* or *beauty* of *dwelling*, but ſpecially of *Caſtles*, and *Fortreſſes*, wherewith *Italy* abounds, the whole Countrey being frontier almoſt all over.

[In the perambulation of *Italy* young Travellers muſt be cautious, among diuers other to avoyd one kind of *Furbery* or cheat, whereunto many are ſubiect, which is, that in ſom great Townes, ſpecially *Rome* and *Venice*, there are certain Brokers of manuſcripts, who are no other then Mountibanks in that kind, that

uſe to inſinuate themſelves to the ſociety of ſtrangers, and bring them with a ſhew of reſervedeneſſe ſuch and ſuch papers magnifying them for rare extraordinary peeces, and dangerous to bee divulg'd, whereas they prove oftentimes old flat things that either are printed already in *Te*, *oro politico*, *Boterus*, or *Bodin;* Or they are ſome abſolet peeces reflecting happily upon the times of *Coſmo de Medici*, or touching the expulſion ot the Jeſuits out of the territories of St. *Marc*, or the creation of ſome Pope, and ſuch like, which do nothing at all advantage one to be acquainted with the preſent face of things; In the Court of *Spain* there are likewiſe ſuch Interlopers, and I have known divers Dutch Gentlemen groſly guld by this cheat, and ſom Engliſh bor'd alſo through the noſe this way, by paying exceſſive prices for them.]

Section. IX.

Nd with the *naturall* ſituation of Countreyes, a *Traveller* ſhould obſerve alſo the *Political* poſition thereof, how *ſome are ſeated like Mercury amongſt the Planets, who for the most part is either in combuſtion or obſcurity, being under brighter beames than his own*; Such is *Savoy* and *Loraine*, and other Princes of *Italy*, who are between more potent neighbours than themſelves, *and are like skreens toſſed up and down and never at quiet:* And they that are ſo ſituated may ſay, as the *Mouſe* once anſwered the *Cat*, who asking how ſhe did, made anſwer, *I ſhould be far better, if you were further off.*

How the ſtate of the *Popedome* running from the *Tirrhene* to the *Adriatique* Sea, is ſited in *Italy*, as *France* is in *Europe*, in the midſt, and *ſo fitteſt to embroyle or preſerve in peace, to diſunite or conjoyne the forces of their neighbours, and ſo most proper to be Umpires of all quarrels.*

How the Dominions of *Spaine are like the Planets*

in the Heaven lying in vaſt uneven diſtances one from the other: But cleane contrary thoſe of *France, are ſo knit and clustered together, that they may be compared all to one fixed conſtellation.*

How *Germany* cut out into ſo many Principalities, into ſo many *Hanſiatiqued* and *Imperiall* Townes, *is like a great River fluced into ſundry Channels, which makes the maine ſtreame farre the weaker.* The like may be ſaid of *Italy.*

How the *Signory* of *Venice* is the greateſt rampart of Chriſtendome againſt the *Turk by Sea,* and the hereditary territories of the houſe of *Austria, by Land,* which may be a good reaſon of State, why the *Colledge of Electors* hath continued the Empire in *that Line* theſe 200 yeares.

He muſt obſerve the *quality* of the power of Princes, how the *Cavalry* of *France,* the *Infantery* of *Spaine,* and the *Engliſh Ships,* leagued together, are fitteſt to conquer the World, to pull out the *Ottoman Tyrant* out of his *Seraglio,* from betweene the very armes of his fifteen hundred Concubines.

How the power of the *North-Eaſt* part of the *European* World is balanced between the *Dane,* the *Swede,* and the *Pole,* etc. And the reſt between great *Britaine, France,* and *Spaine;* as for *Germany* and *Italy,* their power being divided 'twixt ſo many, they ſerve only to balance themſelves, who if they had one abſolute Monarch a piece, would prove terrible to all the reſt.

Spaine in point of treaſure hath the advantage of them all, She hath a Veteran Army always afoot; but She is thinne peopled, She hath many Colonies to ſupply, which lye ſquandered up and down in diſadvantagious unſociable diſtances. Her *people are diſaffected by most nations, and incompatible with ſome;* She *wants bread,* She *hath bold acceſsible coasts, and* Her *Weſt Indy Fleet, beſides the length of the paſſage, and incertainty of arrivall, is ſubject to caſualties of Sea, and danger of interception by Enemies: And if* England *ſhould breake out with* Her *in good earneſt into acts of hoſtility, thoſe*

Iſlands, *which the* Engliſh *have peopled, colonized, and fortified lately* (*being warned by Saint* Chriſtopher) *in the carrere to* Her *mines, would be found to be no ſmall diſa*[*d*]*vantage to* Her.

France *ſwarmes with men, and now* (*more than ever*) *with Soldiers,* She *is a body well compacted* (*though often ſubject to Convulſions, and high fits of Feavers, the bloud gathering up by an unequall diffuſion into the upper parts*) *and it is no ſmall advantage to* Her, *that* Her *forme is circular, ſo that one part may quickly run, to ſuccour the other:* She *abounds with Corne, and being the thorough fare of Chriſtendome,* She *can never want money*; She *hath thoſe three things which the* Spaniard *ſaid would make* Her *eternall,* viz. Rome, *the* Sea, *and* Counſell; *for* She *hath the* Pope *for* Her *friend* (*having had his breeding in* Her *twenty yeares together*). Shee *hath* Holland *for* Her *Arſenall, and* Richelieu *for Counſell; who ſince he ſate at the helme, hath ſucceeded in every attempt, with that monſtrous cours of Felicity: They of the Religion, are now Town-leſſe and Arme-leſſe, and ſo are* Her *greatest Peeres moſt of them out of Office and Provinciall command. So that if one would go to the intrinſique value of things,* France *will not want much in weight of the vast unweldy bulk, and disjointed body of the* Spaniſh *Monarchie.*

Great Britaine *being encircled by the Sea, and there being an eaſie going out for the Natives, and a dangerous landing for Strangers, and having ſo many invincible Caſtles in motion* (*I meane* Her *Ships*) *and abounding inwardly with all neceſſaries, and breeding ſuch men, that I may well ſay, no King whatſoever hath more choyce of able bodies to make Soldiers of,* [*for the number,*] *having alſo moſt of* Her *trade intrinſique, with many other Inſulary advantages,* She *need not feare any one Earthly power, if* She *bee true to* Her *ſelfe; yet would* She *be puzzled to cope with any of the other two ſingle, unleſſe it be upon the defenſive part, but joyning with* Holland She *can give them both the Law at Sea, and leaguing with any of the other two,* She *is able to put the third ſhrewdly to it.*

Now it cannot be denied, but that which giveth the

greateſt check to the Spaniſh *Monarchy is* France : *And there is no leſſe truth than caution in that ſaying, that the yeaue of the Conquering of* France, *is the morning of the Conquest of* England (*and* vice verſa.) *It hath not been then without good reaſon of State, that* England *ſince that monſtruous height of power that* Spaine *is come to of late, hath endeavoured rather to ſtrengthen* France (*to beare up against* Her) *than to enfeeble* Her, *having contributed both* her *power and purſe to ranſome one of* her *Kings, at that time when* Spaine *began to ſhoot out* Her *braunches ſo wide : Beſides, during the laſt* Ligue, *which raged ſo long through all the bowels of* France *with that fury, when there was a deſigne to Cantonize the whole Kingdome : Queene* Elizabeth *though offered a part, would not accept of it, for feare of weakning the whole : Therefore this chaine of reciprocall converſation, linking them together ſo ſtrongly ;* England *may well be taken for a ſure Confederate of* France, *while* France *containes* Her *felfe within* her *preſent bounds, but if* Shee *ſhould reduce the* Spaniard *to that deſperate paſſe in the* Netherlands, *as to make him throw* the helve after the hatchet, *and to relinquiſh thoſe Provinces altogether, it would much alter the caſe : for nothing could make* France *more ſuſpectfull to* England *than the addition of thoſe Countreyes, for thereby they would come to be one continued piece, and ſo* England her *overthwart neighbour, ſhould bee in a worſe caſe than if the* Spaniard *had them entirely to himſelfe. For it would cauſe* Her *to put* Her *felfe more ſtrongly upon* Her *Guard, and ſo increaſe* Her *charge and care.*

To conclude this point, there cannot be a ſurer maxime and fuller of precaution for the ſecurity of England, *and* Her *Allies, and indeed for all other Princes of this part of the World, than* Barnevelt *gave of late yeares, a little before he came to the fatall block.*

Decreſcat Hiſpanus, *ne creſcat* Francus.

But I have been tranſported too farre by this ticklish digreſſion, which requires an ampler and more ſerious Diſcours.

In fine, with theſe particulars, a *Traveller* ſhould obſerve the likeneſſe and ſympathy of diſtant Nations, as the *Spaniard* with the *Iriſh*, the *French* with the *Pole*, the *German* (ſpecially *Holsteinmen*) with the *Engliſh*, and in *Italy* there have beene many beſides my ſelfe, that have noted the countenance and condition of ſome people of *Italy*, ſpecially thoſe that inhabite *Lombardy*, to draw neere unto the ancient *Brittaines* of this *Iſland*, which argues, that the *Romanes*, who had their *Legions* here ſo many hundred yeares together, did much mingle and clope with them. Amongſt other particulars, the old *Italian* tunes and rithmes both in conceipt and cadency, have much affinity with the *Welſh*, (and the genius of a people is much diſcovered by their proſody) for example,

Vliſſe *ô laſſo, ô dolce Amor' i' muoro*, etc.

This agrees pat with the fancy of the *Welch Bards*, whoſe greateſt acuteneſſe conſiſts in *Agnominations* and in making one word to tread as it were upon the others heele, and puſh it forward in like letters, as in the precedent example, whereof many *Italian* Authors are full, appeareth.

Sect. X.

E muſt alſo obſerve the number of *Languages* and difference of *Dialects*, as neere as he can, in every Countrey as hee paſſeth along.

The French have *three dialects*, the *Wallon* (vulgarly called among themſelves *Romand*,) the *Provenſall*, (whereof the *Gaſcon* is a *ſubdialect*) and the ſpeech of *Languedoc*: They of *Bearne* and *Navarre* ſpeak a Language that hath affinity with the *Baſcuence* or the *Cantabrian* tongue in *Biſcaie*, and amongſt the *Pyrenean* mountaines: The *Armorican* tongue, which they of low *Brittaine* ſpeake (for there is your *Bas-Breton*, and the *Breton-Brittonant* or *Breton Gallois*, who ſpeakes *French*) is a dialect of the old *Brittiſh* as

the word *Armorica* imports, which is a meere *Welſh* word, for if one obſerve the *Radicall* words in that Language they are the ſame that are now ſpoken in *Wales*, though they differ much in the compoſition of their ſentences, as doth the *Corniſh:* Now ſome of the approvedſt *Antiquaries* poſitively hold the Originall Language of the *Celtæ*, the true ancient *Gaules*, to be *Welſh:* And amongſt other Authors they produce no meaner than *Cæſar* and *Tacitus*, to confirme this opinion: For *Cæſar* ſaith that the *Druydes of Gaule understood the Brittiſh Druyds*, who it ſeemes were of more account for their Philoſophy, becauſe as he ſaith, the *Gaules* came uſually over to be taught by them, which muſt bee by *conference*, for there were few books then: Beſides *Tacitus* in the life of *Julius Agricola* reporteth, *that the Language of the Brittaines and the Gaules little differed*, I reſtraine my ſelfe to the middle part of *France* called *Gallia Celtica*, for they of *Aquitaine* ſpake a language that correſponded with the old *Spaniſh*, they of *Burgundy* and *Champagny* with the *German*, and moſt part of *Provence* ſpake *Greek*, there having beene a famous Colony of *Grecians* planted in *Marſeilles:* Other ſmall differences there are up and down in other Provinces of *France*, as the low *Norman* uſeth to contract many words, as he will often ſay, *J'ay un pet à faire*, for *J'ay un petit affaire*, and the *Poictevin* will mince the word, and ſay, *ma Meſe*, *mon peſe*, for *ma Mere*, *mon Pere*; but theſe differences are not conſiderable.

The *Spaniſh* or *Castilian* tongue, which is uſually called *Romance*, and of late years *Lengua Christiana*, (but it is called ſo only amongſt themſelves) for a *Spaniard* will commonly aske a ſtranger whether hee can ſpeake *Chriſtian*, that is, *Castillian?* The *Spaniſh* (I ſay) hath but one conſiderable dialect, which is the *Portugues*, which [this] the *Jewes* of *Europe* ſpeake more than any other language, and [becauſe] they hold that the *Meſsias* ſhall come out that Tribe, that [which] ſpeake the *Portingal* language; other ſmall differences

there are in the pronunciation of the *gutturall* letters in the *Castillian*, but they are of small moment. They of the Kingdome of *Valencia* and *Catalunia* (*Goth-land*) speake rather a language mixed of *French*, and *Italian*: In the Mountaines of *Granada* (the *Alpuxarras*) they speake *Morisco*, that last part of *Spaine* that was inhabited by the *Moores*, who had possessed it above 700 yeares.

But the most ancient speech of *Spaine* seemes to have beene the *Bascuence* or the *Cantabrian* tongue spoken in *Guipuscoa*, the *Asturias* and in some places amongst the *Pyrenes*; but principally in the Province of *Biscaye*, which was never conquered by *Roman*, *Cartaginian*, *Goth*, *Vandall* or *Moore*, which Nations overrunne all the rest of *Spaine*, (though some more, some lesse) therefore whensoever the King of *Spaine* commeth to any of the territories of *Biscaye*, hee must pull off his shooes upon the frontiers, when he treads the first step, being as it were *Virgin holy ground*. And as it is probable that the *Bascuence* is the primitive language of *Spaine*, so doubtlesse the people of that Countrey are a remnant of the very *Aborigenes*, of her first Inhabitants. For it is an infallible Rule, that if you desire to find out (the *Indigenæ*) the ancientest people or language of a Countrey, you must go amongst the Mountaines and places of fastnesse, as the *Epirotiques* in *Greece*, the *Heylanders* in *Scotland*, the *Brittaines* in *Wales*, with whom (I meane the last) the *Biscayner* doth much symbolize in many things, as in the position and quality of ground, in his candor and humanity towards Strangers more than any other people of *Spaine*, [together with] his cryed up Antiquity; for the *Spaniards* confesse the ancientest race of Gentry to have been preserved there: So that a *Biscayner* is capable to be a *Cavalier* of any of the *three habits* without any scrutiny to be made by the *Office*, whether he be, *limpio de la sangre de los Moros*, that is, *cleare of the bloud of the Moores or no*, 'tis enough that he be a *Montanero*, that he be borne amongst the Mountaines of *Biscaye*. And many may be the reasons why Hilly people keep

their ſtandings ſo well, for being inured to labour, and ſubject to the inclemency of the Heavens, diſtemperatures of Ayre, to ſhort Commons, and other incommodities, they prove the hardier and abler men, and happily with the *elevation* of the ground their ſpirits are *heightned*, and ſo prove more couragious and forward to repel an invading enemy.

Adde hereunto, that the cragginesse and ſteepineſſe of places up and down is a great advantage to the dwellers, and makes them inacceſſible, for they ſerve as *Fortreſſes erected by Nature her ſelfe, to protect them from all incurſions:* as *Cæſar* complaines of ſome places in *Scythia*, that *Difficilius erat hostem invenire, quam vincere.*

And now for further proofe that the *Cantabrian* language is the ancienteſt of *Spaine*, I thinke it will not be much from the purpoſe, if I inſert here a ſtrange diſcovery that was made not much above *halfe a hundred yeares ago*, about the very midle of *Spaine*, of the *Pattuecos*, a people that were never knowne upon the face of the Earth before, though *Spaine* hath been a renown'd famous Countrey viſited and known by many warlik Nations: They were diſcovered by the flight of a Faulcon, for the *Duke of Alva* hauking on a time neere certaine hils, not farre from *Salamanca*, one of his Hauks which he much valued, flew over thoſe Mountaines, and his men not being able to find her at firſt, they were ſent back by the Duke after her; theſe Faulkners clammering up and down, from hill to hill and luring all along, they lighted at laſt upon a large pleaſant Valley, where they ſpied a company of naked Savage people, locked in between an *aſſembly* of huge crags and hils indented and hemmed in (as it were) one in another: As ſimple and Savage they were, as the rudeſt people of any of the two *Indies*, *wherof ſome thought a man on horſeback to be one creature with the horſe:* Theſe Savages gazing awhile upon them, flew away at laſt into their caves, for they were *Troglodites*, and had no dwelling but in the hollowes of the rocks:

The Faulconers obſerving well the track of the paſſage, returned the next day, and told the Duke, that in lieu of a hauke, they had found out a New World, a New People never knowne on the continent of *Spaine*, ſince *Tubal Cain* came firſt thither: A while after, the *Duke of Alva* went himſelfe with a Company of Muſcateers, and Conquered them, for they had no offenſive weapon but ſlings; they were *Pythagoreans*, and did eat nothing that had life in it, but excellent fruits, rootes and ſprings there were amongſt them; they worſhipped the Sun, and new Moone, their language was not intelligible by any, yet many of their ſimple words were pure *Baſcuence*, and their *gutturall* pronunciation the very ſame, and a *gutturall pronunciation is an infallible badge of an ancient language*; And ſo they were reduced to Chriſtianity, but are to this day diſcernable from other *Spaniards* by their more tawny complexions, which proceeds from the reverberation of the Sun-beams glancing upon thoſe ſtony mountaines wherewith they are encircled, and on ſome ſides trebly fenced, which beames reflects upon them with a greater ſtrength and ſo tannes them.

But I did not think to have ſtayed ſo long in *Spain* now, nor indeed the laſt time I was there, but he that hath to deale with that Nation, muſt have good ſtore of *Phlegme* and patience, and both for his ſtay, and ſucceſſe of buſineſſe, may often reckon without his hoſt [upon the buſineſſe went about, and for any one to preſcribe a preciſe time to conclude any buſineſſe there, is to reckon without ones hoſt].

Section. XI.

Vt theſe varieties of *Dialects* in *France* and *Spaine*, are farre leſſe in number to thoſe of *Italy*; Nor do I beleeve were there ever ſo many amongſt the *Greeks*, though their Countrey was indented and cut out into ſo many *Iſlands*, which as they *differed in poſition of*

place, ſo there was ſome reaſon they ſhould *differ ſomething in propriety of Speech:* There is in *Italy* the *Toſcan*, the *Roman*, the *Venetian*, the *Neapolitan*, the *Calabreſe*, the *Genoveſe*, the *Luqueſſe*, the *Milaneſe*, the *Parmaſan*, the *Piemonteſe*, and others in and about *Abouzzo*, and the *Apennine hils*; and all theſe have ſeverall Dialects and Idiomes of Speech, and the reaſon I conceive to be, is the multiplicity of Governments, there being in *Italy*, *one Kingdome*, *three Republiques*, and *five or ſix abſolute Principalities*, beſides the *Popedome*, and their *Lawes*, [the *Lawes* of all theſe] being different, their *Language* alſo groweth to be ſo but the prime *Italian* dialect, take *Accent* and *Elegance* together, is *Lingua Toſcana in boca Romana. The Toſcan tongue in a Roman mouth.*

There is alſo a Mongrell *Dialect* compoſed of *Italian* and *French*, and ſome *Spaniſh* words are alſo in it, which they call *Franco*, that is uſed in many of the *Iſlands* of the *Ægean Sea*, and reacheth as farre as *Constantinople*, and *Natolie*, and ſome places in *Afrique*, and it is the ordinary ſpeech of Commerce 'twixt *Christians*, *Jewes*, *Turkes*, and *Greeks* in the Levant.

Now for the Originall Language in *Italy*, as the *Meſapian and Hetruſcan tongue*, there is not a ſyllable left any where, nor do I know any Countrey where the old *primitive Languages*, are ſo utterly and totally extinguiſhed without the leaſt trace left behind, as in *Italy*.

Touching the *Latine Tongue*, which is one of the ancienteſt Languages of *Italy*, but not ſo ancient as thoſe I ſpake of before, the received opinion is, that the inundation of the *Goths*, *Vandals* and *Longbards*, were her firſt Corrupters but it is not ſo, as the Learned *Bembo*, and our no leſſe Learned *Brerewood* are of opinion; for as the *Latine Tongue* grew to perfection by certaine degrees, and in *Cæſar* and *Cicero*'s times (whereof the one for *purity*, the other for *copioufneſſe*, were the beſt that ever writ) ſhe came to the higheſt flouriſh together with the *Empire*, ſo had ſhee inſenſible degrees of corruption amongſt the vulgar, and intrin-

ſique changes in her ſelfe before any forrain cauſe concurred; for the *Salian Verſes*, towards the end of the *Republique*, were ſcarce intelligible, no more were the capitulations of Peace 'twixt *Rome and Carthage* in *Polybius* his time: And every one knowes what kind of *Latine* ſtands upon record on the *Columna Rostrata* in the *Capitoll*, in memory of the famous Navall victory of *Duillius* the Conſull, which happened but 150 yeares before *Cicero.* As alſo what *Latine* had the vogue in *Plautus* his time: And here it will not be much out of the byas, to inſert (in this *Ogdoaſtique*) a few verſes of the *Latine* which was ſpoken in that age, which were given me by a worthy polite *Gentleman*,

Sic eſt, nam nenum lacient uls manaca, præs eſt
Andreas; Ipſus Hortitor ergo cluo
Dividiam eſtricem ut genii averruncet, et ultra
Calpar, ſi pote, Luræ inſipet omnimodis,
Calpar, quod Nymphis nenum ebrium, at Argeliorum
Zitho, quod noſtra hæc vincia dapſiliter
Degulet, ha frux obgræcari (haut numina poſce it)
Prodinit, topper morta modo orta necat.

So that as before, ſo after *Cicero*'s time, the *Latine Tongue* wrought certaine changes in her ſelfe, before any mixture with Strangers, or the intervention of any forraine cauſe: *For as Kingdomes and States with all other Sublunary things are ſubject to a toſsing and tumbling, to periods and changes, as alſo all Naturall bodies corrupt inwardly and inſenſibly of themſelves, ſo Languages are not exempt from this Fate, from thoſe accidents, and revolutions that attend Time:* For *Horace* complained in his dayes, that *words changed as coynes did:* Yet beſides this home bredd change, it cannot be denyed but the *Latine Tongue*, had ſome forraine extrinſique cauſe to degenerate ſo farre into *Italian*, as the admiſſion of ſuch multiplicities of Strangers to be *Roman Citizens*, with the great number of ſlaves that were brought into the *City*; Adde herunto at laſt thoſe ſwarms of barbarous Nations, which in leſſe than one hundred yeares thrice over-ran *Italy*, and tooke ſuch footing in her:

And as in *Italy*, ſo likewiſe in *Spaine* and *France*, they corrupted the *Latine tongue*, though I beleeve ſhe never tooke any perfect impreſſion amongſt the vulgar in thoſe Countreyes, albeit the *Romaines* laboured to plant her there, making it their practiſe (though not at firſt: for we reade of ſome *People* that petitioned unto them, that they might bee permitted to uſe the *Latine tongue*) with the *Law* to bring in their *Language* as a marke of Conqueſt.

But one may juſtly aſke why the *Latine tongue* could receive no growth at all amongſt the *Brittaines*, who were ſo many hundred years under the *Roman* government, and ſome of the *Emperours* living and dying amongſt them? To this it may bee anſwered, that in *Brittaine* wee reade of no more than *foure* colonies that were ever planted; but in *Spaine* there were 29, and in *France* 26. But as I cannot ceaſe to wonder that the *Romans* notwithſtanding thoſe Colonies and Legions that had ſo long cohabitation, and coalition with them, could take no impreſſion at all upon the *Brittaines* in ſo long a tract of time in point of Speech, (notwithſtanding that in ſome *other things* there be ſome reſemblances obſerved 'twixt the people, as I ſaid before) I wonder as much how ſuch a multitude of *Greeke* words could creep into the *Welſh* language, ſome whereof for example ſake, I have couched in this *Diſtique*.

Α'λς ὕδωρ, γένεσις, πῦρ, κοιλία γραῖα διδάσκω
Δαῖρα, μελί, κλύω, ἥλιος, αἶσα, μέθυι. &c.

Which words *Engliſhed* are, *Salt*, *water*, *birth*, *fire*, *the belly*, *an old woman*, *to teach*, *the earth*, *hony*, *to heare*, *the Sun*, *deſtiny*, *drunkard*.

Beſides divers others, which are both *Greeke* and *Welſh*, both in pronunciation and ſenſe.

Now for the *Greek tongue*, there is no queſtion, but it was of larger extent than ever the *Roman* was, for theſe three reſpects, for the mighty *commerce* that Nation did exerciſe, for their humour in planting of *Colonies*, for

their *Learning and Philoſophy*, for *Greek* is the *ſcientificalſt tongue* that ever was, in all which they went beyond the *Romanes:* And it is not long ago ſince in ſome places of *Italy* her ſelfe, as *Calabria* and *Apulia*, the *Liturgy* was in the *Greek tongue.* Nor is ſome vulgar *Greek* ſo farre adulterated, and eloignated from the true *Greek*, as *Italian* is from the *Latin*, for there is yet in ſome places of the *Morea* true *Greek* ſpoken vulgarly (you cannot ſay ſo of the *Latin* any where) only they confound theſe three *letters*, η, ι, υ, (*Eta*, *Iota*, *Upſilon*) and theſe two dipthongs ει and οι, all which they pronounce as *Ioata.* As for πίνω σοὶ κύριε, they pronounce πίνω σὶ κίριε for μήνιν ἄειδε θεά, they ſay μίνιν αἰδε θέα. There is alſo true *Greek* ſpoken in ſome parts of the leſſer *Aſia*, where there is no place upon the ſurface of the earth, for the proportion, where ſo many differing Languages are ſpoken, yet moſt of them are but *Dialects* and *ſubdialects*; ſo that of thoſe two and twenty tongues, which *Mithridates* is recorded to have vnderſtood, above two parts of three, I beleeve, were but *dialects.*

I dare go no further *Eaſtward*, for it is beyond the bounds of ſo ſmall a Volume as this, to ſpeak of the *Levantine tongues*, that go from the *Liver to the Heart*, from the *Right hand to the Left*, as the moſt *Spacious Arabique*, which is ſpoken (or learnt) throughout al[l] the vaſt dominions of the *Mahumetan Empire*, and is the moſt *fixed* language now upon Earth, it being death to *alter* it, or *Tranſlate the Alcoran* into any other language, to adde the leaſt title to the firſt text, or comment upon it; a rare policy to *prevent ſchiſmes, and restraine the extravagant, and various reſtleſſe fancies of humane braine.*

This page is alſo too narrow to comprehend any thing of the moſt large *Slavonique tongue*, which above other Languages hath this prerogative to have *two Characters*, one reſembling the *Latine*, the other the *Greek*, and in many places the *Liturgy* is in both, one for *Sundayes and Holy-dayes*, the other for *working*

dayes. There are above *forty* ſeverall Nations, both in *Europe* and *Aſia*, which have the *Slavonick* for their vulgar ſpeech, it reacheth from *Moſco*, the Court of the great *Knez*, to the *Turks Seraglio* in *Constantinople*, and ſo over the *Propontey* to divers places in *Aſia*, it being the common language of the *Janizaries.*

Sect. XII.

THe *German* or *Teutonique* tongue alſo is of mighty extent, for not only the large Continent of *Germany* high and low, but the Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, *Denmarque*, *Swethland*, *Norway*, *Iſland*, *and ſome parts of Hungary and Poland ſpeake it vulgarly.* And queſtionleſſe the *German* is one of the firſt *mother tongues of Europe*, whereof *Scaliger* would have but *eleven*, though there be *foure or five more*, but I find that they who are cryed up for great Clearks may erre, as he did in this, as alſo when hee made *Preſter John* an *African* and placed him in *Ethiopia*, in the *Habaſsins* Countrey, whereas it is certaine that he was an *Aſian*, and King of *Tenduc in Tartary* above two thouſand miles diſtant, beſides he was a *Neſtorian* by his religion, and it is well known the *Habaſsines* are *Jacobites* and *Chriſtians from the girdle upward, and Jews downward, admitting both of Baptiſm and Circumciſion.*

And ſo ancient is the *German tongue*, that *Goropius Becanus* flattered himſelfe with a fancy, that it was the language which was ſpoken in *Paradiſe*, which *Ortelius* alſo ſhewed a deſire to beleeve; they grounded this conceipt upon theſe words, *Adam*, *Eve*, *Abel*, *Seth*, etc. which they would ſtretch to bee *German* words; alſo that their language came firſt from *Aſia*, becauſe *Godt*, *Fader*, *Moder*, *Broder*, *Star*, are found to ſignifie the ſame things both in the *German*, and *Perſian tongue.*

There is no language ſo ful of *Monoſyllables* and knotted ſo with *Conſonants* as the *German*, howſoever ſhe is a full *mouthd maſculine ſpeech:* the ſpeeches of

the *Kingdoms* before mentioned, are but *Dialects* derived from her; And the *Engliſh* is but a *Sub-dialect or branch of the Saxon Dialect*, which hath no other name in *Welſh* and *Iriſh* to this day; for take an *Engliſhman Capa pea*, from head to foot, every member hee hath is *Dutch*.

Yet ſince the *last Conqueſt* much *French* hath got in, and greatly embelliſhed and ſmoothed the *Engliſh*, ſo that there is very much affinity between them, as for Example,

La Fortune me tourmente,
La Vertu mecontente.

Or,

Mon deſir eſt infiny,
D'entrer en Paradis.

Which ſayings are both *French* and *Engliſh*.

Of late yeares the *Engliſh tongue* hath much enriched her ſelfe, by borrowing of ſome choyce, well founding and ſignificant words from other Languages alſo; ſo that ſhe may be compared to a *Poſie made up of many fragrant choyce Flowers:* And truly, without intereſt and paſſion, let it be ſpoken, there is in *Engliſh* as *true ſtraines of Eloquence, as ſtrong and ſinewy Expreſsions, as elaborate and ſolid pieces of Fancy, as far fetched reaches of Invention, and as full of ſalt,* [*there are*] *Metaphor's as faithfully pourſued, Similies as aptly applyed, and as well cloathed and girded about*; as in any Language whatſoever, both in *Poeſie and Proſe*; It muſt be granted that ſome other Languages, for their ſoft and ſmooth melting fluency, as having no abruptneſſe of *Conſonants*, have ſome advantage of the *Engliſh*; yet many of their fancies, which amongſt themſelves they hold to be *ſtrong lines and quinteſſential ſtuffe*, being turned to another tongue become flat, and prove oftentimes but meere gingles, but what is witty in *Engliſh*, is ſo, with advantage, in any Language elſe, unleſſe the conceipt be *topicall*, or *perſonall*, and *peculiar* only to this *Iſland*.

But whither have I been thus tranſported? The Copiouſneſſe and pleaſure of the Argument hath carried

mee a little further than I made account, for to bee a πολύγλωσις to have the knowledge, ſpecially the *practicall* knowledge (for the *Theory* is not nere ſo grateful nor uſeful) of many languages is one of the richeſt and pleaſingſt kind of *Notions* that is; And we find upon the beſt record, that the firſt bleſſing which fell down from Heaven upon thoſe holy *Heralds* of Chriſtianity, the *Apostles*, was the knowledge of many tongues, inſpired into them immediatly by God Almighty himſelfe.

For what is *Imagination*, *Invention* and *Senſe*, without the faculty of *Speech*, without expreſſion? Speech is the inſtrument by which a *Foole* is diſtinguiſhed from a *Philoſopher: Speech* is the *Index*, *the Interpreter*, *the Ambaſſador of the mind*, and the *Tongue the Vehiculum*, *the Chariot*, *which conveyeth and carrieth the notions of the Mind to Reaſons Palace*, *and* [*ſo to*] *the impregnable Tower of Truth: And although there be but one way thither*, *yet there be many ſorts of Chariots*, *ſome more ſumptuous and better harneſſed than others; for amongſt tongues there be ſome farre more rich*, *more copious*, *and of ſtronger expreſsions than others: And amongst Tongues there is alſo a kind of good fellowſhip*, *for they ſometimes ſupply one anothers wants*, *and mutually borrow and lend.*

Sect. XIII.

Vt whether have I wandred? I had almoſt forgot where I left my *Traveller*, but now I remember wel it was in *Italy*. And having ſurveyed *Italy*, *that minion of Nature*, he may croſſe the *Alpes*, and ſee ſome of the *Cantons*, thoſe *rugged Republiques*, and [with their] *Regiments*, and then paſſe through many of the Stately proud Cities of *Germany*, till hee comes to *Bruxels*, and there he ſhall behold the face of a conſtant *Military Court*, and *Provinciall Government*, with a *miſcellany* of all Nations, and if there be any *Leagers* a foot, or *Armies* in motion, it ſhould bee time well ſpent to ſee them

For the *Netherlands* have been for many yeares, as one may ſay, the very *Cockpit of Chriſtendome*, the *Schoole of Armes*, and *Rendezvous of all adventurous Spirits, and Cadets*, which makes moſt Nations of *Europe* beholden to them for Soldiers. Therefore the Hiſtory of the *Belgique* wars are very worth the reading, for I know none fuller of *ſtratagemes*, of *reaches of Pollicy*, of *variety of ſucceſſes* in ſo ſhort a time: nor in which more *Princes* have been engaged (though ſome more, ſome leſſe) for *reaſons of ſtate*, nor a warre which hath produced ſuch deplorable effects *directly* or *collaterally*, all *Christendome* over, both by *Sea* and *Land*.

Jean Petit in *French* is an approved Author, *Guicciardin*, *Don Carles Coloma in Spaniſh*, and Sir *Roger Williams in Engliſh*, with others, there you ſhall reade of one *Towne* taken by a *Boat of Turfs*, and reprized many yeares after by a *Boat of Fagots*, another taken by the *flight of a Hauk*, another by a *load of Hey*, another by a *Cart full of Apples*, and many by *diſguiſes, either of Boores, Fryers, or Marchands*.

Having ſpent ſome ſmall time in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, he may by ſafe conduct, as is uſuall, paſſe to *Holland*, where he ſhall find a People planted as it were under the *Sea*, out of whoſe jawes they force an habitation, with infinite expence and toyle, checking the impetuous cours of the angry *Ocean*, and ſhewing the World *how far Industry and Art, can curbe and controule Nature:* And very expedient it is, hee ſhould take an exact Survey of the *States* of the *United Provinces*, becauſe they are accounted the *ſurest Confederates of England, and her faſteſt Friends*, for intereſt of *Religion*, for community of *danger*, and conſequently of reciprocall *preſervation*.

And it will be a wonderfull thing to ſee what a mighty ſubſiſtence of wealth and a huge *Navigable power* that *State is come* too, by a rare unparalelled induſtry: For I dare avouch that the *Roman* Commonwealth, (though ſhe had her head as well knit in her infancy as any that ever was) did not come neere her,

in ſo ſhort a progreſſe of time, to ſuch a growth of ſtrength.

But it ſeemes all things conſpired to rayſe *Holland* to this paſſe: Firſt, the *humour of the people*, being patient and induſtrious, and of a genius more inclinable to a *Democraticall* Government than to a *Monarchy:* Adde hereunto the *quality of the Countrey*, being every where half cut, and as it were inlayed with water, and thereby much fortified, and made in many places inacceſſible; ſo that, if need were, *Holland* could turne her ſelfe into a huge pond when ſhe liſt.

Hereunto concurred a further advantage of ſituation, having behind her the *Baltique* Sea, which affoords her all kind of Materials for ſhipping, and for all kind of Nutriment and Military forces *England* and *France*, both ſwarming with ſuperfluous people, ſuſpectfull of the *Spaniſh* greatneſſe, and ſo not unwilling to contribute auxiliary ſtrength for mutuall ſecurity and conſervation.

Navigation and *Mercantile Negotiation*, are the two *Poles* whereon that *State* doth *move*, and to both theſe, it ſeemes, *Nature* her ſelfe hath expreſly deſigned both Countrey and People; *Them* by an extraordinary kind of *Propenſity*, the Countrey by apt *poſition*, for having no *Land* to manure [it], they plow the very bowels of the *Deep*, the *wrinkled fore-head of Neptune* being the *furrowes* that yealds them encreaſe.

Moreover, there being many great *Rivers* that ſlice and cut the Countrey up and down to diſgorge themſelvs into the *Ocean*, thoſe *Rivers* may be ſaid to pay *them* tribute, as well as to the Sea, which *Rivers* branching themſelves into large and bearing ſtreames, do ſo fitly ſerve one another, and all the whole, that it may bee ſaid, *Nature* in the frame of humane bodies, did not diſcover more *Art*, in diſtributing the veines and arteries, for the eaſy conveyance of the maſſe of bloud into each part, as ſhe hath ſhewed here in diſperſing thoſe waters ſo orderly for trafique.

Theſe *Rivers* bring her what the large continent of

Germany, and other Eafterne Countreys affoord, and fhee lying between them and the Sea, furnifheth them with all far fetched *Indian*, *African*, and *Spanifh* commodities.

Here you fhall fee the moft induftrious people upon earth, making a *rare vertue of necefsity*, for the *fame thing which makes a Parrot fpeake, makes them to labour.* For having nothing of their own, yet they abound with all things, and may be faid, *to live by the idleneffe of fome of their neighbours*, I am loth to name here *who* they are.

Here you fhall find a people grow *Rich* alfo by that which ufeth to *impoverifh* others, even by *Warre*, for *prifes and booties abroad, go to make a good part of their wealth.*

Yet in converfation they are but heavy, of a homely outfide, and flow in action, which *flowneffe* carieth with it a notable *perfeverance*, and this may bee imputed to the quality of that *mould* of *earth*, whereon they dwell, which may be faid to *bee a kind of ftanding poole of Ayre:* And which is known to have fuch a force of affimila ion, that when people of a more vivacious temper, come to mingle with them, at the fecond generation, they feeme to participate of the foyle and Ayre, and degenerate into meere *Hollanders*; the like is found dayly in Horfes and Dogs, and all other animals.

Occulta est Batavæ *quædam vis infita terræ.*

One remarquable piece of Policy I forgot, that hee fhould obferve in the Vnited *Provinces*; *viz.* Why in fo fmall an extent of ground they have fo many rich, welbuilt and populous Townes amongft them; one of the principall reafons is, becaufe they appropriate fome ftaple materiall commoditie to every one of the great Townes, as *Amsterdam* hath the trade of the *Eaft and Weft Indies*, *Roterdam the Englifh Cloth*, *Dort the Rhenifh Wines*, *Middelborough the French Wines*, *Treveres the Scots trade*, *the Hage the refidence of the Prince and the States*, *Haerlam fubfist*[*s*] *by knitting and dying*, and fo forth; which is a very laudable cours, not to fuffer one place to fwallow the wealth and traffique of

the whole, *like the ſpleene in the naturall body, whoſe ſwelling makes all the reſt of the members languiſh.*

Sect. XIV.

HAving thus paſſed the diameter of *France*, run over *Spaine*, croſſed the Mediterranean to *Italy*, and obſerved the multiplicity of Governments therein; having thus climbed the *Alpes*, and traverſed the beſt part of *Germany*, having alſo taken the length of the *Belgique Lion*, (of all which *France for a Kingdome*, *Venice for a Republique*, *Millan for a Duchy*, *Flanders for a County* beare the bell) having I ſay, *Travelled* through all theſe places, all which may bee done compleatly in *three yeares and foure months*, which foure *Months* I allow for itinerary removals and journeys, and the *Yeares* for reſidence in places; it will be high time now to hoyſe ſayle, and ſteere homwards, where being returned, hee muſt abhorre all affectations, all forced poſtures and complements: For *Forraine Travell* oftentimes makes many to wander from themſelves, as well as from their Countrey, and to come back mere *Mimiques*, and ſo in going farre, to fare worſe, and bring back leſſe wit, than they carieth forth, they go out *Figures* (according to the *Italian* Proverb) and returne *Cyphers*, they retaine the *Vice* of a Countrey, and will diſcours learnedly thereon, but paſſe by, and forget the *good*, their *Memories being herein like haire ſeeves, that keep up the branne, and let go the fine flowre:* They ſtrive to degenerate as much as they can from *Engliſhmen*, and all their talke is ſtill *Forraine*, or at leaſt, will bring it to be ſo, though it be by head and ſhoulders, *magnifying* other Nations, and *derogating* from their own: Nor can one hardly exchange three words with them, at an Ordinary (or elſe-where) but preſently they are th'other ſide of the Sea, commending either the *Wines of France*, the *fruits of Italy*, or the *Oyle and Sallets of Spaine.*

Some alſo there are who by their *Countenance* more than by their *Cariage*, by their *Diſeaſes*, more than by their *Diſcourſes*, diſcover themſelves to have been *Abroad* under hot Climats.

Others have a cuſtome to bee always relating ſtrange *things* and *wonders*, (of the humor of Sir *John Mandevile*) and they uſually preſent them to the Hearers, through *multiplying glaſſes*, and thereby cauſe the thing to appeare far greater than it is in it ſelf, they make *Mountaines of Mole-hils, like Charenton-Bridge-Eccho, which doubles the ſound nine times.* Such a *Traveller was* he, that reported the *Indian Fly*, to be as big as a *Fox*; *China birds*, to be as big as ſome *Horſes*, and their *Mice* to be as big as *Monkeys*; but they have the wit to fetch this far enough off, becauſe the Hearer may rather *believe it*, than make a voyage ſo far to *diſprove it.*

Every one knowes the *Tale* of him, *who reported hee had ſeen a Cabbage under whoſe leafes a Regiment of Souldiers were ſheltred from a ſhower of raine:* Another who was no *Traveller* (yet the wiſer man) ſaid, *hee had paſſed by a place where there were* 400 *braſiers making of a Cauldron*, 200 *within, and* 200 *without, beating the nayles in*; the *Traveller asking for what uſe that huge Cauldron was?* he told him, *Sir it was to boyle your Cabbage.*

Such another was the *Spaniſh Traveller*, who was ſo habituated to *hyperbolize*, and relate wonders, that he became ridiculous in al[l] companies, ſo that he was forced at laſt to give order to his man, when he fell into any *exceſſe this way*, and report any thing improbable, he ſhould pul him by the ſleeve: The Master falling into his wonted *hyperboles*, ſpoke *of a Church in China, that was ten thouſand yards long*; his man ſtanding behind and pulling him by the ſleeve, made him ſtop ſuddenly: the company asking, I pray Sir, how broad might that Church be? he replyed, *but a yard broad, and you may thanke my man for pulling me by the ſleeve, elſe I had made it foureſquare for you.*

Others have another kind of *hyperbolizing* vaine, as they will ſay, *there 's not a woman in Italy, but weares an Iron girdle next her skin in the abſence of her husband, that for a pistoll one may be master of any mans life there; That there is not a Gentleman in France but hath his box of playsters about him; That in Germany every one hath a rouſe in his pate, once a day; That there are* [*a*] *few Dons in Spaine that eat fleſh once a week, or that hath not a Miſtreſſe beſides his wife; That Paris hath more Courtizans than London honeſt Women* (which may admit a double ſenſe;) *That Sevill is like a cheſſebord table, having as many Moriſcos as Spaniards; That Venice hath more Maquerelles, than Marchands; Portugall more Jews than Chriſtians:* whereas it is farre otherwiſe, *for the Devill is not ſo black as he is painted*, no more are theſe Noble *Nations* and *Townes* as they are tainted: Therefore one ſhould

Parcere paucorum *diffundere crimen in* omnes.

And it is a *generous kind of civility to report alwayes the beſt.*

Furthermore, there is amongſt many others (which were too long to recite here) an odde kind of *Anglicifme*, wherein ſome do frequently expreſſe themſelves, as to ſay *Your* Boores of *Holland*, Sir; *Your* Ieſuites of *Spaine*, Sir; *Your* Courtiſans of *Venice*, Sir: whereunto one anſwered (not impertinently) *My Courtiſans Sir? Pox on them all for me, they are none of my Courtiſans.*

Laſtly, ſome kind of *Travellers* there are, whom their *gate* and *ſtrouting*, their *bending* in the *hammes*, and *ſhoulders*, and *looking upon their legs*, with *frisking* and *ſinging* do ſpeake them *Travellers.*

Others by a phantaſtique kind of *ribanding* themſelvs, by their modes of *habit*, and *cloathing* (and touching *variety of cloathing*, there be certaine odde ill-favoured old *Prophecies* of this *Iſland*, which were improper to recite here) do make themſelves knowne to have breathed forraine ayre, like Sir *Thomas Moore's Traveller*, whom I will bring here upon the ſtage.

Amicus et Sodalis eſt Lalus *mihi,*
Britanniaque natus, altuſque Inſulâ:
At cùm Brittannos Galliæ cultoribus
Oceanus ingens, lingua, mores dirimant,
Spernit tamen Lalus *Britannica omnia;*
Miratur expetitque cuncta Gallica
Togâ ſuperbit ambulans in Gallica,
Amatque multùm Gallicas lacernulas,
Zonâ, locello, atque enſe gaudet Gallico,
Et calceis et ſubligare Gallico,
Totoque denique apparatu Gallico,
Nam et unum habet Miniſtrum, eumque Gallicum,
Sed quem, licet velit, nec ipſa Gallia,
Tractare quiret plus (opinor) Gallicè,
Stipendii nihil dat, atque id Gallicè,
Vestitque tritis pannulis, et Gallicè hoc,
Alit cibo parvo et malo, idque Gallicè,
Labore multo exercet, atque hoc Gallicè,
Pugniſque crebrò pulſat, idque Gallicè,
In cœtu, in via, et in foro, et frequentiâ
Rixatur objurgatque ſemper Gallicè.
Quid? Gallicè illud? imò ſemi-Gallicè,
Sermonem enim, ni fallor, ille Gallicum,
Tam callet omnem, quàm Latinum Pſittacus.
Creſcit tamen; ſibique nimirum placet,
Verbis tribus ſi quid loquatur Gallicis,
Aut Gallicis ſi quid nequit vocabulis,
Conatur id verbis, licèt non Gallicis,
Sono ſaltem perſonare Gallico,
Palato hiante, acutulo quodam tono,
Et fœminæ instar garrientis molliter,
Sed ore pleno, tanquam id impleant fabæ,
Balbutiens videlicet ſuaviter,
Preſsis quibuſdam literis, Galli quibus
Ineptientes abſtinent, nihil ſecus
Quam vulpe gallus, rupibuſque Navita;
Sic ergo linguam ille et Latinam Gallicè,
Et Gallicè linguam ſonat Britannicam,
Et Gallicè linguam refert Hispanicam,

Et Gallicè linguam refert Lombardicam,
Et Gallicè linguam refert Germanicam,
Et Gallicè omnem præter unam Gallicam,
Nam Gallicam ſolùm ſonat Britannicè:
At quiſquis Inſulâ ſatus Britànnica
Sic patriam inſolens faſtidiet ſuam,
Ut more ſimiæ laboret fingere,
Et æmulari Gallicas ineptias,
Ex amne Gallo ego hunc opinor ebrium.
Ergo ut ex Britanno Gallus eſſe nititur,
Sic Dii jubete, fiat fiat ex Gallo capus.

Sec. XV.

BVt ſuch *Travellers* as theſe may bee termed *Land-lopers*, as the *Dutchman* ſaith, rather than *Travellers*; Such may be ſaid to go out upon ſuch an [the like] Arrand, as wee reade *Saules-ſon* went once out upon [to ſeek his Father's aſſes]; or like the *Prodigall ſon*, to feed upon the *huskes* of ſtrange Countreys; or as we reade, *Æſope travelled to Iſtria*, thence to *Africk*, and ſundry other Regions, only to find out the beſt *Crabs*; or like him who came from the furtheſt parts of *Hungary* to *England* [from the furtheſt parts of-Hungary], to eat *Oyſters:* Theſe *Travellers* in lieu of the *Ore of Ophir* wherewith they ſhould come home richly freighted, may be ſaid to make their returne in *Apes* and *Owles*, in a cargazon of *Complements* and *Cringes*, or ſome huge monſtrous *Periwigs*, which is the *Golden Fleece* they bring over with them.

Such, I ſay, are a ſhame to their Countrey abroad, and their kinred at home, and to their parents, *Benonies*, the *ſons of ſorrow*: and as *Jonas* in the *Whales* belly, *travelled much, but ſaw little*, why, becauſe hee was ſhut up in the body of that great (aquatique) beaſt, ſo theſe may be ſaid to have been carried up and downe through many Countreys, and after a long *pererration* to and fro, to returne as wiſe as they went, becauſe their ſoules were ſo ill lodged, and ſhut up in

ſuch ſtupid bodies: No, an ingenious and diſcerning *Traveller* will diſdaine this, and ſtrive to diſtinguiſh 'twixt good and evill, 'twixt that which is gracefull, and what's phantaſtique, 'twixt what is to be followed, and what's to be ſhunned, and bring home the beſt: Hee will ſtrive to be rather *Subſtance without ſhew, than ſhew without ſubstance:* From the *Italian* he will borrow his *reſervedneſſe*, not his *jealouſie* and *humor of revenge*; From the *French* his *Horſemanſhip* and gallantneſſe that way, with his *Confidence*, and nothing elſe: From the *Spaniard* his *Sobriety*, not his *luſt*: From the *German* (cleane contrary) his *Continency*, not his *Exceſſe*, the other way: From the *Netherland* his *Industry*, and that's all: His heart muſt ſtill remaine *Engliſh*, though I allow him ſome choyce and change of *Habit*,

Cœlum, non animum mutet—

And as the commendableſt quality of *Oyle* is to ſmell of nothing, yet it giveth an excellent reliſh to many ſorts of *meats*: So he is the diſcreeteſt *Traveller*, who *Savoureth* of no affectation, or ſtrangeneſſe, of no exotique *modes* at all, after his returne, either in his *Cariage* or *Diſcours*, unleſſe the ſubject require it, and the occaſion and Company aptly ſerve for him, to diſcover himſelfe, and then an application of his Knowledge abroad, will excellently ſeaſon his matter and ſerve as golden *diſhes* to ſerve it in.

If any Forrainer be to be imitated in his manner of *Diſcours* and *Comportement*, it is the *Italian*, who may be ſaid to be a *medium* 'twixt the *Gravity* of the *Spaniard*, the *Heavineſſe* of the *Dutch*, and *Levity* of our next Neighbours, for he ſeemes to allay the one, and quicken the other two; to ſerve as a *buoy* to the one, and a *ballaſt* to th'other.

France uſeth to work one good effect upon the *Engliſh*, ſhe uſeth to take away the mothers milk (as they ſay,) that bluſh and baſhfull tincture, which uſeth to riſe up in the face upon ſudden ſalutes, and enterchange of Complement, and to enharden one with confidence; For the Gentry of *France* have a kind of

looſe becomming boldnes, and forward vivacity in their cariage, whereby [as] they ſeeme to draw reſpect from their *Superiours* and *Equals*, and [ſo they] make their *Inferiours* [and all kind of mechaniques to] keepe a fitting diſtance.

In *Italy* amongſt other morall cautions, one may learne *not to be over prodigall of ſpeech* when there is no need, for with a *nod*, with a *ſhake of the head*, and *ſhrug of the ſhoulder*, they will anſwer to many queſtions.

One ſhall learne beſides there not to *interrupt* one in the relation of his tale, or to *feed* it with odde *interlocutions*: One ſhall learne alſo not to *laugh at his own jest*, as too many uſe to do, *like a Hen*, *which cannot lay an egge but ſhe must cackle.*

Moreover, one ſhall learne *not to ride ſo furiouſly* as they do ordinarily in *England*, when there is no neceſſity at all for it [required]; for the *Italians* have a Proverb, that *a galloping horſe is an open ſepulcher.* And the *Engliſh* generally are obſerved by all other Nations, to ride commonly with that ſpeed, as if they rid for a Midwife, or a Phyſitian, or to get a pardon to ſave one's life as he goeth to execution, when there is no ſuch thing, or any other occaſion at all, which makes them call *England*, the *Hell of Horſes* [not without cauſe].

In theſe hot Countreyes alſo, one ſhall learne to give over the habit of an odde cuſtome, peculiar to the *Engliſh* alone, and whereby they are diſtinguiſhed from other Nations, which is, *To make ſtill towards the Chimney*, though it bee in the *Dog-dayes.*

Sect. XVI.

Anguage is the greateſt outward teſtimony of *Travell: Yet is it a vaine and verball Knowledge that rests only in the* Tongue; *Nor are the obſervations of the* Eye *any thing profitable, unleſſe the* Mind *draw*

ſomething from the Externe *object to enrich the* Soule *withall, to informe to build up and unbeguile the* Inward *man, that by the ſight of ſo various objects of* Art *and* Nature, *that by the perluſtration of ſuch famous Cities, Castles, Amphitheaters, and Palaces; ſome glorious and new, ſome mouldred away, and eaten by the Iron-teeth of* Time, *he come to diſcerne, the best of all earthly things to bee but frayle and tranſitory. That this World at the beſt is but a huge Inne, and we but wayfaring men, but Pilgrimes, and a company of rambling Paſſengers. That we enter first into this World by Travaile, and ſo paſſe along with Cries, by weeping croſſe* [*to mile end*]: So that it was no improper Character the *Wiſeſt of Kings* gave of this life to be nought elſe but a *continuall Travell:* as the Author croſſing once over the *Pyrenes*, writ to a Noble friend of his in this diſtique,

Vita Peregrinans Iter eſt, *ſacra pagina monstrat,*
Nunc verè vitam, *nam* peregrinor, ago.

Yet amongſt theſe paſſengers, ſome find warme lodgings in this Inne, with ſoft beds, the table plentifully furniſhed, And ſuch is the pooreneſſe of ſome Spirits, and the narrowneſſe of their Soules, and they are ſo nailed to the Earth, that when they are almoſt at their Journeyes end, when they lye wind-bound at the Cape of good Hope, *and have one foot in the Barge ready to go off, with the next Gale to another* Countrey, *to their laſt home:* Yet, as the *Orator* ſaith, *Quò minùs viæ reſtat eò plus viatici quærunt*, the leſſe way remaines, the more proviſion they make ſtill for their journey.

Other Paſſengers there are, which find but ſhort commons, they are forced to trudge up and down for a roome to lay their heads upon, and would bee well content with a trucklebed, or a mattreſſe in the garret, for want whereof, they are often constrained [*put*] *to lye in ſtate* [*abroad*] *againſt their wils in the* Starre Chamber, [*but much againſt their wills*] *having* [*though they have*] *the Heaven for their Canopy, and the breasts of their* Common Mother *for their pillow.*

And it is the high pleasure of Providence this disparity should be 'twixt the Citizens of this World, and that the earth should be divided into such unequall portions, to leave place for Industry, Labour, *and* Wit, *the Children of* Necessity, *and Parents of* Vertue, *for otherwise, few or none would pourchase any ground upon* Parnassus Hill.

To see the *Escuriall* in *Spaine*, or the *Plate-Fleet at* her first arrivall; To see *Saint Denis*, the late *Cardinal-Palace in Richelieu*, and other things in *France*; To see the *Citadell of Antwerp*; The *New Towne of Amsterdam*, and the *Forrest of Masts*, which lye perpetually before her; To see the *Imperiall, and stately Hans Towns of Germany*; To see the *Treasurie of Saint Mark, and Arsenall of Venice*; The *Mount of Piety in Naples*; The *Dome and Castle of Milan*; The proud Palaces in and about *Genoua*, whereof there are two hundred within two miles of the Towne; and not one of the same forme of building; To see *Saint Peter's Church*, the *Vatican*, and other magnificent structures in *Rome*, who in the case she stands in, may be said to be but her owne Tombe, in comparison of what she hath beene, being fallen from the *Hils* to the *Plaines*.

To be able to sp[e]ake many Languages, as the *Voluble French*, the *Courtly Italian*, the *Lofty Spanish*, the *Lusty Dutch*, the *Powerfull Latine*, the *Scientifique and happily compounding Greek*, the most *Spacious Slavonique*, the *Mysticall Hebrew* with all her Dialects: *All this is but vanity and superficiall Knowledge, unlesse the inward man be bettered hereby; unlesse by seeing and perusing the volume of the* Great *World, one learne to know the* Little, *which is himselfe, unles one learne to governe and check the passions, our* Domestique Enemies, *then which nothing can conduce more to gentlenes of mind, to Elegancy of Manners, and Solid Wisdome. But principally, unlesse by surveying and admiring his works abroad, one improve himself in the knowledge of his* Creator, præ quo quisquiliæ cætera; *in comparison whereof the best of sublunary blessings are but bables*, and

this indeed, this *Vnum neceſſarium*, ſhould be the center to which *Travell ſhould tend.*

Moreover, one ſhould evertuate himſelfe to bring ſomething home, that may accrue to the publique benefit and advantage of his Countrey, and not to draw water to his own Mill only; For of thoſe *three* that the *Orator* ſaith, challenge a ſhare in our *Nativity*, our *Countrey* is the firſt, and *our ſelfs* laſt. Therefore he ſhould pry into the *Policy aud municipall Lawes* of other *States* and *Cities*, and be able to render an accompt of their government, and by collation thereof with that of his own, Examine well whether any wholeſome conſtitution or cuſtome may be applyable to the frame of his owne Countrey.

It is recorded in an ancient *Greek Author*, that the famous *Ptolomey*, he who converſed and *Travelled* ſo much amongſt Heavenly bodies, culled out a ſelect number of his pregnanteſt young Nobles, and Gentlemen to go to *Greece*, *Italy*, *Carthage*, and other *Regions*, and the prime Inſtruction they had in charge, was, to obſerve the *Government*, as they *Travelled* along, and bring back *three* of the wholeſomeſt *Lawes* out of every Countrey. Being returned, they related that in the *Roman Republique*, *a moſt ſingular veneration was had of the Temples*, *a punctuall obedience to Governors*, *and unavoydable puniſhments inflicted upon malefactors.*

In Carthage, *the Senat commanded*, *the Nobles executed*, *and the People obeyed.*

In Athens *the Rich were not ſuffered to be Extortioners*, *the Poore idle*, *nor the Magiſtrates ignorant.*

In Rhodes *Old men were Venerable*, *Young men modest*, *and Women ſolitary and ſilent.*

In Thebes *the Nobles did fight*, *the Plebeians labour*, *and Philoſophers teach.*

In Sicily *Juſtice was entirely administred*, *Commerce was honestly exerciſed*, *and all enjoyed equall priviledges and interest in the State.*

Among the Sicionians *there were admitted neither Phyſitians to hinder the operations of Nature*; *nor*

Strangers, to introduce innovations; nor Lawyers, to multiply Contentions.

Theſe men it ſeemes did not go out to ſee feathers fly in the Ayre, or *Reeds ſhaken with the wind*, they did not go to get Complements or Cringes, or Cariage of bodies, or new Modes of cloathing, or to tip the tongue with a little Language only, but they ſearchd into the ſolideſt and uſefulleſt part of humane Wiſdome, which is policy; And doubtleſſe, that rare wiſe King made excellent uſe of their obſervations, and rewarded them accordingly: And *one of the happieſt advantages to a* Monarchy *is, to have a diſcerning and bountifull King when occaſion requires, for Subjects are accordingly active or idle, as they find their Prince able to judge of their merit aud endeavours, and ſo employ them; for in the Common-wealth of Letters, and ſpeculative Orbe of Vertue, the benigne aſpect and influence of the Prince, is as* Apollo *was to the* Muſes, *it gives a kind of comfortable heate, and illumination, whereby they are cheriſhed aud made vigorous.*

The moſt materiall uſe therefore of *Forraine Travel* is to find out ſomething that may bee applyable to the publique utility of one's own Countrey, as a *Noble Perſonage* of late yeares did, who obſerving the uniforme and regular way of ſtone ſtructure up and down *Italy*, hath introduced that *forme* of building to *London* and *Westminster*, and elſe where, which though diſtaſtfull at firſt, as all innovations are, *For they ſeeme like Bug-beares, or Gorgons heads, to the vulgar*; yet they find now the *commodity, firmeneſſe* and *beauty* thereof, the three maine principles of Architecture.

Another ſeeing their *Dikes*, and draynings in the *Netherlands*, hath been a cauſe that much hath beene added, to lengthen the skirts of this *Iſland.*

Another in imitation of their *aqueducts* and *ſluces*, and conveyance of waters abroad, brought *Ware-water* through *London ſtreets*: And it had been wiſhed ſo great and renowned a *City* had not forgot *Him* ſo ſoon, conſidering what infinite advantages redounds to her thereby

for in other Countreys I have ſeene *Statues* erected to perſons in the moſt eminenteſt places (to eternize their memories by way of gratitude) for Inventions of farre leſſer conſequence to the encouragement of others, for it is an old *Rule of State*, and will be in date to the Worlds end, that *Honor nouriſheth Arts*, and is *the golden ſpurre of Vertue and induſtry.*

Sect. XVII.

AMongſt many other fruits of *Forraine Travell*, beſides the delightfull ideas, and a thouſand various thoughts and ſelfe contentments and inward ſolaces, it raiſeth in the memory of things paſt, this is one: That when one hath ſeene the *Tally and taillage of France*, the *Milstone of Spaine*, the *Aſsiſe of Holland*, the *Gabels of Italy*, where one cannot bring an *Egge*, or roote to the market, but the Prince his part *lyes therinna*: When he hath felt the *exceſse of heat*, the dangerous *Serains*, the *Poverty of ſoyle in many places*, the *Homelineſſe and incommodity of lodging*, the *courſe cloathing of the beſt ſort of Peaſants*, their *wooden ſhooes*, *and ſtraw hats*, their *Canvas breeches*, and *Buckram petticoates*, their *meager fare*, feeding commonly upon *Graſſe*, *Hearbs*, *and Roots*, and drinking *Water*, neere the condition of brute animals, *who find the cloth always ready layed, and the buttry open:* When hee hath obſerved what a hard ſhift ſome make to hewe out a dwelling in the *holes of the Rocks*; others to dig one *under the Sea*; when he feeles, how in ſome Climes *the Heaven is as Braſſe*, in others as a *dropping Sponge*; in others *as a great Bellowes*, moſt part of the yeare; how the *Earth*, in many places is ever and anone ſick of a *fit of the Palſie*; When hee ſees the ſame *Sun* which only *cheriſheth* and *gently warmes his Countrey men*, halfe *parboyle and tanne other people*, and thoſe rayes which ſcorch the *aduſted ſoyles of* Calabria *and* Spaine, only *varniſh and guild the green* hony-ſuckled plaines and hillocks of

England; When he hath obſerved what hard *ſhifts* ſome make to *rub* out in this world in divers Countreys, *What ſpeed Nature makes to finiſh her cours in them*; How their beſt ſort of women after *forty*, are preſently *ſuperannuated*, and looke like another *Charing-Croſſe*, or *Carackes that have paſſed the Line in three voyages to the Indies:* When hee hath obſerved all this, At his returne home, hee will bleſſe God, and love *England* better ever after, both for the *Equality of the Temper* in the Clime, where there is no where the like, take all the Seaſons of the yeare together, (though ſome would wiſh *She* might bee puſhed a little nearer the *Sun*:) For the *free condition of the ſubject*, and *equall participation of the Wealth of the Land*, for the *unparallelled accommodation of lodging*, and *ſecurity of Travell*, for the *admirable hoſpitality*, for the *variety and plenty of all ſorts of firme food*, for *attendance and cleanlineſſe*, for the *rare fertility of Shoare and Sea, of Ayre, Earth, and Water*, for the *longevity, well favouredneſſe and innated honesty of the people:* And above all; for the *moderation and decency in celebrating the true ſervice of God*, being farre from *Superstition* one way, and from *Prophaneſſe* the other way, (though (with a quaking heart, I ſpeake it) there have been ſtrange inſolencies committed of late) I ſay, when hee hath well obſerved all this, he will ſing, as once I did to a Noble friend of mine from *Denmarque*, in this *Sapphique:*

Dulcior fumus *Patriæ*, *forenſi*
Flammula, vino, *præit* unda, *terræ*
Herba *Britannæ* [nativæ] *mage tranſmarino*
Flore *ſuavis*.

Sect. XVIII.

Aving thus taſted of ſo many waters, and beene *Salted* in the World abroad, and being ſafely reſtored to the boſome of his owne *Countrey*, his next cours ſhould bee, to ſettle himſelfe awhile in one of the

Innes of Court, (which hee may do and yet bee a *Courtier* beſides) to underſtand ſomething of the *Common Lawes* of *England*, *which are the inheritance of every ſubject*, as alſo of the conſtitutions and Orders of the *Houſe of Parlament*, the moſt indifferent, moſt wholeſome, and Nobleſt way of Government in the World, both in reſpect of *King* and *People: It being the greateſt glory of a King, to be King of a free and well-creſted people, and the greateſt glory of a People to bee under a Crown ſo embelliſhed with Flowers, and ſparckling with ſuch ancient and ſacred gemmes of Royall Prerogatives: Yet to bee under no* Law but of their owne making, to bee the *Setters* of the great *Dyall* of the Common-Wealth themſelves. To be ſubject to no *Ordinance*, to no *Contribution* or *Taxe*, but what is granted in that great *Epidemicall Counſell*, wherein every one from the *Peere* to the *Plebeian* hath an incluſive Vote. And if every degree high and low, both in *Towne* and *Countrey* is there repreſented by their *Subſtitutes*; it were a hard meaſure (under correction, I humbly ſpeake it) if the *Levites*, the beſt of all profeſſions, who beſides the holineſſe of their function (as having charge of the *Nobler halfe* of man, of *that* which ſhould guide and regulate the *Underſtanding* in making of all Lawes, I meane the *Conſcience*) do make a conſiderable part of the People of the Kingdome, ſhould be thence excluded; for though it be inconſiſtent with their calling to have *hands to execute*, yet they may well have *heads to conſult* in that great *Nationall Senat:* It were a hard caſe, I ſay, if thoſe great *Lights*, which were uſed to ſhine with that brightneſſe to the *Envy* (not the *reproach or Scandall* of any that I know of) of all other *Reformed* Churches, ſhould be now put in *wooden Candleſticks:* That thoſe Promotions, Endowments, and Honors, which our [pious and] well diſpoſed *Progenitors* provided, to nouriſh the *Arts*, and ſerve as *Spurres* to Learning and Zeale, ſhould now be cut off, as if they ſerved only for *Stirrops* to Pride. There being *no profeſsions*, but have certaine ſteps of riſing up,

and degrees of Promotion for their encouragement to make men *æmulari meliora.* And he who hath ſpent the vigor of his yeares and Intellectuals in the *Lords Vineyard*, it may well become him (having ſerved, as it were, his yeare of *Jubile*) to have his gray haires dignified with ſome Honor and Authority, with reward and reſt in his old age, and by his long experience and paines to ſee that other painefull Labourers be put into the *Vine-yard*, yet to have his hand often on the Plough himſelfe. If there bee a *theefe in the Candle*, (as wee uſe to ſay commonly) there is a way to pull it out; and not to put out the Candle, by clapping an *Extinguiſher* preſently upon it; If theſe *Lights* grow dim, there is a *Trienniall Snuffer* for them: If theſe Trees beare not good fruit, or ſhoot forth any *Luxuriant* boughs, they are ſure to feele the *Pruning iron* once every three yeares.

In the name of God, let theſe *Lights* be brought to move within the circumference of their own *Orbes*, and be kept from irregular and *eccentrique* motions, And I am confident it will render them leſſe obnoxious to *Envy and Scandal*, and draw upon them a greater opinion of *Reverence.*

There is a Caſtle in the *grand Caire in Ægypt*, called the *Nileſcope*, where there ſtands a *Pillar* with certaine markes to obſerve the height of the River of *Nile*, at her annuall inundation (which fals out preciſely about the Summer Solſtice) if the ſtreame come to bee higher or lower than ſuch markes, it portends *dearth*, but if at higheſt floud it reſt about the middle, it is an infallible preſage of a plentifull yeare: So we may ſay of theſe great *Streames* that are appointed to water the Lords Field, they muſt not *ſwell too high*, nor muſt they run in too *low a Channell:* And [Now] as *humility is the faireſt gemme that can ſhine in a Prelats Miter, ſo the greatest badge of a well devoted Soule, is to reverence the Diſpenſers of the ſacred Oracles of God, the Ghoſtly Fathers, and Governors of the Church* (which in analogy to the *Triumphant in Heaven, hath alſo her degrees of*

Hierarchy.) For beſides *Revenue* there is a *Veneration*, due to this holy function, and it were no hard matter to produce a *Gran Fury* of examples both *Humane* and *Divine*, that where this *Reverence* fayled, it hath been a ſymptome, and an infallible preſage of a declining State, or [and] ſome approaching judgement.

But I hope I ſhall never live to ſee the day that the noble *Engliſh Nation*, who have been ſo renowned all the world over, and cryed up for their exemplary *Piety*, as well as *Proweſſe*, will undervalue themſelves ſo farre, and [or] grow [ſo] diſtruſtfull or conſcious of their owne *judgements*, [of] their owne wonted *Worth*, and *Ability* ſo far, as to thinke thoſe *Nations* (who have not meanes to make the *Church* ſhine with that luſtre) to be *Wiſer* than they, or to out go them in zeale, [I ſay, I hope the time will never com that the *English* will be ſo poor ſpirited;] as to receive laws for the Conſcience, and forme of ſerving God from thoſe [people] who have been [ſo] far behind them, both in the firſt *Reception* of Chriſtianity and [in] the *Reformation* thereof—*Proh pudor*—I will not ſay, by what I heard muttered abroad, it will be accounted a *Nationall diminution*, but if it ſhould ſo fall out, it is no hard matter to be a Prophet, yea, by what hath paſſed already, to take a plaine proſpect of thoſe Anarchicall confuſions, and fearefull calamities, which will inevitably enſue both in *Church and State*; unleſſe with the pious care which is already taken to hinder the *great Beast* to breake into the *Vineyard*; there be alſo a ſpeedy cours taken to fence *Her* from *other Vermine*, and *leſſer Animals* (the *belluam multorum capitum*) which begin to *brouze her leaves*, *to throw down her hedges*, *and ſo lay her open to waſt, ſpoyle and ſcorne:* [I ſpeak it again with fear and trembling, that England is quite loſt.] Vnleſſe there bee a cours taken, I ſay, to ſuppreſſe thoſe petty Sectaries, which ſwarme ſo in every corner, with that connivence (to the amazement of all the world, and diſparagement of ſo well a policed Kingdome) who by their capricious and various kind of gingling fancies in ſerving God

[ſpirituall matters], do their beſt to bring in the opinion of the Pagan Philoſopher (*Themistius*) delivered once to *Valens* the Emperor, *That as God Almighty had infuſed into his handmaid Nature, a diverſity of operations, and that the beauty of the Univerſe conſiſted in a proportion of ſo many differing things, ſo he was delighted to ſee himſelfe ſerved by* [*in*] *various and ſundry kinds of worſhip and invocations.*

In all humbleneſſe, (and with ſubmiſſion of cenſure) I deſire to be diſpenſed withall for this excurſion out of my firſt intended ſubject, but I hope the *digreſſion* will prove no *tranſgreſsion*, in regard the *quality* of the *matter* is ſuch, that every one hath a ſhare and intereſt in it, and ſhould be ſenſible, when that *Liturgy* and *Church* is vilified, wherein he hath received his *Birth* and *Baptiſm*, and by whoſe compaſſe hee ſteeres his cours to Heaven: *When the* Windows *come down* (*and the chief* Pillars *threatned*) *the* Houſe *must needs be in danger of falling, and he is worthy to be called a* Niding, *one, the pulſe of whoſe ſoule beates but faintly towards Heaven, as having taken but weake impreſsions of the image of his Maker, who will not run and reach his hand to beare up his Temple.*

Sec. XIX.

IN the *Inns of Court*, where I left my returned *Traveller*, hee will be acquainted with *Weſtminster-Hall*, with the courſes of *pleading* in the Courts of Iudicature, by which Knowledge, he may learne how to preſerve his own, for, for want of ſome experience herein, many have mightily ſuffered in their eſtates, and made themſelves a prey to their ſollicitors and Agents: Nor indeed is he capable to beare any Rule or Office in Town or Countrey, who is utterly unacquainted with *John an Okes, and John a Stiles*, and with their *Termes*.

Having beene thus ſettled awhile at home, if buſineſſe and the quality of his life will permit, hee may

make one flying journey over againe, and in one Summer review all thoſe Countreys, which hee had beene forty Months a ſeeing before: And *as the ſecond thoughts are held the wiſest, ſo a ſecond ſurvey is more exact, and of a more retentive vertue, and amongſt other benefits, it will infinitely improve one in his language.* Noah's *Dove brought the branch of Olive in her Bill, at her* Second *journey*; from the latter end of *Mars*, to the beginning of *October*, one may leaſurely traverſe *France*, croſſe the *Pyreneys*, the *Mediterranean*, and the *Alpes*, and ſo returne either through *Germany* or through *France* againe, and thence come home through the *Netherlands:* But being (*bis Redux*) returned the ſecond time, let him thinke no more of Forrain Iourneys, unleſſe it be by command, and upon publique ſervice.

Now to find entertainement for his houres of leaſure at home, hee may amongſt other ſtudies, if his inclination leads him that way, apply himſelfe to the moſt materiall and uſefull parts of the Mathematiques, as the Art of *Navigation* and *Fortification. The ſtudy of the Mathematiques is abſtruſe, and therfore they require a ripe and well-ſeaſoned judgement, they have this property, to make a dull capacity acute, and an acute capacity dull, if he fals unto them too ſoon:* which makes us to be cenſured abroad in the [for the prepoſterous] *method* of our ſtudies in *England*, to make [by making] *green wits* not yet halfe coddled as it were, to fall too early to ſuch profound notions in our *Univerſities*, as putting [which is as much as to put] children to ſtand too ſoon upon their leggs.

For Concluſion, in this variety of ſtudies and divertiſments, I will give him this Caution, that he fall not into the hands of *Alchymist*, for though there be a world of rare concluſions, and delightfull experiments (moſt uſefull and proper for Phyſitians) to be found in *Chymiſtry* which makes many to bee ſo *inchanted* therewith (that being got once in, they have not power to get out againe) Yet I never knew any yet, who made

the *benefit* countervaile the *charge*; but I have knowne many *melt* themſelves [herby] to nothing (like [as] *Icarus* wings melted, [did] when he attempted the *Art* of flying) And while they labour ſo [So theſe devout Naturaliſts and Diſciples of Demogorgon while] with the *ſweat* of their brows to *blow* [they ly blowing] *the cole*, and [to] *bring gold over the* helm, *they commonly make a* ſhipwrack *of* [all] *their own fortunes.*

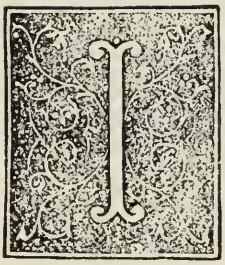
Et bona dilapidant *omnia pro* lapide.

And the reaſon well may be, that 'tis doubted, whether ſuch undertakings, bee pleaſing to God Almighty or no, for though *Art be Nature's Ape*, and is found to perfect her in ſome things: Yet, it may well bee termed a kind of *Preſumption* in man (by fetching downe the *Planets* and damning them as *criminals* to certaine *Mettals*) to attempt the *tranſmutation of one ſpecies into another*, as it were againſt the firſt ordinance of the *Creator*, and the primitive intent of *Nature*, whoſe *hand-maid* ſhee is, in the *Production* of all Elementary bodies: Therefore to be led into a kind of fooles Paradis, and a conceipt of the *Philoſophers-Stone*, and to ſpend much money in *Chymistry*, hee ſhall never have the adviſe of

IAMES HOWELL.

FINIS.

AN APPENDIX OF SOM DIRECTIONS for *travelling* into *Turky* and the *Levant* parts.



IF my *Travellers* curiofity hath a further extent, and that Europe cannot bound the largnes of his defires, but that he hath a difpofition to fee the *Turks* dominions, which next to *Chrifiendome* are fitteft to be known, in regard He is the fole Earthly potentat, and fatallft foe of the Croffe of Chrift, and fo fom advantages may bee taken by prying into the errors of his government and weakneffe of his dominions, I fay if he hath a mind to make fom refearches what kind of Soule doth inform, actuat, govern, and conferve that vaft Empire, which is an extenfion of about three thoufand two hundred miles in one continued peece, a narrow neck of Sea onely excepted, If his fancy bends that way. He may either take his advantage of the feafon, that our company of Turky Marchants fet out their Shipps for *Con-*

ſtantinople, which commonly is in the Spring, wherein hee may go with little danger (and leſſe expence) for they are luſty veſſels every way well appointed, and paſſing in one of them, he may have the opportunity to land at divers port Townes in *Spaine*, *Italy*, or *Greece*, and yet reach *Conſtantinople* in leſſe then three Months: Or he may go through *France*, and ſo croſſe the *Alps*, or Embarke at *Marſeilles* for *Ligorn*, where he ſhall meet with frequent commodity of ſhipping from *Smyrna*.

Or elſe he may go to *Venice*, where he may agree with a Janizary to conduct him in company of a Caravan all the way through the Continent of *Greece* as farre as *Conſtantinople*, where in the way he may ruthfully obſerve how that Country, which was uſed to be the nource of all ſpeculative knowledge, as alſo of policy and proweſſe, is now ore whelm'd with barbariſme and ignorance, with ſlavery and abjection of Spirit: He will admire how the whole people are degenerated both in their hearts and heads, from the ancient courage and knowledg they were ſo cryed up for in former ages; In this journey he will meet with ſundry ſorts of nations that go with the Caravan; ſpecially with Jewes, as well as with Greeks and other Chriſtians, therefore as he is to bee reſerv'd in concealing his own Religion, ſo he muſt be a πολυτροπος he muſt become all to all in point of morall converſation.

Being come to *Conſtantinople* he ſhall behold that City which by the advantage of her ſituation is fitteſt of all other to be miſtreſſe of the Earth, for ſhe ſtands almoſt in the midſt of the old world, therfore hath ſhe the advantage of receiving accounts, and iſſuing out commands from and to all other Countreys with more celerity: She hath on the one ſide immediat commerce with *Thrace*, as on the other with *Aſia*; The *Pontus* or black Sea waſheth her one of her skirts, and the *Marmora*, or *Helleſpont*, the other, the mouths of which ſeas are ſo narrow, that no paſſage can be forc'd againſt

her Caſtles. Now as the firſt glance makes the ſmarteſt impreſſion of the object, ſo a freſh Commer to any ſtrange place apprehends things with a cleerer judgement, with a greater pleaſure and a greedier deſire then when the object is grown ſtale and familiar unto him, therefore in this reſpect, he who arrives ſuddenly from ſhip to ſhore at any great Town, in a ſtrange Countrey, hath a greater advantage, then he who paſſeth by degrees from the skirts thereof to the centre.

In the *Port*, for *Conſtantinople* is called ſo κατ' ἐξοχιὼ he may obſerve more then any where elſe, the *Religion*, the *Juſtice*, the *militia*, and *moralities* of the Muſulmen. Touching their *Religion*, he muſt obſerve how it differ's, and in what point it conformes with other Religions; how *Chriſtians* are more beholden to the *Turk* then to the *Jew*, for he acknowledgeth Chriſt to have been a great Prophet, to have bin born of the *Virgin Mary*, who they ſay was ſo before, and after her delivery; they hold that he was conceived by divine inſpiration without a Father, as *Adam* was created without a Mother; They beleeve further that he was not crucified but taken up to Heaven, and that he ſhall come again at the end of the world on Earth againe, and that the *Jews* did not put *him* to death, but another man who reſembled him: Hee may obſerve the ſubſtance of their Religion, which is, that they beleeve one ſole GOD, CREATOR of the whole World, the puniſher of the bad, and Rewarder of the good, who hath created Hell for the one, and Paradis for the other; the felicity whereof conſiſts in the height of ſenſuall delights. They beleeve the Decalog of *Moſes*, Friday is their Sabboth, they pray five times a day, They have no bells but a Cryer out of a high Tower; They are great Founders of Hoſpitalls, of Hanes to entertain Travellers, of bridges, Repairers of high wayes, and great builders of Temples which are very ſtately though their own Houſes be homely; which Temples they reverence in the humbleſt poſtures that the body can

put it ſelfe in, they firſt ſit croſſe-legg'd waving their limms, and proſtrat themſelves often on their faces to kiſſe the Earth, afterwards they ſtand up with their hands bow'd at their Eares, and in theſe kinds of Church-geſticulations, they differ from all other people. They are obliged to give the firſt day of the yeare the Tith of all their gaines to the poore for a new yeares-gift. They pray for the dead and invoke Saints: They ſo adore the *Alcoran* that they never put it under their girdles, 'tis death to tranſlate it out of *Arabic* into any vulgar language, or for any lay man to diſpute of it, or raiſe any ſcruples, which they ſay is the cauſe of ſuch a rare uniformity and univerſall obedience among ſuch ſwarmes of ſeverall Nations that profeſſe Mahometiſme; They are chary of the conſcience, in ſo much that they put no man to his Oath, 'tis enough that he ſweare by the faith of a *Muſulman.*

Now 'tis thought that this Religion is like to be of long continuance, becauſe there is no nation where the Church man is more powerfull and of greater eſteem, in regard that all theire Iudges are Eccleſiaſtiques, and ſo have power o're the body [and] ſoule.

As touching their *Iuſtice* though it be more arbitrary, 'tis far more *ſpeedy* than among *Chriſtians* and more ſevere; The cauſe of the ſpeedineſs is, that there are no deeds, dead precedents, or any moth eaten record to puzzle and retard the buſineſſe, but upon producement of witnes the Sute is ſuddenly determined *Secundum allegata et probata*, every man being his own advocat; 'Tis true appeales in ſom caſes may be made to the *Muſiti* who is their chieſeſt Biſhop, whom they have in extreme reverence, that neither the *Gran Viſiar*, or the Emperour Himſelfe will queſtion his ſentence, but acquieſſe thereon: As their juſtice is more *ſpeedy*, ſo it is more *ſevere*, for they have ſundry ſorts of puniſhments that torture the ſenſe a longer time, as *drubbing*, *guunſhing*, *flaying alive*, *impaling*, and thruſting of lances through the fondament, *&c.*

Touching their *Militia*, they go with greater animoſity againſt the *European*, than againſt the *Perſian*, to prevent their deſtruction which divers of their propheſies tel them ſhal com from the Chriſtian.

Touching the morall behaviour of the Turks, they may be a pattern to ſome Chriſtian nations in point of common *humanity*; At their meetings they bow their bodies with very gentle and hearty ſalutes, among the reſt 'tis admirable how humble and courteous their very Mariners are to Paſſengers, nothing ſo booriſh as I know ſom Nations to be, the left ſide among Soldiers is the better hand, becauſe he hath the freer command of his ſword, they never uncover their heads or take off their turbants, ſo that in the rough of their fury the greateſt Execration they uſe to rap out, is, *God ſend thee as much trouble as a Chriſtians hatt*, which is almoſt in perpetuall motion.

In *Conſtantinople*, one may diſcern the power of the Turk, but if my Traveller deſires to pry into his *Policy*; let him venture to the gran *Cayro*, and from *Conſtantinople* he ſhall meet with frequent conveniences to paſſe by Sea to *Alexandria*, and ſo up the *Nile* thither, and if he cut out his time ſo that he may be there 'twixt the Summer Solſtice and *October*, he may behold that *Myſterious* River in her higheſt pride. Being arrived at the gran *Cayro* he ſhall ſee the greateſt heap of ſlaves upon Earth in one body, a City of 35. miles compas, having 35000. Churches, and 24000. ſtreets, in and about that City there are the agedſt ſort of antiquities upon Earth, for they will ſpeake you of Kings they had eighteen thouſand years agoe, which was before the worlds creation according to our compute above twelve thouſand yeares: If he will obſerve the *genius* of the Egyptian, he will find him to be a Nation of a baſer allay then the Turk, a Nation born to obey not to ſway, for among the various habitants of the Earth, there is *populus ſervus et populus dominus*,

There is an hiatus in the thought here: the text runs on as follows—

ſuch as to ſee the holy Sepulcher he may paſſe home by Jeruſalem, and all this he may do in as ſhort a compas of time as the Sun finiſheth his periodic annuall motion.

Before my Traveller puts himſelfe to ſuch peregrinations, 'tis requiſit he ſhould know the uſe of the Globe before hand, for it is the only way to make one a good *chorographer*, and *Geographer*, whereof the one reſpects *accidents*, the other *quantities:* Being a good *Globiſt*, hee will quickly find the *Zenith*, the *diſtances*, the *climes* and the *Parallells*, and *diſtances* of Regions as he paſſeth along; which is eaſily don, for if he ſubtract the height of the pole from the quadrant of 90. degrees, the reſt will ſhew the *Zenith* of any place; The *diſtance* between places may be known by the elevation of the pole, as (to produce a familiar home Example) *Oxford* is commonly held to be 51. degrees 30. minutes, *Yorke* is 54. degrees 30. minutes, ſubtract the leſſer from the greater, then remaines 3. degrees which allowing 60. miles to every degree is the diſtance 'twixt thoſe two Cities. To know the *clime*, and *parallell* double the howers above twelve in the longeſt ſolſtitiall day, and the product will ſhew the climat, quadruble them 'twill ſhew the parallell: laſtly, to know the greatnes, and furtheſt extent of a Region, let him obſerve the two latitudes, in the *North*, where 'tis greateſt, in the *Southern* point where 'tis leaſt, compare the degrees of both, and 'twill ſhew him the diameter of any Countrey, as for example, in great Britain take the ſtarr point in *Devonſhire* which is under 50. degrees in latitude, and the River *Ardurnus* in Scotland which hath 60. degrees (to omit minutes) ſubduct the 10. odd degrees of difference which being multiplied by ſixty a peece will make 600. miles, and that is the utmoſt extent of this Iſland.

My Traveller having now breath'd the fiery aires of *Afric*, with the ſweete breeſes of *Aſia*, and *Europe*; having beheld ſuch a multitude of ſtrange objects and

all this, not by hear-ſay only, or through the miſt of other mens breaths, but through the cleere caſements of his own optiques, I ſay having ſeen all this, and being ſafely returned to his Mother ſoile, he may very well acquieſſe in her lap, and terminat his deſires from further travell abroad, but be contented to live and dye an *Iſlander* without treading any more *Continents.*

——*His terminus Eſto.*

Muir & Paterson, Printers, Edinburgh.

English Reprints.

NICHOLAS UDALL, M.A.

Master, in succession, of Eton College and Westminster School.

Roister Doister.

Written, probably also represented, before 1553.

CAREFULLY EDITED FROM THE UNIQUE COPY,
NOW AT ETON COLLEGE,

BY

EDWARD ARBER,

Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.

LONDON:
5 QUEEN SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

Ent. Stat. Hall.] 1 Dec. 1869. [*All Rights reserved.*

Dramatis Personæ.

Ralph Roister Doister.
Mathew Merygreeke.
Gawyn Goodluck, *affianced to Dame Custance.*
Tristram Trustie, *his friend.*
Dobinet Doughtie, '*boy*' *to Roister Doister.*
Tom Trupenie, *seruant to Dame Custance.*
Sym Suresby, *seruant to Goodluck.*
Scriuener.
Harpax.

Dame Christian Custance, *a widow.*
Margerie Mumblecrust, *her nurse.*
Tibet Talk apace, } *her maidens.*
Annot Alyface, }

TIME. *About Two days.*
SCENE. *Not indicated: ? London.*

A brief Note of the LIFE, WORKS, and TIMES

of

NICHOLAS UDALL, M.A.

Teacher, Dramatiſt, Tranſlator, Preacher.

In succession Master of Eton College, Rector of Braintree, Prebend of Windsor, Rector of Calborne, and Master of Westminster School.

* Probable or approximate dates.

There are materials extant for a good *Life* of Udall. Meanwhile there is Mr. Cooper's excellent *Memoir* in the *Shakespeare Society's* reprint of *Ralph Roister Doister* [*see* No. **5** *on p.* 8]; and Anthony à-Wood's account of him, *Ath. Oxon. i.* 211. *Ed.* 1813.

1485. Aug. 22. Henry VII. becomes king.

*1504. Nicholas Udall . . . was born in Hampshire, and descended from those of his name, living sometimes at Wykeham in the same county.—*Wood.*

1509. April 22. Henry VIII. begins to reign.

1520. June 18. æt. 14. Admitted scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

1524. May 30. æt. 18. Takes his B.A. [*Wood, Fasti Oxon., i.* 65, *Ed.* 1815.]

Sept. 3. Elected Probationer Fellow of his College.

1533. May. Whitsun Eve. æt. 27. *Royal MS.* 18 *A. lxiv. p.* 275, has two titles. (1) Versis and dities made at the coronation of queen Anne. (2.) Hereafter ensuethe a copie of diuers and sundry verses aswell in latin as in Englishe deuised and made partely by Iohn leland and partely by Nicholas Vuedale whereof sum were sette vp and sum were spoken and pronounced vnto the most high and excellente Quene the ladie Anne, wif vnto our sourain lorde King Henry the eight in many goodly and costely pageauntes exhibited and shewed by the mayre and citizens of the famous citie of london at first tyme as hir grace rode from the Towre of London through the said citie to hir most glorious coronation at the monasterie of Westminster on Whitson yeue in th xxvth yere of the raigne of our said soueraigne lorde.

The Rev. Dr. Goodford, the present Provost of Eton, has most kindly afforded me interesting information obtained by him from the MS. records of the College; viz., the Audit Rolls and the Bursar's Books, respecting Udall's connection with Eton.

The salary of the Master at Eton was then £10 a year, or fifty shillings for each of the four terms. In addition, he received 20s. for his 'livery,' and other small sums, as for obits (*i.e.* attending masses for the dead) [*e.g.* Udall received for obits, 14s. 8d. in 1535, and the same in 1536]; and for candles and ink for the boys [*e.g.* Udall received for these purposes, 23s. 4d. in 1537, and the same in 1538.] If the assumed multiple of 13 truly express the relatively greater purchasing power of gold and silver more then than now: the salary and emoluments cannot be considered excessive.

1534. June 19. Udall takes his M.A. [*Wood, Fasti.*, i. 98.]

1534-1543. æt. 28-37 Udall's name occurs in the Records spelt indifferently Woddall, Woodall or Udall. His name first appears in 26 Henry VIII., 1534, when his predecessor Dr. Richard Coxe was paid salary for three terms, and Udall received 50s. for the fourth, his first term. The payments continue on regularly so far as the books are extant, up to 1541. The Records for 1542 are missing. It was in March 1543 that occurred the robbery of silver images and other plate by two Eton scholars, J. Hoorde and T. Cheney, contrived at by Udall's servant Gregory, which resulted in Udall's losing his place.

'Thomas Tusser, gentleman,' in *The Author's Life* added to his *Fiue hundreth points of good husbandrie*, 1573, 4to, thus writes, but without giving any date, of Udall's use of the rod:

From Powles I went, to Aeton sent,
To learne straight wayes, the Latin phraise.
Where fiftie three stripes giuen to mee,
at once I had:
For faut but small, or none at all,
It came to passe, thus beat I was,
See Udall see, the mercy of thee,
to mee poore lad.

Nicholas Vdal schole master at Eton.

1537. Sept. 27. Is made Vicar of Braintree. *Newcourt, Rep. ii.* 89.

1542. Udall publishes a translation of the 3rd and 4th books of Erasmus' *Apophthegms.*

*1543. *Cott. MS. Titus, B. viii. p.* 371, is a long letter, undated and unaddressed, to some one, as to 'my restitution to the roume of Scholemaister in Eton.'

1544. Dec. 14. Resigns the Vicarship of Braintree. *Newcourt, idem.*

1542-1545. He is engaged with the Princess, afterwards Queen Mary and others in translating Erasmus' *Paraphrase of the New Testament* into English.

'1545, Sept. 30, at London,' date of his *Preface to Luke.*

In his *Pref.* to *John*, partly translated by Princess Mary, partly by Rev. F. Malet, D.D.; Udall gives us the following account of female education in his day: which can only, however, apply to a few women, like Elizabeth, Mary, and Lady Jane Grey. "But nowe in this gracious and blisseful tyme of knowledge, in whiche it hath pleased almightye God to reuele and shewe abrode the lyght of his moste holye ghospell: what a noumbre is there of noble women (especially here in this realme of Englande,) yea and howe many in the yeares of tender vyrginitiee, not only aswel seen and as familiarly trade in the Latine and Greke tounges, as in theyr owne mother language: but also both in all kindes of prophane litterature, and liberall artes, exactely studied and exercised, and in the holy Scriptures and Theologie so ripe, that they are able aptely cunnyngly, and with much grace eyther to indicte or translate into the vulgare tongue, for the publique instruccion and edifying of the vnlearned multitude. . . . It is nowe no newes in Englande to see young damisels in nobles houses and in the Courtes of Princes, in stede of cardes and other instrumentes of idle trifleyng, to haue continually in her handes, eyther Psalmes, Omelies, and other deuoute meditacions, or elles Paules Epistles, or some booke of holye Scripture matiers: and as familiarlye both to reade or reason thereof in Greke, Latine, Frenche, or Italian, as in Englishe."

1547. Jan. 28. Edward VI. ascends the throne.

'1552. July 20. At Windsor.' The date of Udall's preface to the translation by himself and others, of T. Gemini's *Anatomy.*

1553. July 6. Mary succeeds to the crown.

1554. Dec. 3. Date of a warrant dormer from the Queen to the Master of her Revels. [Reprinted in *The Loseley MSS.* Ed. by A. J. KEMPE, F.S.A. London. 1836.] The warrant runs thus—'Whereas our welbeloued Nicholas Udall hath at soondrie seasons convenient heretofore shewed and myndeth hereafter to shewe his diligence in setting foorth of Dialogues and Enterludes before us fo' ou' regell disporte and recreacion.' . . . And then goes on to authorize the loan of apparel for those purposes. Did the popularity of the Dramatist, and her personal acquaintance with him, since they had worked together on Erasmus' *Paraphrase*, lead the Queen to condone the intense Protestantism of the Preacher, even to the continuing of him in favour? Udall and Ascham, two noted Protestants, are both favoured by Mary.

*1555. Udall is appointed Master of Westminster School, and so continues until Mary re-establishes the Monastery at Westminster.

1556. Nov. Udall dies.

1556. Dec. 23. He is buried in St. Margaret's, Westminster. *W. D. Cooper, as above.*

ROISTER DOISTER.

INTRODUCTION.

THE author and early date of the prefent Comedy are ascertained by a quotation in Sir Thomas Wilfon's *Rule of Reafon* of Roifter Doifter's letter to Dame Cuftance.

The firft edition of the *Rule of Reafon*, 1550-1, is a very fcarce work; of which I have been unable to fee a copy. The fecond edition, 1662, 8vo, 'newely corrected by *Thomas Vvilfon*,' has *not* the quotation: which apparently firft appears in the third edition of 1663, 4to, the title of which runs, "The Rule of Reafon, conteinyng the Arte of *Logique*. Sette furthe in Englifhe, and newly corrected by Thomas Wilfon. *Anno Domini. M.D.LIII.* Menfe Ianuarij."

At folio of this edition, Wilfon, in treating of *The Ambiguitie*, adds to his previous examples, Roifter Doifter's letter, with the following heading:

> ¶ An example of soche doubtful writing, whiche by reason of poincting maie haue double sense, and contrarie meaning, taken out of an entrelude made by Nicolas Vdal.

The prefent comedy was therefore undoubtedly written before the clofe of the reign of Edward VI., who died 6 July 1553.

If it was then printed, that entire edition has perifhed. The prayer for the Queen at *p.* 86, can be for no other than Queen Elizabeth: and therefore, although the title-page is wanting and there is no conclufive allufion in the play, it may confidently be believed that the extant text was printed in Elizabeth's reign: and that it had poffibly in some refpects been modified.

There now comes the evidence of the Stationers Co.'s Regifter, as quoted by Mr. Collier, *Extracts*, *i.* 154, *Ed.* 1848:

> Rd of Thomas Hackett, for hys lycense for pryntinge of a play intituled Rauf Ruyster Duster, &c. . . . . iiij^{d}

The miffing title-page and the abfence of any colophon in the Eton copy, here reprinted, preclude demonftrative proof that it is one of Hackett's edition. It is however morally certain that it does reprefent that text.

On the whole, therefore, though that text was pofthumous—

Udall having died in Dec. 1556—: and though its authorſhip reſts entirely on the above heading of Wilſon's quotation: it may be ſafely accepted that Udall is the author of this comedy, and that he wrote it before 1553. Concluſions both of them conſonant with the known facts of Udall's life.

The comedy was probably firſt written for the Eton boys to act. Mr. W. D. Cooper thus writes :—

Certain, however, it is that it was the custom of Eton, about the feast of St. Andrew, for the Master to choose some Latin stage-play for the boys to act in the following Christmas holidays, and that he might sometimes order smart and witty English plays. "Among the writings of Udall about the year 1540," says Warton, "are recited *Plures Comediæ*, and a tragedy *De Papatu*, on the Papacy, written probably to be acted by his scholars;" and it is equally probable that the English comedy was written with a like object; for it is admirably adapted to be a good acting play, and the author avows in the prologue that his models were Plautus and Terence, with whose writings his scholars were familiar. *Intro. Memoir. p. xvi.*

Of the few dramatic pieces of that early period that have survived, *Roiſter Doiſter* is regarded as the tranſition-play from the Myſteries and Enterludes of the Middle Ages to the Comedies of modern times. A critical examination of its position in our Literature has been made by Mr. Collier. *Hiſt. of Dram. Poetry. ii.* 445-460 *Ed.* 1830. A full conſideration of the play would exceed our preſent limits: we may however call attention to the peculiar rhyme in which Udall wrote it.

In the preſent reprint, the text appears according to modern uſage: but in the original it ſtands in lines of unvarying length. Where the ſpeech is continuous, theſe lines rhyme like our ordinary poetry: but when the dialogue is ſhort; one, two, three or more ſpeeches are thrown into one line, and the laſt ſyllables of that line—whether they occur in words in the middle or at the end of a ſentence, as dictated ſimply by the length of line of type —are made to rough rhyme in couplets. Thus an irregular aſſonance jingles through the play.

On the oppoſite page are a few lines ſet up as in the original, to illuſtrate this peculiarity; and alſo to ſhow the mode uſed of marking the actor's names. May this peculiar rhyme be accepted as any evidence that Udall compoſed this play as much for the preſs as the ſtage?

There being no deſcription of the repreſentation and the ſtage directions being ſcanty: *Roiſter Doiſter* ſhould be read a firſt time to learn the plot; a ſecond time to imagine the action: and a third to combine and enjoy the two.

ACTUS. iiij. SCÆNA. v.

Bottom of the second, even-numbered page of folio 24, in the original edition.

C. Custance. Trupenie get thee in, thou ſhalt among them knowe,
How to vſe thy ſelfe, like a propre man I trowe.
Trupeny. I go. *Ex.* C. C. Now Triſtram Truſty I thank you right much.
For at my firſt ſending to come ye neuer grutch.
T. Trusty. Dame Cuſtance God ye ſaue, and while my life ſhall laſt,
For my friende Goodlucks ſake ye ſhall not ſende in waſt.
C. Custance. He ſhal giue you thanks. T. Trusty. I wil do much for his ſake
C. Custance. But alack, I feare, great diſpleaſure ſhall be take.
T. Trusty. Wherfore? C. C. For a fooliſh matter. T. T. What is your cauſe
C. Custance. I am yll accombred with a couple of dawes.

Nay

Top of the first, odd-numbered page of folio 25.

Roister Doister.

Nay weepe not woman; but tell me what your cauſe is — T. Trusty.
As concerning my friende is any thing amiſſe?
No not on my part: but here was Sym Sureſby. — C. Custance.
He was with me and tolde me ſo. C. C. And he ſtoode by — T. Trustie.
While Ralph Roiſter Doiſter with helpe of Merygreeke,
For promiſe of mariage dyd vnto me ſeeke.

Roister Doister.

The whole of Udall's plays were supposed to have perished [see *Wood. Ath. Oxon. i.* 213, Ed. 1813]. The Rev. T. Briggs, an old Etonian, in 1818, became the possessor of the now famous unique copy: which he presented to the Library of Eton College, in December of that year.

1. [?1566.] Lond. ? First edition of a revised text. The copy, now at Eton
1 vol. 4to. College, consists of 33 folios. The title-page is wanting.

2. 1818. Lond. '*Ralph Royster Doyster*, A Comedy. London. Reprinted
1 vol. 8vo. in the year 1818.' [Ed. and privately printed by Rev. T. Briggs. 30 copies only struck off. The printer was James Compton, Middle St., Cloth Fair, London.] At the beginning is the following *Advertisement*:—

'It appears from the Biographia Dramatica, that a Play called *Rauf Ruster Duster* was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in the year 1566, but that it was supposed never to have been printed: this, however, is now proved to be a mistake, a copy having been found contained in a collection of plays which was lately upon sale in London. It is true that the name is spelt somewhat differently, but it is presumed there can be no doubt of its being the piece in question. The book unfortunately wants the title-page, and the author's name is not known. It is now in the Library of Eton College, and is here reprinted for the amusement of the reader.'

3. 1821. Lond. '*Ralph Royster Doyster*, a Comedy, entered on the books
1 vol. 8vo. of the Stationers' Company, 1566. London: Printed by F. Marshall, Kenton St., Brunswick Sq., 1821.' [Editor not known.

R. Southey's copy, with his autograph, and dated 1 Feb. 1837, is in the British Museum. Press-mark, 1344, k.]

Neither of the above knew that Udall was the author. The editor of 1821 reprint writes, 'The author, whoever he was,' *p.* iv. It was Mr. Collier who connected Wilson's quotation with *Roister Doister*, and so proved Udall to be its author. Writing on 14th April 1865; he thus begins the *Preface* of his *Bibl. Account of Ear. Eng. Lit.* Ed. 1865.

'During my whole life, now rapidly approaching fourscore, I have been a diligent reader, and, as far as my means would allow, a greedy purchaser of all works connected with early English literature. It is nearly sixty years since I became possessed of my first really valuable old book of this kind—Wilson's "Art of Logic," printed by Richard Grafton 1551—from which I ascertained the not unimportant facts that "Ralph Roister Doister" was an older play than "Gammer Gurton's Needle," and that it had been written by Nicholas Udall, Master of Eton School: I thus learned who was the author of the earliest comedy, properly so called, in our language. This was my first literary discovery, made several years anterior, although I had not occasion to render it public, until I printed my Notes upon "Dodsley's Old Plays," soon after 1820.'*

4. 1830. Lond. *The Old English Drama*, A series of Plays, at 6d each,
3 vols. 18mo. printed and published by Thomas White. *Ralph Royster Doyster* is the first.

5. 1847. Lond. *Shakespeare Society. Ralph Roister Doister*, &c., and
1 vol. 8vo. *The Tragedie of Gorboduc.* Edited, with Introductory Memoirs, by W. D. Cooper, F.S.A. The text collated with the original by J. P. Collier, F.S.A.

6. 24 July 1869. Lond. 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints*: see title at *p.* 1.

∴ All the previous reprints have been and now are unobtainable to most persons. It is to the most courteous and generous kindness of the present Provost and Fellows of Eton College that I am enabled to place what I hope may prove an exact text into the hands of every one. I trust also to keep it perpetually on sale: that the student of the History of our Literature may no longer lack one of the most important illustrations of the growth of English Dramatic Poesy.

* *See vol. ii. p.* 3. *Ed.* 1825.

B

The Prologue.

Hat Creature is in health, eyther yong or olde,
But ſom mirth with modeſtie wil be glad to vſe
As we in thys Enterlude ſhall now vnfolde,
Wherin all ſcurilitie we vtterly refuſe,
Auoiding ſuch mirth wherin is abuſe:
Knowing nothing more comendable for a mans recreation
Than Mirth which is vſed in an honeſt faſhion:
For Myrth prolongeth lyfe, and cauſeth health.
Mirth recreates our ſpirites and voydeth penſiueneſſe,
Mirth increaſeth amitie, not hindring our wealth,
Mirth is to be vſed both of more and leſſe,
Being mixed with vertue in decent comlyneſſe.
As we truſt no good nature can gainſay the ſame:
Which mirth we intende to vſe, auoidyng all blame.
The wyſe Poets long time heretofore,
Vnder merrie Comedies ſecretes did declare,
Wherein was contained very vertuous lore,
With myſteries and forewarnings very rare.
Suche to write neither *Plautus* nor *Terence* dyd ſpare,
Whiche among the learned at this day beares the bell:
Theſe with ſuch other therein dyd excell.
Our Comedie or Enterlude which we intende to play.
Is named Royſter Doyſter in deede.
Which againſt the vayne glorious doth inuey,
Whoſe humour the royſting ſort continually doth feede.
Thus by your pacience we intende to proceede
In this our Enterlude by Gods leaue and grace,
And here I take my leaue for a certaine ſpace.

FINIS.

Roister Doister.

Actus. j. Scæna. j.

Mathewe Merygreeke. *He entreth ſinging.*

S long lyueth the mery man (they ſay)
As doth the ſory man, and longer by a day.
Yet the Graſſehopper for all his Sommer pipyng,
Sterueth in Winter wyth hungrie gripyng,
Therefore an other ſayd ſawe doth [men aduiſe,
That they be together both mery and wiſe.
Thys Leſſon muſt I practiſe, or elſe ere long,
Wyth mee Mathew Merygreeke it will be wrong.
In deede men ſo call me, for by him that vs bought,
What euer chaunce betide, I can take no thought,
Yet wiſedome woulde that I did my ſelfe bethinke
Where to be prouided this day of meate and drinke :
For know ye, that for all this merie note of mine,
He might appoſe me now that ſhould aſke where I dine.
My lyuing lieth heere and there, of Gods grace,
Sometime wyth this good man, ſometyme in that place,
Sometime Lewis Loytrer biddeth me come neere,
Somewhyles Watkin Waſter maketh vs good cheere,
Sometime Dauy Diceplayer when he hath well caſt
Keepeth reuell route as long as it will laſt.
Sometime Tom Titiuile maketh vs a feaſt,
Sometime with ſir Hugh Pye I am a bidden gueaſt,
Sometime at Nichol Neuerthriues I get a ſoppe,
Sometime I am feaſted with Bryan Blinkinſoppe,
Sometime I hang on Hankyn Hoddydodies ſleeue,
But thys day on Ralph Royſter Doyſters by hys leeue.
For truely of all men he is my chiefe banker
Both for meate and money, and my chiefe ſhootanker

For, ſooth Roiſter Doiſter in that he doth ſay,
And require what ye will ye ſhall haue no nay.
But now of Roiſter Doiſter ſomewhat to expreſſe,
That ye may eſteeme him after hys worthineſſe,
In theſe twentie townes and ſeke them throughout,
Is not the like ſtocke, whereon to graffe a loute.
All the day long is he facing and craking
Of his great actes in fighting and fraymaking:
But when Roiſter Doiſter is put to his proofe,
To keepe the Queenes peace is more for his behoofe.
If any woman ſmyle or caſt on hym an eye,
Vp is he to the harde eares in loue by and by,
And in all the hotte haſte muſt ſhe be hys wife.
Elſe farewell hys good days, and farewell his life,
Maiſter Raufe Royſter Doiſter is but dead and gon
Excepte ſhe on hym take ſome compaſſion,
Then chiefe of counſell, muſt be Mathew Merygreeke,
What if I for mariage to ſuche an one ſeeke?
Then muſt I ſooth it, what euer it is:
For what he ſayth or doth can not be amiſſe,
Holde vp his yea and nay, be his nowne white ſonne,
Prayſe and rouſe him well, and ye haue his heart wonne,
For ſo well liketh he his owne fonde faſhions
That he taketh pride of falſe commendations.
But ſuch ſporte haue I with him as I would not leeſe,
Though I ſhould be bounde to lyue with bread and cheeſe.
For exalt hym, and haue hym as ye luſt in deede:
Yea to hold his finger in a hole for a neede.
I can with a worde make him fayne or loth,
I can with as much make him pleaſed or wroth,
I can when I will make him mery and glad,
I can when me luſt make him ſory and ſad,
I can ſet him in hope and eke in diſpaire, [ſaire.
I can make him ſpeake rough, and make him ſpeake
But I maruell I ſee hym not all thys ſame day,
I wyll ſeeke him out: But loe he commeth thys way,
I haue yond eſpied hym ſadly comming,
And in loue for twentie pounde, by hys glommyng.

Actus. j. Scæna. ij.

Rafe Roister Doister. Mathew Merygreeke.

R. Royster. COme death when thou wilt, I am weary of my life.

M. Mery. I tolde you I, we ſhould wowe another wife.

R. Royster. Why did God make me ſuche a goodly perſon? [ſport anon.

M. Mery. He is in by the weke, we ſhall haue

R. Royster. And where is my truſtie friende Mathew Merygreeke?

M. Mery. I wyll make as I ſawe him not, he doth me ſeeke. [is hee,

R. Roister. I haue hym eſpyed me thinketh, yond Hough Mathew Merygreeke my friend, a worde with thee. [haſte,

M. Mery. I wyll not heare him, but make as I had Farewell all my good friendes, the tyme away dothe waſte. And the tide they ſay, tarieth for no man.

R. Roister. Thou muſt with thy good counſell helpe me if thou can.

M. Mery. God keepe thee worſhypfull Maiſter Roiſter Doiſter,
And fare well the luſtie Maiſter Roiſter Doiſter.

R. Royster. I muſte needes ſpeake with thee a worde or twaine. [againe,

M. Mery. Within a month or two I will be here Negligence in greate affaires ye knowe may marre all.

R. Roister. Attende vpon me now, and well rewarde thee I ſhall.

M. Mery. I haue take my leaue, and the tide is well ſpent. [content,

R. Roister. I die except thou helpe, I pray thee be Doe thy parte wel nowe, and aſke what thou wilt,

For without thy aide my matter is all ſpilt.

M. Mery. Then to ſerue your turne I will ſome paines take,

And let all myne owne affaires alone for your ſake.

R. Royster. My whole hope and truſt reſteth onely in thee.

M. Mery. Then can ye not doe amiſſe what euer it bee.

R. Royster. Gramercies Merygreeke, moſt bounde to thee I am.

M. Mery. But vp with that heart, and ſpeake out like a ramme,

Ye ſpeake like a Capon that had the cough now:

Bee of good cheere, anon ye ſhall doe well ynow.

R. Royster. Vpon thy comforte, I will all things well handle.

M. Mery. So loe, that is a breaſt to blowe out a [candle.

But what is this great matter I woulde faine knowe,

We ſhall fynde remedie therefore I trowe.

Doe ye lacke money? ye knowe myne olde offers,

Ye haue always a key to my purſe and coffers.

R. Royster. I thanke thee: had euer man ſuche a frende?

M. Mery. Ye gyue vnto me: I muſt needes to you [lende.

R. Royster. Nay I haue money plentie all things to diſcharge.

M. Mery. That knewe I ryght well when I made [offer ſo large.

But it is no ſuche matter.

M. Mery. What is it than?

Are ye in daunger of debte to any man?

If ye be, take no thought nor be not afraide,

Let them hardly take thought how they ſhall be paide.

R. Royster. Tut I owe nought.

M. Mery. What then? fear ye impriſonment?

R. Royster. No.

M. Mery. No I wiſt ye offende, not ſo to be ſhent.

But if he had, the Toure coulde not you ſo holde,

But to breake out at all times ye would be bolde.

What is it? hath any man threatned you to beate?

R. Royster. What is he that durſt haue put me in that heate?

He that beateth me by his armes ſhall well fynde,
That I will not be farre from him nor runne behinde.

M. Mery. That thing knowe all men euer ſince ye ouerthrewe,
The fellow of the Lion which *Hercules* ſlewe.
But what is it than?

R. Royster. Of loue I make my mone.

M. Mery. Ah this fooliſhe a loue, wilt neare let vs [alone?
But bicauſe ye were refuſed the laſt day,
Ye ſayd ye woulde nere more be intangled that way.
I would medle no more, ſince I fynde all so vnkinde,

R. Royster. Yea, but I can not ſo put loue out of my minde.

Math. Mer. But is your loue tell me firſt, in any wiſe.
In the way of Mariage, or of Merchandiſe?
If it may otherwiſe than lawfull be founde,
Ye get none of my helpe for a hundred pounde.

R. Royster. No by my trouth I would haue hir to my Wife.

M. Mery. Then are ye a good man, and God ſaue [your life,
And what or who is ſhe, with whome ye are in loue?

R. Royster. A woman whome I knowe not by what meanes to moue.

M. Mery. Who is it?

R. Royster. A woman yond.

M. Mery. What is hir name?

R. Royster. Hir yonder.

M. Mery. Whom.

R. Royster. Miſtreſſe ah.

M. Mery. Fy fy for ſhame
Loue ye, and know not whome? but hir yonde, a Woman,
We ſhall then get you a Wyfe, I can not tell whan.

R. Royster. The faire Woman, that ſupped wyth vs yeſternyght,
And I hearde hir name twice or thrice, and had it ryght.

M. Mery. Yea, ye may ſee ye nere take me to good cheere with you,
If ye had, I coulde haue tolde you hir name now.

R. Royster. I was to blame in deede, but the nexte tyme perchaunce:

And ſhe dwelleth in this houſe.

M. Mery. What Chriſtian Cuſtance.

R. Royſter. Except I haue hir to my Wife, I ſhall runne madde.

M. Mery. Nay vnwiſe perhaps, but I warrant you [for madde.

R. Royſter. I am vtterly dead vnleſſe I haue my deſire.

M. Mery. Where be the bellowes that blewe this ſodeine fire?

R. Royſter. I heare ſhe is worthe a thouſande pounde and more.

M. Mery. Yea, but learne this one leſſon of me [afore,

An hundred pounde of Marriage money doubtleſſe,
Is euer thirtie pounde ſterlyng, or ſomewhat leſſe,
So that hir Thouſande pounde yf ſhe be thriftie,
Is muche neere about two hundred and fiftie,
Howebeit wowers and Widowes are neuer poore.

R. Royſter. Is ſhe a Widowe? I loue hir better therefore.

M. Mery. But I heare ſhe hath made promiſe to another.

R. Royſter. He ſhall goe without hir, and he were [my brother.

M. Mery. I haue hearde ſay, I am right well aduiſed,
That ſhe hath to Gawyn Goodlucke promiſed.

R. Royſter. What is that Gawyn Goodlucke?

M. Mery. a Merchant man.

R. Royſter. Shall he ſpeede afore me? nay ſir by ſweete Sainct Anne.

Ah ſir, Backare quod Mortimer to his ſowe,
I wyll haue hir myne owne ſelfe I make God a vow.
For I tell thee, ſhe is worthe a thouſande pounde.

M. Mery. Yet a fitter wife for your maſhip might be founde:

Suche a goodly man as you, might get one wyth lande,
Beſides poundes of golde a thouſande and a thouſande,
And a thouſande, and a thouſande, and a thouſande,
And ſo to the ſumme of twentie hundred thouſande,
Your moſt goodly perſonage is worthie of no leſſe.

R. Royſter. I am ſorie God made me ſo comely doubtleſſe.

For that maketh me eche where ſo highly fauoured,
And all women on me ſo enamoured. [out that?

M. Mery. Enamoured quod you? haue ye ſpied
Ah ſir, mary nowe I ſee you know what is what.
Enamoured ka? mary ſir ſay that againe,
But I thought not ye had marked it ſo plaine.

R. Royster. Yes, eche where they gaze all vpon me and ſtare. [they dare.

M. Mery. Yea malkyn, I warrant you as muche as
And ye will not beleue what they ſay in the ſtreete,
When your maſhyp paſſeth by all ſuch as I meete,
That ſometimes I can ſcarce finde what aunſwere to make.
Who is this (ſayth one) ſir *Launcelot du lake*?
Who is this, greate *Guy* of Warwike, ſayth an other?
No (ſay I) it is the thirtenth *Hercules* brother.
Who is this? noble *Hector* of *Troy*, ſayth the thirde?
No, but of the ſame neſt (ſay I) it is a birde.
Who is this? greate *Goliah*, *Sampſon*, or *Colbrande*?
No (ſay I) but it is a brute of the Alie lande.
Who is this? greate *Alexander*? or *Charle le Maigne*?
No, it is the tenth Worthie, ſay I to them agayne:
I knowe not if I ſayd well.

R. Royster. Yes for ſo I am.

M. Mery. Yea, for there were but nine worthies before ye came.
To ſome others, the thirde *Cato* I doe you call.
And ſo as well as I can I aunſwere them all.
Sir I pray you, what lorde or great gentleman is this?
Maiſter Ralph Roiſter Doiſter dame ſay I, ywis.
O Lorde (ſayth ſhe than) what a goodly man it is,
Woulde Chriſt I had ſuch a huſbande as he is.
O Lorde (ſay ſome) that the ſight of his face we lacke:
It is inough for you (ſay I) to ſee his backe.
His face is for ladies of high and noble parages.
With whome he hardly ſcapeth great mariages.
With muche more than this, and much otherwiſe.

R. Royster. I can thee thanke that thou canſt ſuche anſweres deuiſe:
But I perceyue thou doſte me throughly knowe.

M. Mery. I marke your maners for myne owne learnyng I trowe,
But ſuche is your beautie, and ſuche are your actes,
Suche is your perſonage, and ſuche are your factes,
That all women faire and fowle, more and leſſe, [leſſe,
That eye you, they lubbe you, they talke of you doubt-
Your p[l]eaſant looke maketh them all merie,
Ye paſſe not by, but they laugh till they be werie,
Yea and money coulde I haue the truthe to tell,
Of many, to bryng you that way where they dwell.

R. Royster. Merygreeke for this thy reporting well of mee: [pardee:

M. Mery. What ſhoulde I elſe ſir, it is my duetie

R. Royster. I promiſe thou ſhalt not lacke, while I haue a grote.

M. Mery. Faith ſir, and I nere had more nede of a newe cote.

R. Royster. Thou ſhalte haue one to morowe, and golde for to ſpende. [ende.

M. Mery. Then I truſt to bring the day to a good
For as for mine owne parte hauing money inowe,
I could lyue onely with the remembrance of you.
But nowe to your Widowe whome you loue ſo hotte.

R. Royster. By cocke thou ſayeſt truthe, I had almoſt forgotte. [you what?

M. Mery. What if Chriſtian Cuſtance will not haue

R. Roister. Haue me? yes I warrant you, neuer doubt of that,
I knowe ſhe loueth me, but ſhe dare not ſpeake.

M. Mery. In deede meete it were ſome body ſhould it breake. [night,

R. Roister. She looked on me twentie tymes yeſter-
And laughed ſo.

M. Mery. That ſhe coulde not ſitte vpright,

R. Roister. No faith coulde ſhe not.

M. Mery. No euen ſuch a thing I caſt.

R. Royster. But for wowyng thou knoweſt women are ſhamefaſt. [glad,
But and ſhe knewe my minde, I knowe ſhe would be
And thinke it the beſt chaunce that euer ſhe had.

M. Mery. Too hir then like a man, and be bolde forth to ſtarte,
Wowers neuer ſpeede well, that haue a falſe harte.
R. Roister. What may I beſt doe?
M. Mery. Sir remaine ye a while,
Ere long one or other of hir houſe will appere.
Ye knowe my minde.
R. Royster. Yea now hardly lette me alone.
M. Mery. In the meane time ſir, if you pleaſe, I wyll home,
And call your Muſitians, for in this your caſe
It would ſette you forth, and all your wowyng grace,
Ye may not lacke your inſtrumentes to play and ſing.
R. Royster. Thou knoweſt I can doe that.
M. Mery. As well as any thing.
Shall I go call your folkes, that ye may ſhewe a caſt?
R. Royster. Yea runne I beſeeche thee in all poſſible haſte.
M. Mery. I goe. *Exeat.*
R. Royster. Yea for I loue ſingyng out of meaſure,
It comforteth my ſpirites and doth me great pleaſure.
But who commeth forth yond from my ſwete hearte Cuſtance?
My matter frameth well, thys is a luckie chaunce.

Actus. j. Scæna. iij.

Mage Mumble crust, *ſpinning on the diſtaffe.* **Tibet Talk apace,** *ſowyng.* **Annot Alyface** *knittyng.* **R. Roister.**

M. Mumbl. IF thys diſtaffe were ſpoonne Margerie Mumblecruſt.
Tib Talk. Where good ſtale ale is will drinke no water I truſt.
M. Mumbl. Dame Cuſtance hath promiſed vs good ale and white bread.
Tib Talk. If ſhe kepe not promiſe, I will beſhrewe [hir head:

But it will be ſtarke nyght before I ſhall haue done.

R. Royster. I will ſtande here a while, and talke with them anon,

I heare them ſpeake of Cuſtance, which doth my heart good,

To heare hir name ſpoken doth euen comfort my blood.

M. Mumbl. Sit downe to your worke Tibet like a good girle.

Tib. Talk. Nourſe medle you with your ſpyndle and your whirle,

No haſte but good, Madge Mumblecruſt, for whip and whurre

The olde prouerbe doth ſay, neuer made good furre.

M. Mumbl. Well, ye wyll ſitte downe to your worke anon, I truſt.

Tib. Talk. Soft fire maketh ſweete malte, good Madge Mumblecruſt.

M. Mumbl. And ſweete malte maketh ioly good ale for the nones.

Tib. Talk. Whiche will ſlide downe the lane without any bones. *Cantet.*

Olde browne bread cruſtes muſt haue much good mumblyng,

But good ale downe your throte hath good eaſie tumbling.

R. Royster. The iolyeſt wenche that ere I hearde, little mouſe,

May I not reioyce that ſhe ſhall dwell in my houſe?

Tib. Talk. So ſirrha, nowe this geare beginneth for to frame.

M. Mumbl. Thanks to God, though your work ſtand ſtil, your tong is not lame

Tib. Talk. And though your teeth be gone, both ſo ſharpe and ſo fine

Yet your tongue can renne on patins as well as mine.

M. Mumbl. Ye were not for nought named Tyb Talke apace.

Tib. Talk. Doth my talke grieue you? Alack, God ſaue your grace.

M. Mumbl. I holde a grote ye will drinke anon for this geare.

Tib. Talk. And I wyll pray you the ſtripes for me to beare.

M. Mumbl. I holde a penny, ye will drink without a cup. [all vp.

Tib. Talk. Wherein ſo ere ye drinke, I wote ye drinke

An. Alyſace. By Cock and well ſowed, my good Tibet Talke apace.

Tib. Talk. And een as well knitte my nowne Annot Alyſace.

R. Royſter. See what a ſort ſhe kepeth that muſt be my wife.

Shall not I when I haue hir, leade a merrie life?

Tib. Talk. Welcome my good wenche, and ſitte here by me iuſt.

An. Alyſace. And howe doth our old beldame here, Mage Mumblecruſt?

Tib. Talk. Chyde, and finde faultes, and threaten to complaine.

An. Alyſace. To make vs poore girles ſhent to hir is ſmall gaine.

M. Mumbl. I dyd neyther chyde, nor complaine, nor threaten.

R. Royſter. It woulde grieue my heart to ſee one of them beaten.

M. Mumbl. I dyd nothyng but byd hir worke and holde hir peace.

Tib. Talk. So would I, if you coulde your clattering ceaſſe:

But the deuill can not make olde trotte holde hir tong.

An. Alyſace. Let all theſe matters paſſe, and we three ſing a ſong,

So ſhall we pleaſantly bothe the tyme beguile now,

And eke diſpatche all our workes ere we can tell how.

Tib. Talk. I ſhrew them that ſay nay, and that ſhall not be I.

M. Mumbl. And I am well content.

Tib. Talk. Sing on then by and by.

R. Royſter. And I will not away, but liſten to their ſong,

Yet Merygreeke and my folkes tary very long.

Tib, An, *and* **Margerie,** *doe ſinge here.*

Pipe mery Annot. etc.
Trilla, Trilla. Trillarie.
Worke Tibet, worke Annot, worke Margerie.
Sewe Tibet, knitte Annot, ſpinne Margerie.
Let vs ſee who ſhall winne the victorie.

Tib. Talk. This ſleue is not willyng to be ſewed I trowe,
A ſmall thing might make me all in the grounde to [throwe.

Then they ſing agayne.

Pipe merrie Annot. etc.
Trilla. Trilla. Trillarie.
What Tibet, what Annot, what Margerie.
Ye ſleepe, but we doe not, that ſhall we trie.
Your fingers be nombde, our worke will not lie.

Tib. Talk. If ye doe ſo againe, well I would aduiſe you nay.
In good ſooth one ſtoppe more, and I make holy day.

They ſinge the thirde tyme.

Pipe Mery Annot. etc.
Trilla. Trilla. Trillarie.
Nowe Tibbet, now Annot, nowe Margerie.
Nowe whippet apace for the mayſtrie,
But it will not be, our mouth is ſo drie.

Tib. Talk. Ah, eche finger is a thombe to day me thinke,
I care not to let all alone, chooſe it ſwimme or ſinke.

They ſing the fourth tyme.

Pipe Mery Annot. etc.
Trilla. Trilla. Trillarie.
When Tibet, when Annot, when Margerie.
I will not, I can not, no more can I. *Lette hir caste*
Then giue we all ouer, and there let it lye. *downe hir vvorke.*

Tib. Talk. There it lieth, the worſte is but a curried cote,

Tut I am vſed therto, I care not a grote.

An. Alyface. Haue we done ſingyng ſince? then will I in againe,

Here I founde you, and here I leaue both twaine. *Exeat.*

M. Mumbl. And I will not be long after: Tib Talke apace.

Tib. Talk. What is ye matter?

M. Mumb. Yond ſtode a man al this ſpace

And hath hearde all that euer we ſpake togyther.

Tib. Talk. Mary the more loute he for his comming hither.

And the leſſe good he can to liſten maidens talke.

I care not and I go byd him hence for to walke:

It were well done to knowe what he maketh here away.

R. Royster. Nowe myght I ſpeake to them, if I wiſt what to ſay.

M. Mumbl. Nay we will go both off, and ſee what [he is.

R. Royster. One that hath hearde all your talke and ſingyng ywis.

Tib. Talk. The more to blame you, a good thriftie huſbande

Woulde elſewhere haue had ſome better matters in [hande.

R. Royster. I dyd it for no harme, but for good loue I beare,

To your dame miſtreſſe Cuſtance, I did your talke [heare.

And Miſtreſſe nource I will kiſſe you for acquaintance.

M. Mumbl. I come anon ſir.

Tib. Talk. Faith I would our dame Cuſtance

Sawe this geare.

M. Mumbl. I muſt firſt wipe al cleane, yea I muſt.

Tib. Talk. Ill chieue it dotyng foole, but it muſt be cuſt.

M. Mumbl. God yelde you ſir, chad not ſo much ichotte not whan,

Nere ſince chwas bore chwine, of ſuch a gay gentleman.

R. Royster. I will kiſſe you too mayden for the good will I beare you.

Tib. Talk. No forſoth, by your leaue ye ſhall not kiſſe me.

R. Royster. Yes be not afearde, I doe not diſdayne you a whit.

Tib. Talk. Why ſhoulde I feare you? I haue not ſo little wit,

Ye are but a man I knowe very well.

R. Royster. Why then?

Tib. Talk. Forſooth for I wyll not, I vſe not to kiſſe men.

R. Royster. I would faine kiſſe you too good maiden, if I myght.

Tib. Talk. What ſhold that neede?

R. Royster. But to honor you by this light.

I vſe to kiſſe all them that I loue to God I vowe.

Tib. Talk. Yea ſir? I pray you when dyd ye laſt kiſſe your cowe.

R. Royster. Ye might be proude to kiſſe me, if ye were wiſe.

Tib. Talk. What promotion were therein?

R. Royster. Nourſe is not ſo nice.

Tib. Talk. Well I haue not bene taught to kiſſing and licking.

R. Royster. Yet I thanke you miſtreſſe Nourſe, ye made no ſticking.

M. Mumbl. I will not ſticke for a koſſe with ſuch a man as you.

Tib. Talk. They that luſt: I will againe to my ſewyng now.

An. Alyſac[e]. Tidings hough, tidings, dame Cuſtance greeteth you well.

R. Royster. Whome me?

An. Alyſace. You ſir? no ſir? I do no ſuche tale tell.

R. Royster. But and ſhe knewe me here.

An. Alyſace. Tybet Talke apace,

Your miſtreſſe Cuſtance and mine, muſt ſpeake with your grace.

Tib. Talk. With me?

An. Alyſace. Ye muſte come in to hir out of all doutes.

Tib. Talk. And my work not half done? A mischief on all loutes. *Ex. am.*

R. Royster. Ah good ſweet nourſe.

M. Mumb. A good ſweete gentleman.

R. Royster. What?

M. Mumbl. Nay I can not tel ſir, but what thing would you?

R. Royster. Howe dothe ſweete Cuſtance, my heart of gold, tell me how?

M. Mumbl. She dothe very well ſir, and commaunde me to you.

R. Royster. To me?

M. Mumbl. Yea to you ſir.

R. Royster. To me? nurſe tel me plain
To me?

M. Mumb. Ye.

R. Royster. That word maketh me aliue again.

M. Mumbl. She commaunde me to one laſt day who ere it was.

R. Royster. That was een to me and none other by the Maſſe.

M. Mumbl. I can not tell you ſurely, but one it was.

R. Royster. It was I and none other: this commeth to good paſſe.
I promiſe thee nourſe I fauour hir.

M. Mumb. Een ſo ſir.

R. Royster. Bid hir ſue to me for mariage.

M. Mumbl. Een ſo ſir.

R. Royster. And ſurely for thy ſake ſhe ſhall ſpeede.

M. Mumb. Een ſo ſir.

R. Royster. I ſhall be contented to take hir.

M. Mumb. Een ſo ſir.

R. Royster. But at thy requeſt and for thy ſake.

M. Mumb. Een ſo ſir.

R. Royster. And come hearke in thine eare what to ſay.

M. Mumb. Een ſo ſir. *Here lette him tell hir a great long tale in hir eare.*

Actus. j. Scæna. iiij.

Mathew Merygreeke. Dobinet Doughtie. Harpax. Ralph Royster. Margerie Mumblecrust.

M. Mery. COme on ſirs apace, and quite your ſelues like men,
Your pains ſhalbe rewarded.
D. Dou. But I wot not when.
M. Mery. Do your maiſter worſhip as ye haue done in time paſt. [haue a caſt.
D. Dough. Speake to them : of mine office he ſhall
M. Mery. *Harpax*, looke that thou doe well too, and thy fellow.
Harpax. I warrant, if he will myne example folowe.
M. Mery. Curtſie whooreſons, douke you and crouche at euery worde, [borde.
D. Dough. Yes whether our maiſter ſpeake earneſt or
M. Mery. For this lieth vpon his preferment in deede. [ſpeede.
D. Dough. Oft is hee a wower, but neuer doth he
M. Mery. But with whome is he nowe ſo ſadly roundyng yond?
D. Dough. With *Nobs nicebecetur miſerere* ſonde.
[**M.**] **Mery.** God be at your wedding, be ye ſpedde alredie?
I did not ſuppoſe that your loue was ſo greedie,
I perceiue nowe ye haue choſe of deuotion,
And ioy haue ye ladie of your promotion.
R. Royster. Tuſhe foole, thou art deceiued, this is not ſhe. [well I viſe ye.
M. Mery. Well mocke muche of hir, and keepe hir
I will take no charge of ſuch a faire piece keeping.
M. Mumbl. What ayleth thys fellowe? he driueth me to weeping. [merrie woman,
M. Mery. What weepe on the weddyng day? be
Though I ſay it, ye haue choſe a good gentleman.
R. Royster. Kocks nownes what meaneſt thou man, tut a whiſtle.

[M. Mery.] Ah ſir, be good to hir, ſhe is but a
Ah ſweete lambe and coney. [griſtle,
R. Royster. Tut thou art deceiued. [receiued.
M. Mery. Weepe no more lady, ye ſhall be well
Vp wyth ſome mery noyſe ſirs, to bring home the bride.
R. Royster. Gogs armes knaue, art thou madde?
I tel thee thou art wide. [home brought.
M. Mery. Then ye entende by nyght to haue hir
R. Royster. I tel thee no.
M. Mery. How then?
R. Royster. Tis neither ment ne thought.
M. Mery. What ſhall we then doe with hir?
R. Royster. Ah fooliſh harebraine,
This is not ſhe.
M. Mery. No is? why then vnſayde againe,
And what yong girle is this with your maſhyp ſo bolde?
R. Royster. A girle? [yere old.
M. Mery. Yea. I dare ſay, ſcarſe yet three ſcore
R. Royster. This ſame is the faire widowes nourſe
of whome ye wotte. [home olde trotte,
M. Mery. Is ſhe but a nourſe of a houſe? hence
Hence at once.
R. Royster. No, no.
M. Mery. What an pleaſe your maſhip
A nourſe talke ſo homely with one of your worſhip?
R. Royster. I will haue it ſo: it is my pleaſure and will.
M. Mery. Then I am content. Nourſe come
againe, tarry ſtill.
R. Royster. What, ſhe will helpe forward this my
ſute for hir part. [ing on my hart.
M. Mery. Then iſt mine owne pygs nie, and bleſs-
R. Royster. This is our beſt friend man.
M. Mery. Then teach hir what to ſay
M. Mumbl. I am taught alreadie.
M. Mery. Then go, make no delay.
R. Royster. Yet hark one word in thine eare.
M. Mery. Back ſirs from his taile. [counſaile?
R. Royster. Backe vilaynes, will ye be priuie of my
M. Mery. Backe ſirs, ſo: I tolde you afore ye
woulde be ſhent.

R. Royster. She ſhall haue the firſt day a whole pecke of argent.

M. Mumbl. A pecke? *Nomine patris*, haue ye ſo much ſpare? [were it bare,

R. Royster. Yea and a carte lode therto, or elſe
Beſides other mouables, houſholde ſtuffe and lande.

M. Mumbl. Haue ye lands too.

R. Royster. An hundred marks.

M. Mery. Yea a thouſand

M. Mumbl. And haue ye cattell too? and ſheepe too?

R. Royster. Yea a fewe. [ſhewe.

M. Mery. He is aſhamed the numbre of them to
Een rounde about him, as many thouſande ſheepe goes,
As he and thou and I too, haue fingers and toes.

M. Mumbl. And how many yeares olde be you?

R. Royster. Fortie at leſt.

M. Mery. Yea and thrice fortie to them.

R: Royster. Nay now thou doſt ieſt.
I am not ſo olde, thou miſreckoneſt my yeares.

M. Mery. I know that: but my minde was on bullockes and ſteeres.

M. Mumbl. And what ſhall I ſhewe hir your masterſhips name is? [that ywis.

R. Royster. Nay ſhe ſhall make ſute ere ſhe know

M. Mumbl. Yet let me ſomewhat knowe.

M. Mery. This is hee vnderſtand,
That killed the blewe Spider in Blanchepouder lande.

M. Mumbl. Yea *Ieſus*, William zee law, dyd he zo law?

M. Mery. Yea and the laſt Elephant that euer he ſawe,
As the beaſt paſſed by, he ſtart out of a buſke,
And een with pure ſtrength of armes pluckt out his great tuſke. [that?

M. Mumbl. *Ieſus*, *nomine patris*, what a thing was

R. Roister. Yea but Merygreke one thing thou

M. Mery. What? [haſt forgot.

R. Royster. Of thother Elephant.

M. Mery. Oh hym that fledde away.

R. Royster. Yea. [that day

M. Mery. Yea he knew that his match was in place
Tut, he bet the king of Crickets on Chriſtmaſſe day,

That he crept in a hole, and not a worde to ſay.
M. Mumbl. A ſore man by zembletee.
M. Mery. Why, he wrong a club
Once in a fray out of the hande of Belzebub.
R. Royster. And how when Mumfiſion?
M. Mery. Oh your couſtrelyng
Bore the lanterne a fielde ſo before the gozelyng.
Nay that is to long a matter now to be tolde:
Neuer aſke his name Nurſe, I warrant thee, be bolde,
He conquered in one day from *Rome*, to *Naples*,
And woonne Townes nourſe as faſt as thou canſt make Apples. [he is to ſore.
M. Mumbl. O Lorde, my heart quaketh for feare:
R. Royster. Thou makeſt hir to much afearde, Merygreeke no more.
This tale woulde feare my ſweete heart Cuſtance right euill. [not the deuill.
M. Mery. Nay let hir take him Nurſe, and feare
But thus is our ſong daſht. Sirs ye may home againe.
R. Royster. No ſhall they not. I charge you all here to remaine:
The villaine ſlaues a whole day ere they can be founde.
M. Mery. Couche on your marybones whooreſons, down to the ground.
Was it meete he ſhould tarie ſo long in one place
Without harmonie of Muſike, or ſome ſolace?
Who ſo hath ſuche bees as your maiſter in hys head,
Had neede to haue his ſpirites with Muſike to be fed.
By your maiſterſhips licence.
R. Royster. What is that? a moate? [your coate.
M. Mery. No it was a fooles feather had light on
R. Roister. I was nigh no feathers ſince I came from my bed. [your hed.
M. Mery. No ſir, it was a haire that was fall from
R. Roister. My men com when it pleſe them.
M. Mery. By your leue.
R. Roister. What is that? [foot of a gnat.
M. Mery. Your gown was foule ſpotted with the
R. Roister. Their maiſter to offende they are no-
What now? [thing afearde.

M. Mery. A lousy haire from your masterships beard. [one offence.

Omnes famulæ. And sir for Nurses sake pardon this
We shall not after this shew the like negligence.

R. Royster. I pardon you this once, and come sing nere the wurse. [tleman nurse?

M. Mery. How like you the goodnesse of this gen-

M. Mumbl. God saue his maistership that so can his men forgeue,
And I wyll heare them sing ere I go, by his leaue.

R. Royster. Mary and thou shalt wenche, come we two will daunce. [song perchaunce.

M. Mumbl. Nay I will by myne owne selfe foote the

R. Royster. Go to it sirs lustily.

M. Mumbl. Pipe vp a mery note,
Let me heare it playde, I will foote it for a grote.

Cantent. [mistresse.

R. Royster. Now nurse take thys same letter here to thy
And as my trust is in thee plie my businesse.

M. Mumbl. It shalbe done?

M. Mery. Who made it?

R. Royster. I wrote it ech whit.

M. Mery. Then nedes it no mending.

R. Royster. No, no.

M. Mery. No I know your wit.
I warrant it wel.

M. Mumb. It shal be deliuered.
But if ye speede, shall I be considered?

M. Mery. Whough, dost thou doubt of that?

Madge. What shal I haue? [deuise to craue.

M. Mery. An hundred times more than thou canst

M. Mumbl. Shall I haue some newe geare? for my olde is all spent. [ladies rayment.

M. Mery. The worst kitchen wench shall goe in.

M. Mumbl. Yea? [go better

M. Mery. And the worst drudge in the house shal
Than your mistresse doth now.

Mar. Then I trudge with your letter. [mine owne.

R. Royster. Now may I repose me: Custance is
Let vs sing and play homeward that it may be knowne.

M. Mery. But are you ſure, that your letter is well [enough ?
R. Royster. I wrote it my ſelfe.
M. Mery. Then ſing we to dinner.

Here they ſing, and go out ſinging.

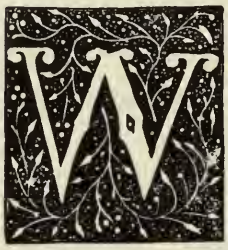
Actus. j. Scæna. v.

Christian Custance. Margerie Mumblecrust.

C. Custance. WHo tooke thee thys letter Margerie Mumblecruſt?
M. Mumbl. A luſtie gay bacheler tooke it me of truſt,
And if ye ſeeke to him he will lowe your doing.
C. Custance. Yea, but where learned he that manner of wowing? [take,
M. Mumbl. If to ſue to hym, you will any paines
He will haue you to his wife (he ſayth) for my ſake.
C. Custance. Some wiſe gentleman belike. I am beſpoken :
And I thought verily thys had bene ſome token [pleaſe
From my dere ſpouſe Gawin Goodluck, whom when him
God luckily ſende home to both our heartes eaſe.
M. Mumbl. A ioyly man it is I wote well by report,
And would haue you to him for marriage reſort :
Beſt open the writing, and ſee what it doth ſpeake.
C. Custance. At thys time nourſe I will neither reade ne breake.
M. Mumbl. He promiſed to giue you a whole pecke of golde. [ſhall be all tolde.
C. Custance. Perchaunce lacke of a pynte when it
M. Mumbl. I would take a gay riche huſbande, and I were you. [if I were thou.
C. Custance. In good ſooth Madge, een ſo would I,
But no more of this fond talke now, let vs go in,
And ſee thou no more moue me folly to begin.
Nor bring mee no mo letters for no mans pleaſure,
But thou know from whom.
M. Mumbl. I warrant ye ſhall be ſure.

Actus. ij. Scæna. j.

Dobinet Doughtie.

D. Dough. 

Here is the houſe I goe to, before or behinde?
I know not where nor when nor how I ſhal it finde.
If I had ten mens bodies and legs and ſtrength,
This trotting that I haue muſt needes lame me at length.
And nowe that my maiſter is new ſet on wowyng,
I truſt there ſhall none of vs finde lacke of doyng:
Two paire of ſhoes a day will nowe be too litle
To ſerue me, I muſt trotte to and fro ſo mickle.
Go beare me thys token, carrie me this letter,
Nowe this is the beſt way, nowe that way is better.
Vp before day ſirs, I charge you, an houre or twaine,
Trudge, do me thys meſſage, and bring worde quicke again,
If one miſſe but a minute, then his armes and woundes,
I woulde not haue ſlacked for ten thouſand poundes.
Nay ſee I beſeeche you, if my moſt truſtie page,
Goe not nowe aboute to hinder my mariage,
So feruent hotte wowyng, and ſo farre from wiuing,
I trowe neuer was any creature liuyng,
With euery woman is he in ſome loues pang,
Then vp to our lute at midnight, twangledome twang,
Then twang with our ſonets, and twang with our dumps,
And heyhough from our heart, as heauie as lead lumpes:
Then to our recorder with toodleloodle poope
As the howlet out of an yuie buſhe ſhould hoope.
Anon to our gitterne, thrumpledum, thrumpledum thrum,
Thrumpledum, thrumpledum, thrumpledum, thrumpledum thrum.
Of Songs and Balades alſo he is a maker,
And that can he as finely doe as Iacke Raker,
Yea and *extempore* will he dities compoſe,

Foolishe *Marsias* nere made the like I suppose,
Yet must we sing them, as good stuffe I vndertake,
As for such a pen man is well fittyng to make.
Ah for these long nights, heyhow, when will it be day?
I feare ere I come she will be wowed away.
Then when aunswere is made that it may not bee,
O death why commest thou not? by and by (sayth he)
But then, from his heart to put away sorowe,
He is as farre in with some newe loue next morowe.
But in the meane season we trudge and we trot,
From dayspring to midnyght, I sit not, nor rest not.
And now am I sent to dame Christian Custance:
But I feare it will ende with a mocke for pastance.
I bring hir a ring, with a token in a cloute,
And by all gesse, this same is hir house out of doute.
I knowe it nowe perfect, I am in my right way.
And loe yond the olde nourse that was wyth vs last day.

Actus. ij. Scæna. ij.

Mage Mumblecrust. Dobinet Doughtie.

M. Mumbl.
Was nere so shoke vp afore since I was borne,
That our mistresse coulde not haue chid I wold haue sworne:
And I pray God I die if I ment any harme,
But for my life time this shall be to me a charme.

D. Dough. God you saue and see nurse, and howe is it with you?

M. Mumbl. Mary a great deale the worse it is for [such as thou.

D. Dough. For me? Why so?

M. Mumb. Why wer not thou one of them, say,
That song and playde here with the gentleman last day?

D. Dough. Yes, and he would know if you haue for [him spoken.
And prayes you to deliuer this ring and token.

M. Mumbl. Nowe by the token that God tokened [brother,

I will deliuer no token one nor other.
I haue once ben ſo ſhent for your maiſters pleaſure,
As I will not be agayne for all hys treaſure.

D. Dough. He will thank you woman.

M. Mumbl. I will none of his thanke. *Ex.*

D. Dough. I weene I am a prophete, this geare will proue blanke :
But what ſhould I home againe without anſwere go?
It were better go to *Rome* on my head than ſo.
I will tary here this moneth, but ſome of the houſe
Shall take it of me, and then I care not a louſe.
But yonder commeth forth a wenche or a ladde,
If he haue not one Lumbardes touche, my lucke is bad.

Actus. ij. Scæna. iij.

Truepenie. D. Dough. Tibet T. Anot Al.

Trupeny.

Am cleane loſt for lacke of mery companie,
We gree not halfe well within, our wenches and I,
They will commaunde like miſtreſſes, they will forbyd,
If they be not ſerued, Trupeny muſt be chyd.
Let them be as mery nowe as ye can deſire,
With turnyng of a hande, our mirth lieth in the mire,
I can not ſkill of ſuch chaungeable mettle,
There is nothing with them but in docke out nettle.

D. Dough. Whether is it better that I ſpeake to him
Or he firſt to me, it is good to caſt the wurſt. [furſt,
If I beginne firſt, he will ſmell all my purpoſe,
Otherwiſe I ſhall not neede any thing to diſcloſe.

Trupeny. What boy haue we yonder? I will ſee what he is. [ywis.

D. Dough. He commeth to me. It is hereabout

Trupeny. Wouldeſt thou ought friende, that thou lookeſt ſo about? [no, I dout.

D. Dough. Yea, but whether ye can helpe me or

I ſeeke to one miſtreſſe Cuſtance houſe here dwellyng.
Trupenie. It is my miſtreſſe ye ſeeke too by your telling.
D. Dough. Is there any of that name heere but ſhee?
Trupenie. Not one in all the whole towne that I knowe pardee.
D. Dough. A Widowe ſhe is I trow.
Trupenie. And what and ſhe be?
D. Dough. But enſured to an huſbande.
Trupenie. Yea, ſo thinke we.
D. Dough. And I dwell with hir huſbande that truſteth to be.
Trupenie. In faith then muſt thou needes be welcome to me,
Let vs for acquaintance ſhake handes togither,
And what ere thou be, heartily welcome hither.
Tib. Talk. Well Trupenie neuer but flinging.
An. Alyſace. And friſking? [and whiſkyng?
Trupenie. Well Tibet and Annot, ſtill ſwingyng
Tib. Talk. But ye roile abroade.
An. Alyſace. In the ſtreete euere where.
Trupenie. Where are ye twaine, in chambers when ye mete me there?
But come hither fooles, I haue one nowe by the hande,
Seruant to hym that muſt be our miſtreſſe huſbande,
Byd him welcome.
An. Alyſace. To me truly is he welcome. [come.
Tib. Talk. Forſooth and as I may ſay, heartily wel-
D. Dough. I thank you miſtreſſe maides
An. Alyſace. I hope we ſhal better know
Tib. Talk. And when wil our new maſter come.
D. Dough. Shortly I trow. [reſorte
Tib. Talk. I would it were to morow: for till he
Our miſtreſſe being a Widow hath ſmall comforte,
And I hearde our nourſe ſpeake of an huſbande to day
Ready for our miſtreſſe, a riche man and a gay,
And we ſhall go in our frenche hoodes euery day,
In our ſilke caſſocks (I warrant you) freſhe and gay,
In our tricke ſerdegews and billiments of golde,
Braue in our ſutes of chaunge ſeuen double folde,
Then ſhall ye ſee Tibet ſirs, treade the moſſe ſo trimme.

Nay, why ſayd I treade? ye shall ſee hir glide and ſwimme,
Not lumperdee clumperdee like our ſpaniell Rig. [fig,

Trupeny. Mary then prickmedaintie come toſte me a
Who ſhall then know our Tib Talke apace trow ye?

An. Alyface. And why not Annot Alyface as fyne as she? [none?

Trupeny. And what had Tom Trupeny, a father or

An. Alyface. Then our prety newe come man will looke to be one. [knot.

Trupeny. We foure I truſt ſhall be a ioily mery
Shall we ſing a fitte to welcome our friende, Annot?

An. Alyface. Perchaunce he can not ſing.

D. Dough. I am at all aſſayes. [alwayes.

Tib. Talk. By cocke and the better welcome to vs

Here they ſing.

A thing very fitte
For them that haue witte,
And are felowes knitte
Seruants in one houſe to bee,
Is faſt faſt for to ſitte,
And not oft to flitte,
Nor varie a whitte,
But louingly to agree.

No man for deſpite,
By worde or by write
His felowe to twite,
But further in honeſtie,
No good turnes entwite,
Nor olde ſores recite,
But let all goe quite,
And louingly to agree.

No man complainyng,
Nor other diſdayning,
For loſſe or for gainyng,
But felowes or friends to bee.
No grudge remainyng,
No worke refrainyng,
Nor helpe reſtrainyng,
But louingly to agree.

After drudgerie,
When they be werie,
Then to be merie, [free
To laugh and ſing they be
With chip and cherie
Heigh derie derie,
Trill on the berie,
And louingly to agree.

Finis.

Tib. Talk. Wyll you now in with vs vnto our mistreſſe go? [two.

D. Dough. I haue firſt for my maiſter an errand or
But I haue here from him a token and a ring, [bring.
They ſhall haue moſte thanke of hir that firſt doth it

Tib. Talk. Mary that will I.

Trupeny. See and Tibet ſnatch not now.

Tib. Talk. And why may not I ſir, get thanks as well as you? *Exeat.* [you both.

An. Alyſace. Yet get ye not all, we will go with
And haue part of your thanks be ye neuer ſo loth.
Exeant omnes.

D. Dough. So my handes are ridde of it: I care for no more.
I may now return home: ſo durſt I not afore. *Exeat.*

Actus. ij. Scæna. iiij.

C. Custance. Tibet. Annot Alyſace. Trupeny.

C. Custance. NAy come forth all three: and come hither pretie mayde:
Will not ſo many forewarnings make you afrayde?

Tib. Talk. Yes forſoth.

C. Custance. But ſtil be a runner vp and downe
Still be a bringer of tidings and tokens to towne.

Tib. Talk. No forſoth miſtreſſe.

C. Custance. Is all your delite and ioy
In whiſkyng and ramping abroade like a Tom boy.

Tib. Talk. Forſoth theſe were there too, Annot and Trupenie. [denie.

Trupenie. Yea but ye alone tooke it, ye can not

Annot Aly. Yea that ye did.

Tibet. But if I had not, ye twaine would.

C. Custance. You great calfe ye ſhould haue more witte, ſo ye ſhould:
But why ſhoulde any of you take ſuch things in hande?

Tibet. Becauſe it came from him that muſt be your [huſbande.

C. Custance. How do ye know that?

Tibet. Forſoth the boy did ſay ſo.

C. Custance. What was his name?

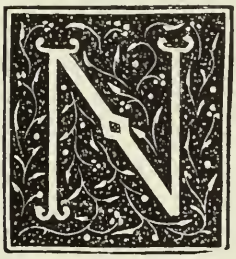
An. Alyſace. We aſked not.

C. Custance. No did?

An. Aliface. He is not farre gone of likelyhod.
Trupeny. I will fee. [bring him to me.
C. Custance. If thou canft finde him in the ftreete
Trupenie. Yes. *Exeat.*
C. Custance. Well ye naughty girles, if euer I perceiue
That henceforth you do letters or tokens receiue,
To bring vnto me from any perfon or place,
Except ye firft fhewe me the partie face to face,
Eyther thou or thou, full truly abye thou fhalt.
Tibet. Pardon this, and the next tyme pouder me in falt. [to beware.
C. Custance. I fhall make all girles by you twaine
Tibet. If euer I offende againe do not me fpare.
But if euer I fee that falfe boy any more
By your miftrefhyps licence I tell you afore
I will rather haue my cote twentie times fwinged,
Than on the naughtie wag not to be auenged.
C. Custance. Good wenches would not fo rampe abrode ydelly,
But keepe within doores, and plie their work earneftly,
If one would fpeake with me that is a man likely,
Ye fhall haue right good thanke to bring me worde
But otherwyfe with meffages to come in poft [quickly.
From henceforth I promife you, fhall be to your coft.
Get you in to your work.
Tib. An. Yes forfoth.
C. Custance. Hence both twaine.
And let me fee you play me fuch a part againe.
Trupeny. Maiftreffe, I haue runne paft the farre ende of the ftreete,
Yet can I not yonder craftie boy fee nor meete.
C. Custance. No?
Trupeny. Yet I looked as farre beyonde the people.
As one may fee out of the toppe of Paules fteeple.
C. Custance. Hence in at doores, and let me no more be vext. [the next.
Trupeny. Forgeue me this one fault, and lay on for
C. Custance. Now will I in too, for I thinke fo God me mende,
This will proue fome fooliffhe matter in the ende. *Exeat.*

Actus. [i]ij. Scæna. j.

Mathewe Merygreeke.

M. Mery. 

Owe ſay thys againe: he hath ſomewhat to dooing
Which followeth the trace of one that is wowing,
Specially that hath no more wit in his hedde,
Than my couſin Roiſter Doiſter withall is ledde.
I am ſent in all haſte to eſpie and to marke
How our letters and tokens are likely to warke.
Maiſter Roiſter Doiſter muſt haue aunſwere in haſte
For he loueth not to ſpende much labour in waſte.
Nowe as for Chriſtian Cuſtance by this light,
Though ſhe had not hir trouth to Gawin Goodluck plight,
Yet rather than with ſuch a loutiſhe dolte to marie,
I dare ſay woulde lyue a poore lyfe ſolitarie,
But fayne would I ſpeake with Cuſtance if I wiſt how
To laugh at the matter, yond commeth one forth now.

Actus. iij. Scæna. ij.

Tibet. M. Merygreeke. Christian Custance.

Tib. Talk.

H that I might but once in my li'e haue a ſight
Of him that made vs all ſo yll ſhent by this light,
He ſhould neuer eſcape if I had him by the eare,
But euen from his head, I would it bite or teare.
Yea and if one of them were not inowe,

I would bite them both off, I make God auow.

M. Mery. What is he, whome this little mouſe doth ſo threaten?

Tib. Talk. I woulde teache him I trow, to make girles ſhent or beaten.

M. Mery. I will call hir: Maide with whome are ye ſo haſtie? [paſtie,

Tib. Talk. Not with you ſir, but with a little wag-
A deceiuer of folkes, by ſubtill craft and guile.

M. Mery. I knowe where ſhe is: Dobinet hath wrought ſome wile. [ſayd was ſent

Tib. Talk. He brought a ring and token which he
From our dames huſbande, but I wot well I was ſhent:
For it liked hir as well to tell you no lies,
As water in hir ſhyppe, or ſalt caſt in hir eies:
And yet whence it came neyther we nor ſhe can tell.

M. Mery. We ſhall haue ſport anone: I like this very well.

And dwell ye here with miſtreſſe Cuſtance faire maide?

Tib. Talk. Yea mary doe I ſir: what would ye haue ſayd?

M. Mery. A little meſſage vnto hir by worde of mouth. [forſoth.

Tib. Talk. No meſſages by your leaue, nor tokens

M. Mery. Then help me to ſpeke with hir.

Tibet. With a good wil that.

Here ſhe commeth forth. Now ſpeake ye know beſt what.

C. Custance. None other life with you maide, but abrode to ſkip? [your miſtreſſhip.

Tib. Talk. Forſoth here is one would ſpeake with

C. Custance. Ah, haue ye ben learning of mo meſſages now?

Tib. Talk. I would not heare his minde, but bad him ſhewe it to you.

C. Custance. In at dores.

Tib. Talk. I am gon. *Ex.*

M. Mery. Dame Cuſtance god ye ſaue.

C. Custance. Welcome friend Merygreeke: and what thing wold ye haue? [breake.

M. Mery. I am come to you a little matter to

C. Custance. But ſee it be honeſt, elſe better not to ſpeake.

M. Mery. Howe feele ye your ſelfe affected here [of late?

C. Custance. I feele no maner chaunge but after [the olde rate.
But wherby do ye meane?

M. Mery. Concerning mariage.
Doth not loue lade you?

C. Custance. I feele no ſuch cariage.

M. Mery. Doe ye feele no pangues of dotage? aunſwere me right.

C. Custance. I dote ſo, that I make but one ſleepe all [the night
But what neede all theſe wordes?

M. Mery. Oh Ieſus, will ye ſee
What diſſemblyng creatures theſe ſame women be?
The gentleman ye wote of, whome ye doe ſo loue,
That ye woulde fayne marrie him, yf ye durſt it moue,
Emong other riche widowes, which are of him glad,
Leſt ye for leſing of him perchaunce might runne mad,
Is nowe contented that vpon your ſute making,
Ye be as one in election of taking.

C. Custance. What a tale is this? that I wote of? whome I loue?

M. Mery. Yea and he is as louing a worme againe as a doue.
Een of very pitie he is willyng you to take,
Bicauſe ye ſhall not deſtroy your ſelfe for his ſake.

C. Custance. Mary God yelde his maſhyp what euer [he be,
It is gentmanly ſpoken.

M. Mery. Is it not trowe ye?
If ye haue the grace now to offer your ſelf, ye ſpeede.

C. Custance. As muche as though I did, this time it ſhall not neede,
But what gentman is it, I pray you tell me plaine,
That woweth ſo finely?

M. Mery. Lo where ye be againe,
As though ye knewe him not.

C. Custance. Tuſh ye ſpeake in ieſt.

M. Mery. Nay ſure, the partie is in good knacking earneſt,

And haue you he will (he ſayth) and haue you he muſt.
C. Custance. I am promiſed duryng my life, that is iuſt.
M. Mery. Mary ſo thinketh he, vnto him alone.
C. Custance. No creature hath my faith and trouth but one,
That is Gawin Goodlucke : and if it be not hee,
He hath no title this way what euer he be,
Nor I know none to whome I haue ſuch worde ſpoken.
M. Mery. Ye knowe him not you by his letter and token.
C. Custance. In dede true it is, that a letter I haue,
But I neuer reade it yet as God me ſaue.
M. Mery. Ye a woman? and your letter ſo long vnredde.
C. Custance. Ye may therby know what haſt I haue to wedde.
But now who it is, for my hande I knowe by geſſe.
M. Mery. Ah well I ſay.
C. Custance. It is Roiſter Doiſter doubtleſſe.
M. Mery. Will ye neuer leaue this diſſimulation?
Ye know hym not.
C. Custance. But by imagination,
For no man there is but a very dolt and loute
That to wowe a Widowe woulde ſo go about.
He ſhall neuer haue me hys wife while he doe liue.
M. Mery. Then will he haue you if he may, ſo mote I thriue,
And he biddeth you ſende him worde by me,
That ye humbly beſeech him, ye may his wife be,
And that there ſhall be no let in you nor miſtruſt,
But to be wedded on ſunday next if he luſt,
And biddeth you to looke for him.
C. Custance. Doth he byd ſo?
M. Mery. When he commeth, aſke hym whether he did or no?
C. Custance. Goe ſay, that I bid him keepe him warme at home
For if he come abroade, he ſhall cough me a mome.
My mynde was vexed, I ſhrew his head ſottiſh dolt.
M. Mery. He hath in his head.

C. Custance. As much braine as a burbolt.
M. Mery. Well dame Cuſtance, if he heare you thus
C. Custance. What will he? [play choploge.
M. Mery. Play the deuill in the horologe.
C. Custance. I defye him loute.
M. Mery. Shall I tell hym what ye ſay?
C. Custance. Yea and adde what ſo euer thou canſt, I thee pray,
And I will auouche it what ſo euer it bee.
M. Mery. Then let me alone we will laugh well ye ſhall ſee,
It will not be long ere he will hither reſorte.
C. Custance. Let hym come when hym luſt, I wiſhe no better ſport.
Fare ye well, I will in, and read my great letter.
I ſhall to my wower make anſwere the better. *Exeat.*

Actus. iij. Scæna. iij.

Mathew Merygreeke. Roister Doister.

M. Mery. NOwe that the whole anſwere in my deuiſe doth reſt,
I ſhall paint out our wower in colours of the beſt.
And all that I ſay ſhall be on Cuſtances mouth,
She is author of all that I ſhall ſpeake forſoth.
But yond commeth Roiſter Doiſter nowe in a traunce.
R. Royster. *Iuno* ſende me this day good lucke and good chaunce.
I can not but come ſee how Merygreeke doth ſpeede.
M. Mery. I will not ſee him, but giue him a iutte
I crie your maſterſhyp mercie. [in deede.
R. Royster. And whither now? [you.
M. Mery. As faſt as I could runne ſir in poſte againſt
But why ſpeake ye ſo faintly, or why are ye ſo ſad?

R. Royster. Thou knoweſt the prouerbe, bycauſe I can not be had.
Haſt thou ſpoken with this woman?
M. Mery. Yea that I haue.
R. Royster. And what will this geare be?
M. Mery. No ſo God me ſaue.
R. Royster. Haſt thou a flat anſwer?
M. Mery. Nay a ſharp anſwer.
R. Royster. What [hir cat.
M. Mery. Ye ſhall not (ſhe ſayth) by hir will marry
Ye are ſuch a calfe, ſuch an aſſe, ſuch a blocke,
Such a lilburne, ſuch a hoball, ſuch a lobcocke,
And bicauſe ye ſhoulde come to hir at no ſeaſon,
She deſpiſed your maſhip out of all reaſon.
Bawawe what ye ſay (ko I) of ſuch a ientman,
Nay I feare him not (ko ſhe) doe the beſt he can.
He vaunteth him ſelfe for a man of proweſſe greate,
Where as a good gander I dare ſay may him beate.
And where he is louted and laughed to ſkorne,
For the verieſt dolte that euer was borne,
And verieſt lubber, ſlouen and beaſt,
Liuing in this worlde from the weſt to the eaſt:
Yet of himſelfe hath he ſuche opinion,
That in all the worlde is not the like minion.
He thinketh eche woman to be brought in dotage
With the onely ſight of his goodly perſonage: [flocke,
Yet none that will haue hym: we do hym loute and
And make him among vs, our common ſporting ſtocke,
And ſo would I now (ko ſhe) ſaue onely bicauſe,
Better nay (ko I) I luſt not medle with dawes.
Ye are happy (ko I) that ye are a woman,
This would coſt you your life in caſe ye were a man.
R. Royster. Yea an hundred thouſand pound ſhould not ſaue hir life. [your wife.
M. Mery. No but that ye wowe hir to haue hir to
But I coulde not ſtoppe hir mouth.
R. Royster. Heigh how alas,
M. Mery. Be of good cheere man, and let the worlde paſſe. [not bee.
R. Royster. What ſhall I doe or ſay nowe that it will

M. Mery. Ye ſhall haue choiſe of a thouſande as good as ſhee,
And ye muſt pardon hir, it is for lacke of witte.
R. Royster. Yea, for were not I an huſbande for hir fitte?
Well what ſhould I now doe?
M. Mery. In faith I can not tell.
R. Royster. I will go home and die.
M. Mery. Then ſhall I bidde toll the bell?
R. Royster. No.
M. Mery. God haue mercie on your ſoule, ah good gentleman,
That er ye ſhuld th[u]s dye for an vnkinde woman,
Will ye drinke once ere ye goe.
R. Roister. No, no, I will none.
M. Mery. How feele your ſoule to God.
R. Roister. I am nigh gone.
M. Mery. And ſhall we hence ſtreight?
R. Royster. Yea.
M. Mery. *Placebo dilexi.* [*vt infra.**
Maiſter Doiſter Doiſter will ſtreight go home and die.
R. Royster. Heigh how, alas, the pangs of death my hearte do breake.
M. Mery. Holde your peace for ſhame ſir, a dead man may not ſpeake.
Nequando: What mourners and what torches ſhall we haue?
R. Royster. None.
M. Mery. *Dirige.* He will go darklyng to his graue,
Neque, lux, neque crux, neque mourners, *neque* clinke,
He will ſteale to heauen, vnknowing to God I thinke.
A porta inferi, who ſhall your goodes poſſeſſe?
R. Royster. Thou ſhalt be my ſectour, and haue all more and leſſe.
M. Mery. *Requiem æternam.* Now God reward your maſterſhyp.
And I will crie halfepenie doale for your worſhyp.
Come forth ſirs, heare the dolefull newes I ſhall you tell.
Euocat seruos militis.
Our good maiſter here will no longer with vs dwell,

* *See pp.* 87, 88.

But in ſpite of Cuſtance, which hath hym weried,
Let vs ſee his maſhyp ſolemnely buried.
And while ſome piece of his ſoule is yet hym within,
Some part of his funeralls let vs here begin. [man,
Audiui vocem, All men take heede by this one gentle-
Howe you ſette your loue vpon an vnkinde woman.
For theſe women be all ſuch madde pieuiſhe elues,
They will not be wonne except it pleaſe them ſelues.
But in fayth Cuſtance if euer ye come in hell,
Maiſter Roiſter Doiſter ſhall ſerue you as well.
And will ye needes go from vs thus in very deede?

R. Royster. Yea in good ſadneſſe?

M. Mery. Now Ieſus Chriſt be your ſpeede.
Good night Roger olde knaue, farewell Roger olde knaue,
Good night Roger olde knaue, knaue knap. *vt infra.**
Pray for the late maiſter Roiſter Doiſters ſoule,
And come forth pariſh Clarke, let the paſſing bell toll.
Pray for your mayſter ſirs, and for hym ring a peale. *Ad seruos militis.*
He was your right good maiſter while he was in heale.
Qui Lazarum.

R. Royster. Heigh how.

M. Mery. Dead men go not ſo faſt
In Paradiſum.

R. Royster. Heihow.

M. Mery. Soft, heare what I haue caſt

R. Royster. I will heare nothing, I am paſt.

M. Mery. Whough, wellaway.
Ye may tarie one houre, and heare what I ſhall ſay,
Ye were beſt ſir for a while to reuiue againe,
And quite them er ye go.

R. Royster. Troweſt thou ſo?

M. Mery. Ye plain.

R. Royster. How may I reuiue being nowe ſo farre paſt?

M. Mery. I will rubbe your temples, and fette you againe at laſt.

R. Royster. It will not be poſſible.

* *See p.* 88.

M. Mery. Yes for twentie pounde.
R. Royster. Armes what doſt thou?
M. Mery. Fet you again out of your ſound
By this croſſe ye were nigh gone in deede, I might feele
Your ſoule departing within an inche of your heele.
Now folow my counſell.
R. Royster. What is it?
M. Mery. If I wer you,
Cuſtance ſhould eft ſeeke to me, ere I woulde bowe.
R. Royster. Well, as thou wilt haue me, euen ſo will I doe.
M. Mery. Then ſhall ye reuiue againe for an houre or two.
R. Royster. As thou wilt I am content for a little ſpace.
M. Mery. Good happe is not haſtie: yet in ſpace com[e]th grace,
To ſpeake with Cuſtance your ſelfe ſhoulde be very well,
What good therof may come, nor I, nor you can tell.
But now the matter ſtandeth vpon your mariage,
Ye muſt now take vnto you a luſtie courage.
Ye may not ſpeake with a faint heart to Cuſtance,
But with a luſty breaſt and countenance,
That ſhe may knowe ſhe hath to anſwere to a man.
R. Royster. Yes I can do that as well as any can.
M. Mery. Then bicauſe ye muſt Cuſtance face to face wowe,
Let vs ſee how to behaue your ſelfe ye can doe.
Ye muſt haue a portely bragge after your eſtate.
R. Roister. Tuſhe, I can handle that after the beſt rate.
M. Mery. Well done, ſo loe, vp man with your head and chin,
Vp with that ſnoute man: ſo loe, nowe ye begin,
So, that is ſomewhat like, but prankie cote, nay whan,
That is a luſtie brute, handes vnder your ſide man:
So loe, now is it euen as it ſhould bee,
That is ſomewhat like, for a man of your degree.
Then muſt ye ſtately goe, ietting vp and downe,

Tut, can ye no better ſhake the taile of your gowne?
There loe, ſuche a luſtie bragge it is ye muſt make.

R. Royster. To come behind, and make curtſie, thou muſt ſom pains take.

M. Mery. Elſe were I much to blame, I thanke your maſterſhyp.

The lorde one day all to begrime you with worſhyp,
Backe ſir ſauce, let gentlefolkes haue elbowe roome,
Voyde ſirs, ſee ye not maiſter Roiſter Doiſter come?
Make place my maiſters.

R. Royster. Thou iuſtleſt nowe to nigh.

M. Mery. Back al rude loutes.

R. Royster. Tuſh.

M. Mery. I crie your maſhip mercy
Hoighdagh, if faire fine miſtreſſe Cuſtance ſawe you now,
Ralph Royſter Doiſter were hir owne I warrant you.

R. Royster. Neare an M by your girdle?

M. Mery. Your good maſterſhyps
Maiſterſhyp, were hir owne Miſtreſhyps miſtreſhyps,
Ye were take vp for haukes, ye were gone, ye were gone,
But now one other thing more yet I thinke vpon.

R. Royster. Shewe what it is.

M. Mery. A wower be he neuer ſo poore
Muſt play and ſing before his beſtbeloues doore,
How much more than you?

R. Royster. Thou ſpeakeſt wel out of dout.

M. Mery. And perchaunce that woulde make hir the ſooner come out.

R. Royster. Goe call my Muſitians, bydde them high apace.

M. Mery. I wyll be here with them ere ye can ſay trey ace. *Exeat.*

R. Royster. This was well ſayde of Merygreeke, I lowe hys wit,
Before my ſweete hearts dore we will haue a fit,
That if my loue come forth, that I may with hir talke,
I doubt not but this geare ſhall on my ſide walke.
But lo, how well Merygreeke is returned ſence.

M. Mery. There hath grown no graſſe on my heele ſince I went hence,

Lo here haue I brought that ſhall make you paſtance.

R. Royster. Come ſirs let vs ſing to winne my deare loue Cuſtance.

Cantent.

M. Mery. Lo where ſhe commeth, ſome countenaunce to hir make

And ye ſhall heare me be plaine with hir for your ſake.

Actus. iij. Scæna. iiij.

Custance. Merygreeke. Roister Doister.

C. Custance. WHat gaudyng and foolyng is this afore my doore?

M. Mery. May not folks be honeſt, pray you, though they be pore?

C. Custance. As that thing may be true, ſo rich folks may be fooles,

R. Royster. Hir talke is as fine as ſhe had learned in ſchooles.

M. Mery. Looke partly towarde hir, and drawe a little nere.

C. Custance. Get ye home idle folkes.

M. Mery. Why may not we be here?

Nay and ye will haze, haze: otherwiſe I tell you plaine,

And ye will not haze, then giue vs our geare againe.

C. Custance. In deede I haue of yours much gay things God ſaue all.

R. Royster. Speake gently vnto hir, and let hir take all.

M. Mery. Ye are to tender hearted: ſhall ſhe make vs dawes?

Nay dame, I will be plaine with you in my friends [cauſe.

R. Royster. Let all this paſſe ſweete heart and accept my ſeruice.

C. Custance. I will not be ſerued with a foole in no wiſe,
When I chooſe an huſbande I hope to take a man.
M. Mery. And where will ye finde one which can doe that he can?
Now thys man towarde you being ſo kinde, [minde.
You not to make him an anſwere ſomewhat to his
C. Custance. I ſent him a full anſwere by you dyd I not?
M. Mery. And I reported it.
C. Custance. Nay I muſt ſpeake it againe.
R. Royster. No no, he tolde it all.
M. Mery. Was I not metely plaine?
R. Royster. Yes.
M. Mery. But I would not tell all, for faith if I had
With you dame Cuſtance ere this houre it had been bad,
And not without cauſe: for this goodly perſonage,
Ment no leſſe than to ioyne with you in mariage.
C. Custance. Let him waſt no more labour nor ſute about me. [lieth I ſee,
M. Mery. Ye know not where your preferment
He ſending you ſuch a token, ring and letter.
C. Custance. Mary here it is, ye neuer ſawe a better.
M. Mery. Let vs ſee your letter.
C. Custance. Holde, reade it if ye can.
And ſee what letter it is to winne a woman.
M. Mery. To mine owne deare coney birde, ſwete heart, and pigſny
Good Miſtreſſe Cuſtance preſent theſe by and by,
Of this ſuperſcription do ye blame the ſtile?
C. Custance. With the reſt as good ſtuffe as ye redde a great while.
M. Mery. Sweete miſtreſſe where as I loue you nothing at all,
Regarding your ſubſtance and richeſſe chiefe of all,
For your perſonage, beautie, demeanour and wit,
I commende me vnto you neuer a whit.
Sorie to heare report of your good welfare.
For (as I heare ſay) ſuche your conditions are,

That ye be worthie fauour of no liuing man,
To be abhorred of euery honeſt man.
To be taken for a woman enclined to vice.
Nothing at all to Vertue gyuing hir due price.
Wherfore concerning mariage, ye are thought
Suche a fine Paragon, as nere honeſt man bought.
And nowe by theſe preſentes I do you aduertiſe
That I am minded to marrie you in no wiſe.
For your goodes and ſubſtance, I coulde bee content
To take you as ye are. If ye myńde to bee my wyfe,
Ye ſhall be aſſured for the tyme of my lyfe,
I will keepe ye ryght well, from good rayment and fare,
Ye ſhall not be kepte but in ſorowe and care.
Ye ſhall in no wyfe lyue at your owne libertie,
Doe and ſay what ye luſt, ye ſhall neuer pleaſe me,
But when ye are mery, I will be all ſadde,
When ye are ſory, I will be very gladde.
When ye ſeeke your heartes eaſe, I will be vnkinde,
At no tyme, in me ſhall ye muche gentleneſſe finde.
But all things contrary to your will and minde,
Shall be done: otherwiſe I wyll not be behinde
To ſpeake. And as for all them that woulde do you wrong
I will ſo helpe and mainteyne, ye ſhall not lyue long.
Nor any fooliſhe dolte, ſhall cumbre you but I.
Thus good miſtreſſe Cuſtance, the lorde you ſaue and kepe,
From me Roiſter Doiſter, whether I wake or ſlepe.
Who fauoureth you no leſſe, (ye may be bolde)
Than this letter purporteth, which ye haue vnfolde.

C. Custance. Howe by this letter of loue? is it not fine?

R. Royster. By the armes of Caleys it is none of myne.

M. Mery. Fie you are fowle to blame this is your owne hand.

C. Custance. Might not a woman be proude of ſuch an huſbande?

M. Mery. Ah that ye would in a letter ſhew ſuch deſpite.

R. Royster. Oh I would I had hym here, the which did it endite.

M. Mery. Why ye made it your ſelfe ye tolde me by this light.

R. Royster. Yea I ment I wrote it myne owne ſelfe yeſternight.

C. Custance. Ywis ſir, I would not haue ſent you ſuch a mocke.

R. Royster. Ye may ſo take it, but I ment it not ſo by cocke.

M. Mery. Who can blame this woman to fume and frette and rage?

Tut, tut, your ſelfe nowe haue marde your owne marriage.
Well, yet miſtreſſe Cuſtance, if ye can this remitte,
This gentleman other wiſe may your loue requitte.

C. Custance. No God be with you both, and ſeeke no more to me. *Exeat.*

R. Royster. Wough, ſhe is gone for euer, I ſhall hir no more ſee.

M. Mery. What weepe? fye for ſhame, and blubber? for manhods ſake,
Neuer lette your foe ſo muche pleaſure of you take.
Rather play the mans parte, and doe loue refraine.
If ſhe deſpiſe you een deſpiſe ye hir againe.

R. Royster. By goſſe and for thy ſake I defye hir in deede.

M. Mery. Yea and perchaunce that way ye ſhall much ſooner ſpeede,
For one madde propretie theſe women haue in fey,
When ye will, they will not: Will not ye, then will they.
Ah fooliſhe woman, ah moſte vnluckie Cuſtance,
Ah vnfortunate woman, ah pieuiſhe Cuſtance,
Art thou to thine harmes ſo obſtinately bent,
That thou canſt not ſee where lieth thine high preferment?
Canſt thou not lub dis man, which coulde lub dee ſo well?
Art thou ſo much thine own foe.

R. Royster. Thou doſt the truth tell.

M. Mery. Wel I lament.

R. Royster. So do I.

M. Mery. Wherfor?

R. Royster. For this thing
Bicauſe ſhe is gone.
M. Mery. I mourne for an other thing.
R. Royster. What is it Merygreeke, wherfore thou doſt griefe take?
M. Mery. That I am not a woman myſelfe for your ſake,
I would haue you my ſelfe, and a ſtrawe for yond Gill,
And mocke much of you though it were againſt my will.
I would not I warrant you, fall in ſuch a rage,
As ſo to refuſe ſuche a goodly perſonage. [greeke.
R. Royster. In faith I heartily thanke thee Mery-
M. Mery. And I were a woman.
R. Royster. Thou wouldeſt to me ſeeke. [bee.
M. Mery. For though I ſay it, a goodly perſon ye
R. Royster. No, no.
M. Mery. Yes a goodly man as ere I dyd ſee.
R. Royster. No, I am a poore homely man as God made mee.
M. Mery. By the faith that I owe to God ſir, but ye bee.
Woulde I might for your ſake, ſpende a thouſande pound land.
R. Royster. I dare ſay thou wouldeſt haue me to thy huſbande.
M. Mery. Yea: And I were the faireſt lady in the ſhiere,
And knewe you as I know you, and ſee you nowe here.
Well I ſay no more.
R. Royster. Gramercies with all my hart.
M. Mery. But ſince that can not be, will ye play a [wiſe parte?
R. Royster. How ſhould I?
M. Mery. Refraine from Cuſtance a while now.
And I warrant hir ſoone right glad to ſeeke to you,
Ye ſhall ſee hir anon come on hir knees creeping,
And pray you to be good to hir ſalte teares weeping.
R. Royster. But what and ſhe come not?
M. Mery. In faith then farewel ſhe.
Or elſe if ye be wroth, ye may auenged be.

R. Royster. By cocks precious potſticke, and een ſo I ſhall.
I wyll vtterly deſtroy hir, and houſe and all,
But I woulde be auenged in the meane ſpace,
On that vile ſcribler, that did my wowyng diſgrace.
M. Mery. Scribler (ko you) in deede he is worthy no leſſe.
I will call hym to you, and ye bidde me doubtleſſe.
R. Royster. Yes, for although he had as many liues,
As a thouſande widowes, and a thouſande wiues,
As a thouſande lyons, and a thouſand rattes,
A thouſande wolues, and a thouſande cattes,
A thouſande bulles, and a thouſande calues,
And a thouſande legions diuided in halues,
He ſhall neuer ſcape death on my ſwordes point,
Though I ſhoulde be torne therfore ioynt by ioynt.
M. Mery. Nay, if ye will kyll him, I will not fette him,
I will not in ſo muche extremitie ſette him,
He may yet amende ſir, and be an honeſt man,
Therfore pardon him good ſoule, as muche as ye can.
R. Royster. Well, for thy ſake, this once with his lyfe he ſhall paſſe,
But I wyll hewe hym all to pieces by the Maſſe.
M. Mery. Nay fayth ye ſhall promiſe that he ſhall no harme haue,
Elſe I will not fet him.
R. Royster. I ſhall ſo God me ſaue.
But I may chide him a good.
M. Mery. Yea that do hardely.
R. Royster. Go then.
M. Mery. I returne, and bring him to you by and by. *Ex.*

Actus. iij. Scæna. v.

Roister Doister. Mathewe Merygreeke. Scriuener.

R. Royster. Hat is a gentleman but his worde and his promiſe?
I muſt nowe ſaue this vilaines lyfe in any wiſe,
And yet at hym already my handes doe tickle,
I ſhall vneth holde them, they wyll be ſo fickle.
But lo and Merygreeke haue not brought him ſens?

M. Mery. Nay I woulde I had of my purſe payde fortie pens.

Scriuener. So woulde I too: but it needed not that ſtounde,

M. Mery. But the ientman had rather ſpent fiue thouſande pounde,
For it diſgraced him at leaſt fiue tymes ſo muche.

Scriuener. He diſgraced hym ſelfe, his loutiſhneſſe is ſuche.

R. Royster. Howe long they ſtande prating? Why comſt thou not away?

M. Mery. Come nowe to hymſelfe, and hearke what he will ſay.

Scriuener. I am not afrayde in his preſence to appeere.

R. Royster. Arte thou come felow?

Scriuener. How thinke you? am I not here?

R. Royster. What hindrance haſt thou done me, and what villanie?

Scriuener. It hath come of thy ſelfe, if thou haſt had any.

R. Royster. All the ſtocke thou comeſt of later or rather,
From thy fyrſt fathers grandfathers fathers father,
Nor all that ſhall come of thee to the worldes ende,
Though to three ſcore generations they deſcende,

Can be able to make me a iuſt recompenſe,
For this treſpaſſe of thine and this one offenſe.

Scriuener. Wherin?

R. Royster. Did not you make me a letter brother?

Scriuener. Pay the like hire, I will make you ſuche an other.

R. Royster. Nay ſee and theſe whooreſon Phariſeys and Scribes
Doe not get their liuyng by polling and bribes.
If it were not for ſhame.

Scriuener. Nay holde thy hands ſtill.

M. Mery. Why did ye not promiſe that ye would not him ſpill?

Scriuener. Let him not ſpare me.

R. Royster. Why wilt thou ſtrike me again?

Scriuener. Ye ſhall haue as good as ye bring of me that is plaine.

M. Mery. I can not blame him ſir, though your blowes wold him greue.
For he knoweth preſent death to enſue of all ye geue.

R. Royster. Well, this man for once hath purchaſed thy pardon. [gon.

Scriuener. And what ſay ye to me? or elſe I will be

R. Royster. I ſay the letter thou madeſt me was not good.

Scriuener. Then did ye wrong copy it of likelyhood.

R. Royster. Yes, out of thy copy worde for worde I wrote. [wote,

Scriuener. Then was it as ye prayed to haue it I
But in reading and pointyng there was made ſome faulte.

R. Royster. I wote not, but it made all my matter to haulte.

Scriuener. Howe ſay you, is this mine originall or no? [mote I go.

R. Royster. The ſelfe ſame that I wrote out of, ſo

Scriuener. Loke you on your owne fiſt, and I will looke on this,
And let this man be iudge whether I reade amiſſe.
To myne owne dere coney birde, ſweete heart, and

Good miſtreſſe Cuſtance, preſent theſe by and by.
How now? doth not this ſuperſcription agree?

R. Royster. Reade that is within, and there ye ſhall the fault ſee.

Scriuener. Sweete miſtreſſe, where as I loue you, nothing at all
Regarding your richeſſe and ſubſtance: chieſe of all
For your perſonage, beautie, demeanour and witte
I commende me vnto you: Neuer a whitte
Sory to heare reporte of your good welfare.
For (as I heare ſay) ſuche your conditions are,
That ye be worthie ſauour: Of no liuing man
To be abhorred: of euery honeſt man
To be taken for a woman enclined to vice
Nothing at all: to vertue giuing hir due price.
Wherfore concerning mariage, ye are thought
Suche a fine Paragon, as nere honeſt man bought.
And nowe by theſe preſents I doe you aduertiſe,
That I am minded to marrie you: In no wyſe
For your goodes and ſubſtance: I can be content
To take you as you are: yf ye will be my wife,
Ye ſhall be aſſured for the time of my life,
I wyll keepe you right well: from good raiment and fare,
Ye ſhall not be kept: but in ſorowe and care
Ye ſhall in no wyſe lyue: at your owne libertie,
Doe and ſay what ye luſt: ye ſhall neuer pleaſe me
But when ye are merrie: I will bee all ſadde
When ye are ſorie: I wyll be very gladde
When ye ſeeke your heartes eaſe: I will be vnkinde
At no time: in me ſhall ye muche gentleneſſe finde.
But all things contrary to your will and minde
Shall be done otherwiſe: I wyll not be behynde
To ſpeake: And as for all they that woulde do you wrong,
(I wyll ſo helpe and maintayne ye) ſhall not lyue long.
Nor any fooliſhe dolte ſhall cumber you, but I,
I, who ere ſay nay, wyll ſticke by you tyll I die.
Thus good miſtreſſe Cuſtance, the lorde you ſaue and kepe.
From me Roiſter Doiſter, whether I wake or ſlepe,

Who fauoureth you no leſſe, (ye may be bolde)
Than this letter purporteth, which ye haue vnfolde.
Now ſir, what default can ye finde in this letter?

R. Royster. Of truth in my mynde there can not be a better.

Scriuener. Then was the fault in readyng, and not [in writyng,
No nor I dare ſay in the fourme of endityng,
But who read this letter, that it founded ſo nought?

M. Mery. I redde it in deede.

Scriuener. Ye red it not as ye ought.

R. Royster. Why thou wretched villaine was all this ſame fault in thee?

M. Mery. I knocke your coſtarde if ye offer to ſtrike me.

R. Royster. Strikeſt thou in deede? and I offer but in ieſt?

M. Mery. Yea and rappe you againe except ye can [ſit in reſt.
And I will no longer tarie here me beleue.

R. Royster. What wilt thou be angry, and I do thee forgeue?

Fare thou well ſcribler, I crie thee mercie in deede.

Scriuener. Fare ye well bibbler, and worthily may ye ſpeede.

R. Royster. If it were an other but thou, it were a knaue.

M. Mery. Ye are an other your ſelfe ſir, the lorde vs [both ſaue,
Albeit in this matter I muſt your pardon craue,
Alas woulde ye wyſhe in me the witte that ye haue?
But as for my fault I can quickely amende,
I will ſhewe Cuſtance it was I that did offende.

R. Royster. By ſo doing hir anger may be reformed.

M. Mery. But if by no entreatie ſhe will be turned,
Then ſette lyght by hir and bee as teſtie as ſhee,
And doe your force vpon hir with extremitie.

R. Roister. Come on therefore lette vs go home in ſadneſſe.

M. Mery. That if force ſhall neede all may be in a [readineſſe,
And as for thys letter hardely let all go,
We wyll know where ſhe refuſe you for that or no.

[*Exeant am.*

Actus. iiij. Scæna. j.

Sym Suresby.

Sim Sure. IS there any man but I Sym Surefby alone,
That would haue taken ſuch an enterpriſe him vpon,
In ſuche an outragious tempeſt as as this was.
Suche a daungerous gulfe of the ſea to paſſe.
I thinke verily *Neptunes* mightie godſhyp,
Was angry with ſome that was in our ſhyp,
And but for the honeſtie which in me he founde,
I thinke for the others ſake we had bene drownde.
But fye on that ſeruant which for his maiſters wealth
Will ſticke for to hazarde both his lyfe and his health.
My maiſter Gawyn Goodlucke after me a day
Bicauſe of the weather, thought beſt hys ſhyppe to ſtay,
And now that I haue the rough ſourges ſo well paſt,
God graunt I may finde all things ſafe here at laſt.
Then will I thinke all my trauaile well ſpent.
Nowe the firſt poynt wherfore my maiſter hath me ſent
Is to ſalute dame Chriſtian Cuſtance his wife,
Eſpouſed: whome he tendreth no leſſe than his life,
I muſt ſee how it is with hir well or wrong,
And whether for him ſhe doth not now thinke long:
Then to other friendes I haue a meſſage or tway,
And then ſo to returne and mete him on the way.
Now wyll I goe knocke that I may diſpatche with ſpeede,
But loe forth commeth hir ſelfe happily in deede.

Actus. iiij. Scæna. ij.

Christian Custance. Sim. Suresby.

C. Custance.
Come to ſee if any more ſtirryng be here,
But what ſtraunger is this, which doth to me appere?
Sym Surs. I will ſpeake to hir: Dame the lorde you ſaue and ſee.
C. Custance. What friende Sym Sureſby? Forſoth right welcome ye be,
Howe doth mine owne Gawyn Goodlucke, I pray the tell?
S. Suresby. When he knoweth of your health he will be perfect well.
C. Custance. If he haue perfect helth, I am as I [would be.
Sim. Sure. Suche newes will pleaſe him well, this is as it ſhould be.
C. Custance. I thinke now long for him.
Sym Sure. And he as long for you.
C. Custance. When wil he be at home?
Sym Sure. His heart is here een now
His body commeth after.
C. Custance. I woulde ſee that faine.
Sim Sure. As faſt as wynde and ſayle can cary it [a maine.
But what two men are yonde comming hitherwarde?
C. Custance. Now I ſhrew their beſt Chriſtmaſſe chekes both togetherward.

Actus. iiij. Scæna. iij.

Christian Custance. Sym Suresby. Ralph Roister. Mathew Merygreke. Trupeny.

C. Custance.
Hat meane theſe lewde felowes thus to trouble me stil?
Sym Sureſby here perchance ſhal therof deme ſom yll,

And ſhall ſuſpect in me ſome point of naughtineſſe,
And they come hitherward.

Sym Sure. What is their buſineſſe?

C. Custance. I haue nought to them, nor they to me in ſadneſſe.

Sim Sure. Let vs hearken them, ſomewhat there is I feare it.

R. Royster. I will ſpeake out aloude beſt, that ſhe may heare it.

M. Mery. Nay alas, ye may ſo feare hir out of hir wit. [hir no whit.

R. Royster. By the croſſe of my ſworde, I will hurt

M. Mery. Will ye doe no harme in deede, ſhall I truſt your worde? [but in borde.

R. Royster. By Roiſter Doiſters fayth I will ſpeake

Sim. Sure. Let vs hearken them, ſomwhat there is I feare it. [heare it:

R. Royster. I will ſpeake out aloude, I care not who
Sirs, ſee that my harneſſe, my tergat, and my ſhield,
Be made as bright now, as when I was laſt in fielde,
As white as I ſhoulde to warre againe to morrowe:
For ſicke ſhall I be, but I worke ſome folke ſorow.
Therfore ſee that all ſhine as bright as ſainct George,
Or as doth a key newly come from the Smiths forge.
I woulde haue my ſworde and harneſſe to ſhine ſo bright,
That I might therwith dimme mine enimies ſight,
I would haue it caſt beames as faſt I tell you playne,
As doth the glittryng graſſe after a ſhowre of raine.
And ſee that in caſe I ſhoulde neede to come to arm-
All things may be ready at a minutes warning, [ing,
For ſuch chaunce may chaunce in an houre, do ye heare?

M. Mery. As perchance ſhall not chaunce againe in ſeuen yeare.

R. Royster. Now draw we neare to hir, and here what ſhall be ſayde.

M. Mery. But I woulde not haue you make hir too muche afrayde.

R. Royster. Well founde ſweete wife (I truſt) for al this your ſoure looke.

C. Custance. Wife, why cal ye me wife?
Sim Sure. Wife? this gear goth acrook.
M. Mery. Nay miſtreſſe Cuſtance, I warrant you, our letter
Is not as we redde een nowe, but much better,
And where ye halfe ſtomaked this gentleman afore,
For this ſame letter, ye wyll loue hym now therefore,
Nor it is not this letter, though ye were a queene,
That ſhoulde breake marriage betweene you twaine I weene.
C. Custance. I did not refuſe hym for the letters [ſake.
R. Royster. Then ye are content me for your huſbande to take.
C. Custance. You for my huſbande to take? nothing leſſe truely.
R. Royster. Yea ſay ſo, ſweete ſpouſe, afore ſtraungers hardly.
M. Mery. And though I haue here his letter of loue [with me,
Yet his ryng and tokens he ſent, keepe ſafe with ye.
C. Custance. A miſchiefe take his tokens, and him and thee too.
But what prate I with fooles? haue I nought elſe to doo?
Come in with me Sym Sureſby to take ſome repaſt.
Sim Sure. I muſt ere I drinke by your leaue, goe in all haſt,
To a place or two, with earneſt letters of his.
C. Custance. Then come drink here with me.
Sim Sure. I thank you.
C. Custance. Do not miſſe
You ſhall haue a token to your maiſter with you.
Sym Sure. No tokens this time gramercies, God be with you. *Exeat.*
C. Custance. Surely this fellowe miſdeemeth ſome yll in me.
Which thing but God helpe, will go neere to ſpill me.
R. Royster. Yea farewell fellow, and tell thy maiſter Goodlucke
That he commeth to late of thys bloſſome to plucke.
Let him keepe him there ſtill, or at leaſt wiſe make no [haſt,
As for his labour hither he ſhall ſpende in waſt.

His betters be in place nowe.

M. Mery. As long as it will hold.

C. Custance. I will be euen with thee thou beaſt, thou mayſt be bolde.

R. Royster. Will ye haue vs then?

C. Custance. I will neuer haue thee.

R. Royster. Then will I haue you?

C. Custance. No, the deuill ſhal haue thee.

I haue gotten this houre more ſhame and harme by thee,
Then all thy life days thou canſt do me honeſtie.

M. Mery. Why nowe may ye ſee what it comth too in the ende,

To make a deadly foe of your moſt louing frende:
And ywis this letter if ye woulde heare it now.

C. Custance. I will heare none of it.

M. Mery. In faith would rauiſhe you.

C. Custance. He hath ſtained my name for euer this [is cleare.

R. Royster. I can make all as well in an houre.

M. Mery. As ten yeare.

How ſay ye, wil ye haue him?

C. Custance. No.

M. Mery. Wil ye take him?

C. Custance. I defie him.

M. Mery. At my word?

C. Custance. A ſhame take him.

Waſte no more wynde, for it will neuer bee.

M. Mery. This one faulte with twaine ſhall be mended, ye ſhall ſee.

Gentle miſtreſſe Cuſtance now, good miſtreſſe Cuſtance,
Honey miſtreſſe Cuſtance now, ſweete miſtreſſe Cuſtance,
Golden miſtreſſe Cuſtance now, white miſtreſſe Cuſtance,
Silken miſtreſſe Cuſtance now, faire miſtreſſe Cuſtance.

C. Custance. Faith rather than to mary with ſuche a doltiſhe loute,

I woulde matche my ſelfe with a begger out of doute.

M. Mery. Then I can ſay no more, to ſpeede we are not like,

Except ye rappe out a ragge of your Rhetorike.

C. Custance. Speake not of winnyng me: for it ſhall neuer be ſo.

R. Royster. Yes dame, I will haue you whether ye will or no.
I commaunde you to loue me, wherfore ſhoulde ye not?
Is not my loue to you chafing and burning hot?
M. Mery. Too hir, that is well ſayd.
R. Royster. Shall I ſo breake my braine
To dote vpon you, and ye not loue vs againe?
M. Mery. Wel ſayd yet.
C. Custance. Go to you gooſe.
R. Royster. I ſay Kit Cuſtance,
In caſe ye will not haze, well, better yes perchaunce.
C. Custance. Auaunt lozell, picke thee hence.
M. Mery. Wel ſir, ye perceiue,
For all your kinde offer, ſhe will not you receiue.
R. Royster. Then a ſtrawe for hir, and a ſtrawe for hir againe,
She ſhall not be my wife, woulde ſhe neuer ſo faine,
No and though ſhe would be at ten thouſand pounde coſt. [ye haue loſt.
M. Mery. Lo dame, ye may ſee what an huſbande
C. Custance. Yea, no force, a iewell muche better loſt than founde.
M. Mery. Ah, ye will not beleue how this doth my heart wounde.
How ſhoulde a mariage betwene you be towarde,
If both parties drawe backe, and become ſo frowarde.
R. Royster. Nay dame, I will fire thee out of thy houſe,
And deſtroy thee and all thine, and that by and by.
M. Mery. Nay for the paſſion of God ſir, do not ſo.
R. Royster. Yes, except ſhe will ſay yea to that ſhe ſayde no.
C. Custance. And what, be there no officers trow we, in towne
To checke idle loytrers, braggyng vp and downe?
Where be they, by whome vacabunds ſhoulde be repreſt?
That poore ſillie Widowes might liue in peace and reſt.
Shall I neuer ridde thee out of my companie?
I will call for helpe, what hough, come forth Trupenie.

Trupenie. Anon. What is your will miſtreſſe? dyd ye call me? [may be,

C. Custance. Yea, go runne apace, and as faſt as
Pray Triſtram Truſty, my moſte aſſured frende,
To be here by and by, that he may me defende.

Trupenie. That meſſage ſo quickly ſhall be done by Gods grace,
That at my returne ye ſhall ſay, I went apace. *Exeat.*

C. Custance. Then ſhall we ſee I trowe, whether ye ſhall do me harme,

R. Royster. Yes in faith Kitte, I ſhall thee and thine ſo charme,
That all women incarnate by thee may beware.

C. Custance. Nay, as for charming me, come hither if thou dare, [traine,
I ſhall cloute thee tyll thou ſtinke, both thee and thy
And coyle thee mine owne handes, and ſende thee home againe. [me threaten?

R. Royster. Yea ſayſt thou me that dame? doſt thou
Goe we, I ſtill ſee whether I ſhall be beaten.

M. Mery. Nay for the paiſhe of God, let me now treate peace,
For bloudſhed will there be in caſe this ſtrife increace.
Ah good dame Cuſtance, take better way with you.

C. Custance. Let him do his worſt.

M. Mery. Yeld in time.

R. Royster. Come hence thou.

Exeant Roiſter et Mery.

Actus. iiij. Scæna. iiij.

Christian Custance. Anot Alyſace.
Tibet T. M. Mumblecruſt.

C. Custance. SO ſirra, if I ſhould not with hym take this way,
I ſhould not be ridde of him I thinke till doomes day,

I will call forth my folkes, that without any mockes
If he come agayne we may giue him rappes and knockes.
Mage Mumblecruſt, come forth, and Tibet Talke apace.
Yea and come forth too, miſtreſſe Annot Alyſace.

Annot Aly. I come.

Tibet. And I am here.

M. Mumb. And I am here too at length.

C. Custance. Like warriers if nede bee, ye muſt ſhew your ſtrength

The man that this day hath thus begiled you,
Is Ralph Roiſter Doiſter, whome ye know well mowe,
The moſte loute and daſtarde that euer on grounde trode. [abrode.

Tib. Talk. I ſee all folke mocke hym when he goth

C. Custance. What pretie maide? will ye talke when I ſpeake?

Tib. Talk. No forſooth good miſtreſſe.

C. Custance. Will ye my tale breake?

He threatneth to come hither with all his force to fight,
I charge you if he come, on him with all your might.

M. Mumbl. I with my diſtaffe will reache hym one rappe,

Tib. Talk. And I with my newe broome will ſweepe hym one ſwappe,

And then with our greate clubbe I will reache hym one rappe.

An. Aliſace. And I with our ſkimmer will fling him one flappe.

Tib. Talk. Then Trupenies fireforke will him ſhrewdly fray,

And you with the ſpitte may driue him quite away.

C. Custance. Go make all ready, that it may be een ſo.

Tib. Talk. For my parte I ſhrewe them that laſt about it go. *Exeant.*

Actus. iiij. Scæna. v.

Christian Custance. Trupenie. Tristram Trusty.

C. Custance. TRupenie dyd promiſe me
to runne a great pace,
My friend Triſtram Truſty
to fet into this place.
In deede he dwelleth hence
a good ſtert I confeſſe:
But yet a quicke meſſanger might twice ſince as I geſſe,
Haue gone and come againe. Ah yond I ſpie him now.

Trupeny. Ye are a ſlow goer ſir, I make God auow.
My miſtreſſe Cuſtance will in me put all the blame,
Your leggs be longer than myne: come apace for ſhame.

C. Custance. I can thee thanke Trupenie, thou haſt done right wele.

Trupeny. Maiſtreſſe ſince I went no graſſe hath growne [on my hele,
But maiſter Triſtram Truſtie here maketh no ſpeede.

C. Custance. That he came at all I thanke him in very deede,
For now haue I neede of the helpe of ſome wiſe man.

T. Trusty. Then may I be gone againe, for none ſuch I [a]m.

Trupenie. Ye may bee by your going: for no Alder-[man
Can goe I dare ſay, a ſadder pace than ye can.

C. Custance. Trupenie get thee in, thou ſhalt among them knowe,
How to vſe thy ſelfe, like a propre man I trowe.

Trupeny. I go. *Ex.*

C. Custance. Now Triſtram Truſty I thank you right [much.
For at my firſt ſending to come ye neuer grutch.

T. Trusty. Dame Cuſtance God ye ſaue, and while my life ſhall laſt,
For my friende Goodlucks ſake ye ſhall not ſende in [waſt.

C. Custance. He ſhal giue you thanks.

T. Trusty. I will do much for his ſake

C. Custance. But alack, I feare, great diſpleaſure ſhall be take.

T. Trusty. Wherfore?
C. Custance. For a foolish matter.
T. Trusty. What is your cause [dawes.
C. Custance. I am yll accombred with a couple of
T. Trusty. Nay weepe not woman: but tell me what your cause is
As concerning my friende is any thing amisse?
C. Custance. No not on my part: but here was Sym Suresby.
T. Trustie. He was with me and told me so.
C. Custance. And he stoode by
While Ralph Roister Doister with helpe of Merygreeke,
For promise of mariage dyd vnto me seeke.
T. Trusty. And had ye made any promise before them twaine, [slaine,
C. Custance. No I had rather be torne in pieces and
No man hath my faith and trouth, but Gawyn Goodlucke,
And that before Suresby dyd I say, and there stucke,
But of certaine letters there were suche words spoken.
T. Trustie. He tolde me that too.
C. Custance. And of a ring and token.
That Suresby I spied, dyd more than halfe suspect,
That I my faith to Gawyn Goodlucke dyd reiect.
T. Trusty. But there was no such matter dame Custance in deede?
C. Custance. If euer my head thought it, God sende me yll speede.
Wherfore I beseech you, with me to be a witnesse,
That in all my lyfe I neuer intended thing lesse,
And what a brainsicke foole Ralph Roister Doister is,
Your selfe know well enough.
T. Trusty. Ye say full true ywis. [apply,
C. Custance. Bicause to bee his wife I ne graunt nor
Hither will he com he sweareth by and by, [house flat.
To kill both me and myne, and beate downe my
Therfore I pray your aide.
T. Trustie. I warrant you that.
C. Custance. Haue I so many yeres liued a sobre life,
And shewed my selfe honest, mayde, widowe, and wyfe

And nowe to be abuſed in ſuch a vile ſorte,
Ye ſee howe poore Widowes lyue all voyde of comfort.

T. Trusty. I warrant hym do you no harme nor wrong at all.

C. Custance. No, but Mathew Merygreeke doth me [moſt appall,
That he woulde ioyne hym ſelfe with ſuche a wretched loute.

T. Trusty. He doth it for a ieſt I knowe hym out of [doubte,
And here cometh Merygreke.

C. Custance. Then ſhal we here his mind.

Actus. iiij. Scæna. vj.

Merygreke. Christian Custance. Trist. Trusty.

M. Mery. CUſtance and Truſtie both, I doe you here well finde.

C. Custance. Ah Mathew Merygreeke, ye haue vſed me well.

M. Mery. Nowe for altogether ye muſt your anſwere tell.
Will ye haue this man, woman? or elſe will ye not?
Elſe will he come neuer bore ſo brymme nor toſt ſo hot.

Tris. and Cu. But why ioyn ye with him.

T. Trusty. For mirth.

C. Custance. Or elſe in ſadneſſe [mater geſſe.

M. Mery. The more fond of you both hardly yat

Tristram. Lo how ſay ye dame?

M. Mery. Why do ye thinke dame Cuſtance
That in this wowyng I haue ment ought but paſtance?

C. Custance. Much things ye ſpake, I wote, to maintaine his dotage.

M. Mery. But well might ye iudge I ſpake it all in mockage?
For why? Is Roiſter Doiſter a fitte huſband for you?

T. Trusty. I dare ſay ye neuer thought it.
M. Mery. No to God I vow.
And dyd not I knowe afore of the inſurance
Betweene Gawyn Goodlucke, and Chriſtian Cuſtance?
And dyd not I for the nonce, by my conueyance,
Reade his letter in a wrong ſenſe for daliance?
That if you coulde haue take it vp at the firſt bounde,
We ſhould therat ſuch a ſporte and paſtime haue founde,
That all the whole towne ſhould haue ben the merier.
C. Custance. Ill ake your heades both, I was neuer werier,
Nor neuer more vexte ſince the firſt day I was borne.
T. Trusty. But very well I wiſt he here did all in ſcorne.
C. Custance. But I feared therof to take diſhoneſtie.
M. Mery. This ſhould both haue made ſport, and ſhewed your honeſtie [low.
And Goodlucke I dare ſweare, your witte therin would
T. Trusty. Yea, being no worſe than we know it to be now. [come to him,
M. Mery. And nothing yet to late, for when I
Hither will he repaire with a ſheepes looke full grim,
By plaine force and violence to driue you to yelde.
C. Custance. If ye two bidde me, we will with him
I and my maides together. [pitche a fielde,
M. Mery. Let vs ſee, be bolde.
C. Custance. Ye ſhall ſee womens warre.
T. Trusty. That fight wil I behold. brim,
M. Mery. If occaſion ſerue, takyng his parte full
I will ſtrike at you, but the rappe ſhall light on him.
When we firſt appeare.
C. Custance. Then will I runne away
As though I were afeard.
T. Trusty. Do you that part wel play
And I will ſue for peace.
M. Mery. And I wil ſet him on.
Then will he looke as fierce as a Cotſſold lyon.
T. Trusty. But when goſt thou for him?
M. Mery. That do I very nowe.

C. Custance. Ye ſhal find vs here.
M. Mery. Wel god haue mercy on you. *Ex.*
T. Trusty. There is no cauſe of feare, the leaſt boy in the ſtreete: [him take his feete.
C. Custance. Nay, the leaſt girle I haue, will make
But hearke, me thinke they make preparation.
T. Trusty. No force, it will be a good recreation.
C. Custance. I will ſtand within, and ſteppe forth ſpeedily,
And ſo make as though I ranne away dreadfully.

Actus. iiij. Scæna. vij.

R. Royster. M. Merygreeke. C. Custance.
D. Doughtie. Harpax. Tristram Trusty.

R. Royster. NOwe ſirs, keepe your ray, and ſee your heartes beſtoute,
But where be theſe caitifes, me think they dare not route, [ſay?
How ſayſt thou Merygreeke? What doth Kit Cuſtance
M. Mery. I am loth to tell you.
R. Royster. Tuſhe ſpeake man, yea or nay? [I can.
M. Mery. Forſooth ſir, I haue ſpoken for you all that
But if ye winne hir, ye muſt een play the man,
Een to fight it out, ye muſt a mans heart take.
R. Royster. Yes, they ſhall know, and thou knoweſt I haue a ſtomacke. [man had.
[M. Mery.] A ſtomacke (quod you) yea, as good as ere
R. Royster. I trowe they ſhall finde and feele that I am a lad. [meate as well,
M. Mery. By this croſſe I haue ſeene you eate your
As any that ere I haue ſeene of or heard tell,
A ſtomacke quod you? he that will that denie
I know was neuer at dynner in your companie.
R. Royster. Nay, the ſtomacke of a man it is that I meane. [I weene.
M. Mery. Nay the ſtomacke of a horſe or a dogge

R. Royster. Nay a mans ſtomacke with a weapon meane I. [ſpoone in a pie.
M. Mery. Ten men can ſcarce match you with a
R. Royster. Nay the ſtomake of a man to trie in ſtrife. [in my lyfe.
M. Mery. I neuer ſawe your ſtomacke cloyed yet
R. Royster. Tuſhe I meane in ſtrife or fighting to trie. [angry.
M. Mery. We ſhall ſee how ye will ſtrike nowe being
R. Royster. Haue at thy pate then, and ſaue thy head if thou may. [this day,
M. Mery. Nay then haue at your pate agayne by
R. Royster. Nay thou mayſt not ſtrike at me againe in no wiſe. [warrantiſe:
M. Mery. I can not in fight make to you ſuche
But as for your foes here let them the bargaine bie.
R. Royster. Nay as for they, ſhall euery mothers childe die.
And in this my fume a little thing might make me,
To beate downe houſe and all, and elſe the deuill take me.
M. Mery. If I were as ye be, by gogs deare mother,
I woulde not leaue one ſtone vpon an other.
Though ſhe woulde redeeme it with twentie thouſand poundes.
R. Royster. It ſhall be euen ſo, by his lily woundes.
M. Mery. Bee not at one with hir vpon any amendes.
R. Royster. No though ſhe make to me neuer ſo many frendes.
Nor if all the worlde for hir woulde vndertake,
No not God hymſelfe neither, ſhal not hir peace make,
On therfore, marche forwarde, ſoft, ſtay a whyle yet.
M. Mery. On.
R. Royster. Tary.
M. Mery. Forth.
R. Royster. Back.
M. Mery. On.
R. Royster. Soft. Now forward ſet. [alas, alas.
C. Custance. What buſineſſe haue we here? out
R. Royster. Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha.

Dydſt thou ſee that Merygreeke? how afrayde ſhe was?
Dydſt thou ſee how ſhe fledde apace out of my ſight?
Ah good ſweete Cuſtance I pitie hir by this light.

M. Mery. That tender heart of yours wyll marre altogether,
Thus will ye be turned with waggyng of a fether.

R. Royster. On ſirs, keepe your ray.

M. Mery. On forth, while this geare is hot

R. Royster. Soft, the Armes of Caleys, I haue one [thing forgot.

M. Mery. What lacke we now?

R. Royster. Retire, or elſe we be all ſlain.

M. Mery. Backe for the paſhe of God, backe ſirs,
What is the great mater? [backe againe.

R. Royster. This haſtie forth goyng
Had almoſt brought vs all to vtter vndoing,
It made me forget a thing moſt neceſſarie. [Marie.

M. Mery. Well remembred of a captaine by ſainct

R. Royster. It is a thing muſt be had.

M. Mery. Let vs haue it then.

R. Royster. But I wote not where nor how.

M. Mery. Then wote not I when.
But what is it?

R. Royster. Of a chiefe thing I am to ſeeke. [a weke.

M. Mery. Tut ſo will ye be, when ye haue ſtudied
But tell me what it is?

R. Royster. I lacke yet an hedpiece. [to grece,

M. Mery. The kitchen collocauit, the beſt hennes
Runne, fet it Dobinet, and come at once withall,
And bryng with thee my potgunne, hangyng by the wall,
I haue ſeene your head with it full many a tyme,
Couered as ſafe as it had bene with a ſkrine:
And I warrant it ſaue your head from any ſtroke,
Except perchaunce to be amaſed with the ſmoke:
I warrant your head therwith, except for the miſt,
As ſafe as if it were faſt locked vp in a chiſt:
And loe here our Dobinet commeth with it nowe.

D. Dough. It will couer me to the ſhoulders well inow.

M. Mery. Let me ſee it on.

R. Royster. In fayth it doth metely well. [muſt vs tell
M. Mery. There can be no fitter thing. Now ye
What to do.
R. Royster. Nowforth in ray firs, and ſtoppe no more.
M. Mery. Now ſainct George to borow, Drum dubbe a dubbe afore.
T. Trusty. What meane you to do ſir, committe manſlaughter. [laughter.
R. Royster. To kyll fortie ſuch, is a matter of
T. Trusty. And who is it ſir, whome ye intende thus to ſpill? [againſt my will.
R. Royster. Fooliſhe Cuſtance here forceth me
T. Trusty. And is there no meane your extreme wrath to ſlake.
She ſhall ſome amendes vnto your good maſhyp make.
R. Royster. I will none amendes.
T. Trusty. Is hir offence ſo fore?
M. Mery. And he were a loute ſhe coulde haue done no more.
She hath calde him foole, and dreſſed him like a foole.
Mocked him lyke a foole, vſed him like a foole.
T. Trusty. Well yet the Sheriffe, the Iuſtice, or Conſtable,
Hir miſdemeanour to puniſhe might be able.
R. Royster. No ſir, I mine owne ſelfe will in this preſent cauſe,
Be Sheriffe, and Iuſtice, and whole Iudge of the lawes,
This matter to amende, all officers be I ſhall,
Conſtable, Bailiffe, Sergeant.
M. Mery. And hangman and all. [a man.
T. Trusty. Yet a noble courage, and the hearte of
Should more honour winne by bearyng with a woman.
Therfore take the lawe, and lette hir aunſwere therto.
R. Royster. Merygreeke, the beſt way were euen ſo to do.
What honour ſhould it be with a woman to fight?
M. Mery. And what then, will ye thus forgo and leſe your right?
R. Royster. Nay, I will take the lawe on hir withouten grace.

T. Trusty. Or yf your maſhyp coulde pardon this
I pray you forgiue hir. [one treſpace.
R. Royster. Hoh?
M. Mery. Tuſhe tuſhe ſir do not.
Be good maiſter to hir.
R. Royster. Hoh?
M. Mery. Tuſh I ſay do not.
And what ſhall your people here returne ſtreight home?
T. Trustie. Yea, leuie the campe ſirs, and hence
again eche one, [call,
R. Royster. But be ſtill in readineſſe if I happe to
I can not tell what ſodaine chaunce may befall.
M. Mery. Do not off your harneſſe ſirs I you aduiſe,
At the leaſt for this fortnight in no maner wiſe,
Perchaunce in an houre when all ye thinke leaſt,
Our maiſters appetite to fight will be beſt.
But ſoft, ere ye go, haue once at Cuſtance houſe.
R. Royster. Soft, what wilt thou do?
M. Mery. Once diſcharge my harquebouſe [goon.
And for my heartes eaſe, haue once more with my pot-
R. Royster. Holde thy handes elſe is all our purpoſe
cleane fordoone.
M. Mery. And it coſt me my life.
R. Royster. I ſay thou ſhalt not. [with haile ſhot.
M. Mery. By the matte but I will. Haue once more
I will haue ſome penyworth, I will not leeſe all.

Actus. iiij. Scæna. viij.

M. Merygreeke. C. Cuſtance. R. Roister. Tib. T. An. Alyſace. M. Mumblecrust. Trupenie. Dobinet Doughtie. Harpax. *Two drummes with their Enſignes.*

C. Custance. Hat caitifes are thoſe that
ſo ſhake my houſe wall?
M. Mery. Ah ſirrha now
Cuſtance if ye had ſo
muche wit

I woulde ſee you aſke pardon, and your ſelues ſubmit.

C. Custance. Haue I ſtill this adoe with a couple of fooles?

M. Mery. Here ye what ſhe ſaith?

C. Custance. Maidens come forth with your tooles.

R. Royster. In a ray.

M. Mery. Dubba dub ſirrha.

R. Royster. In a ray.

They come ſodainly on vs.

M. Mery. Dubbadub.

R. Royster. In a ray.

That euer I was borne, we are taken tardie.

M. Mery. Now ſirs, quite our ſelues like tall men and hardie.

C. Custance. On afore Truepenie, holde thyne owne Annot,

On towarde them Tibet, for ſcape vs they can not.

Come forth Madge Mumblecruſt, ſo ſtande faſt togither.

M. Mery. God ſende vs a faire day.

R. Royster. See they marche on hither.

Tib. Talk. But miſtreſſe.

C. Custance. What ſayſt you?

Tib. Shall I go fet our gooſe?

C. Custance. What to do?

Tib. To yonder Captain I will turne hir looſe

And ſhe gape and hiſſe at him, as ſhe doth at me,

I durſt ieoparde my hande ſhe wyll make him flee.

C. Custance. On forward.

R. Royster. They com.

M. Mery. Stand.

R. Royster. Hold.

M. Mery. Kepe

R. Royster. There.

M. Mery. Strike.

R. Royster. Take heede.

C. Custance. Wel ſayd Truepeny.

Trupeny. Ah whooreſons.

C. Custance. Wel don in deede

M. Mery. Hold thine owne *Harpax*, downe with them Dobinet.

C. Custance. Now Madge, there Annot: now ſticke them Tibet. [knaue.

Tib. Talk. All my chiefe quarell is to this ſame little
That begyled me laſt day, nothyng ſhall him ſaue.

D. Dough. Downe with this litle queane, that hath at me ſuch ſpite,
Saue you from hir maiſter, it is a very ſprite.

C. Custance. I my ſelfe will mounſire graunde captaine vndertake,

R. Royster. They win grounde.

M. Mery. Saue your ſelfe ſir, for gods ſake.

R. Royster. Out, alas, I am ſlaine, helpe.

M. Mery. Saue your ſelf.

R. Royster. Alas.

M. Mery. Nay then, haue at you miſtreſſe.

R. Royster. Thou hitteſt me, alas.

M. Mery. I wil ſtrike at Cuſtance here.

R. Royster. Thou hitteſt me.

M. Mery. So I wil.
Nay miſtreſſe Cuſtance.

R. Royster. Alas, thou hitteſt me ſtill.
Hold.

M. Mery. Saue your ſelf ſir.

R. Royster. Help, out alas I am ſlain

M. Mery. Truce, hold your hands, truce for a piſſing while or twaine:
Nay how ſay you Cuſtance, for ſauing of your life,
Will ye yelde and graunt to be this gentmans wife?

C. Custance. Ye tolde me he loued me, call ye this loue?

M. Mery. He loued a while euen like a turtle doue.

C. Custance. Gay loue God ſaue it, ſo ſoone hotte, ſo ſoone colde,

M. Mery. I am ſory for you: he could loue you yet ſo he coulde.

R. Royster. Nay by cocks precious ſhe ſhall be none of mine.

M. Mery. Why ſo? [kine.

R. Royster. Come away, by the matte ſhe is man-
I durſt aduenture the loſſe of my right hande,

If ſhee dyd not flee hir other huſbande:
And ſee if ſhe prepare not againe to fight.

M. Mery. What then? ſainct George to borow, our Ladies knight.

R. Royster. Slee elſe whom ſhe will, by gog ſhe ſhall not flee mee.

M. Mery. How then?

R. Royster. Rather than to be ſlaine, I will flee.

C. Custance. Too it againe, my knighteſſes, downe with them all.

R. Royster. Away, away, away, ſhe will elſe kyll vs all.

M. Mery. Nay ſticke to it, like an hardie man and a tall.

R. Royster. Oh bones, thou hitteſt me. Away, or elſe die we ſhall.

M. Mery. Away for the paſhe of our ſweete Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

C. Custance. Away loute and lubber, or I ſhall be thy prieſt. *Exeant om.*

So this fielde is ours we haue driuen them all away.

Tib Talk. Thankes to God miſtreſſe, ye haue had a faire day.

C. Custance. Well nowe goe ye in, and make your ſelfe ſome good cheere.

Omnes pariter. We goe.

T. Trust. Ah ſir, what a field we haue had heere.

C. Custance. Friend Triſtram, I pray you be a witneſſe with me.

T. Trusty. Dame Cuſtance, I ſhall depoſe for your honeſtie,

And nowe fare ye well, except ſome thing elſe ye wolde.

C. Custance. Not now, but when I nede to ſende I will be bolde. *Exeat.*

I thanke you for theſe paines. And now I wyll get me in,

Now Roiſter Doiſter will no more wowyng begin. *Ex.*

Actus. v. Scæna. j.

Gawyn Goodlucke. Sym Suresby.

SYm Surefby my truftie man, nowe aduife thee well,
And fee that no falfe furmifes thou me tell,
Was there fuch adoe about Cuftance of a truth?
Sim. Sure. To reporte that I hearde and fawe, to me is ruth,
But both my duetie and name and propretie,
Warneth me to you to fhewe fidelitie,
It may be well enough, and I wyfhe it fo to be,
She may hir felfe difcharge and trie hir honeftie,
Yet their clayme to hir me thought was very large,
For with letters rings and tokens, they dyd hir charge.
Which when I hearde and fawe I would none to you bring. [thing.
G. Goodl. No, by fainct Marie, I allowe thee in that
Ah firra, nowe I fee truthe in the prouerbe olde,
All things that fhineth is not by and by pure golde,
If any doe lyue a woman of honeftie,
I would haue fworne Chriftian Cuftance had bene fhee.
Sim Sure. Sir, though I to you be a feruant true and iuft.
Yet doe not ye therfore your faithfull fpoufe myftruft.
But examine the matter, and if ye fhall it finde,
To be all well, be not ye for my wordes vnkinde.
G. Goodl. I fhall do that is right, and as I fee caufe why.
But here commeth Cuftance forth, we fhal know by and by.

Actus. v. Scæna. ij.

C. Custance. Gawyn Goodlucke. Sym Suresby.

C. Custance.

Come forth to ſee and hearken for newes good,
For about this houre is the tyme of likelyhood,
That Gawyn Goodlucke by the ſayings of Sureſby,
Would be at home, and lo yond I ſee hym I.
What Gawyn Goodlucke, the onely hope of my life,
Welcome home, and kyſſe me your true eſpouſed wife.

Ga. Good. Nay ſoft dame Cuſtance, I muſt firſt by your licence,
See whether all things be cleere in your conſcience,
I heare of your doings to me very ſtraunge.

C. Custance. What feare ye? that my faith towardes you ſhould chaunge?

Ga. Good. I muſt needes miſtruſt ye be elſewhere [entangled.
For I heare that certaine men with you haue wrangled
About the promiſe of mariage by you to them made.

C. Custance. Coulde any mans reporte your minde therein perſuade?

Ga. Good. Well, ye muſt therin declare your ſelfe [to ſtande cleere,
Elſe I and you dame Cuſtance may not ioyne this yere.

C. Custance. Then woulde I were dead, and faire layd in my graue,
Ah Sureſby, is this the honeſtie that ye haue?
To hurt me with your report, not knowyng the thing.

Sim Sure. If ye be honeſt my wordes can hurte you nothing.
But what I hearde and ſawe, I might not but report.

C. Custance. Ah Lorde, helpe poore widowes, deſtitute of comfort.

Truly moſt deare ſpouſe, nought was done but for [paſtance.

G. Good. But ſuch kynde offporting is homely daliance.

C. Custance. If ye knewe the truthe, ye would take all in good parte.

Ga. Good. By your leaue I am not halfe well ſkilled [in that arte.

C. Custance. It was none but Roiſter Doiſter that fooliſhe mome. [ſcuſe than none.
Ga. Good. Yea Cuſtance, better (they ſay) a badde
C. Custance. Why Triſtram Truſtie ſir, your true and faithfull frende,
Was priuie bothe to the beginning and the ende.
Let him be the Iudge, and for me teſtifie. [verifie,
Ga. Good. I will the more credite that he ſhall
And bicauſe I will the truthe know een as it is,
I will to him my ſelfe, and know all without miſſe.
Come on Sym Sureſby, that before my friend thou may
Auouch the ſame wordes, which thou dydſt to me ſay.
Exeant.

Actus. v. Scæna. iij.

Christian Custance.

C. Custance. Lorde, howe neceſſarie it is nowe of dayes,
That eche bodie liue vprightly all maner wayes,
For lette neuer ſo little a gappe be open,
And be ſure of this, the worſt ſhall be ſpoken
Howe innocent ſtande I in this for deede or thought?
And yet ſee what miſtruſt towardes me it hath wrought
But thou Lorde knoweſt all folkes thoughts and eke
And thou arte the deliuerer of all innocentes. [intents
Thou didſt helpe the aduoutreſſe that ſhe might be amended,
Much more then helpe Lorde, that neuer yll intended.
Thou didſt helpe *Suſanna*, wrongfully accuſed,
And no leſſe doſt thou ſee Lorde, how I am now abuſed,
Thou didſt helpe *Heſter*, when ſhe ſhould haue died,
Helpe alſo good Lorde, that my truth may be tried.
Yet if Gawin Goodlucke with Triſtram Truſty ſpeake.
I truſt of yll report the force ſhall be but weake,
And loe yond they come ſadly talking togither,
I wvll abyde, and not ſhrinke for their comming hither.

Actus. v. Scæna. iiij.

Gawyn Goodlucke. Tristram Trustie.
C. Custance. Sym Suresby.

Ga. Good. AND was it none other than ye to me reporte?

Tristram. No, and here were ye wiſhed to haue ſeene the ſporte.

Ga. Good. Woulde I had, rather than halfe of that in my purſe. [was no wurſe,

Sim Sure. And I doe muche reioyce the matter
And like as to open it, I was to you faithfull,
So of dame Cuſtance honeſt truth I am ioyfull.
For God forſende that I ſhoulde hurt hir by falſe reporte. [comforte.

Ga. Good. Well, I will no longer holde hir in diſ-

C. Custance. Nowe come they hitherwarde, I truſt all ſhall be well. [nor tongue tell,

Ga. Good. Sweete Cuſtance neither heart can thinke
Howe much I ioy in your conſtant fidelitie,
Come nowe kiſſe me the pearle of perfect honeſtie.

C. Custance. God lette me no longer to continue in lyfe,
Than I ſhall towardes you continue a true wyfe.

Ga. Goodl. Well now to make you for this ſome parte of amendes,
I ſhall deſire firſt you, and then ſuche of our frendes,
As ſhall to you ſeeme beſt, to ſuppe at home with me,
Where at your fought fielde we ſhall laugh and mery be.

Sim Sure. And miſtreſſe I beſeech you, take with me no greefe,
I did a true mans part, not wiſhyng you repreefe.

C. Custance. Though haſtie reportes through ſurmiſes growyng,
May of poore innocentes be vtter ouerthrowyng,
Yet bicauſe to thy maiſter thou haſt a true hart, [part.
And I know mine owne truth, I forgiue thee for my

Ga. Goodl. Go we all to my houſe, and of this geare no more.
Goe prepare all things Sym Sureſby, hence, runne afore.
Sim Sure. I goe. *Ex.*
G. Good. But who commeth yond, M. Merygreeke?
C. Custance. Roiſter Doiſters champion, I ſhrewe his beſt cheeke. [hym too.
T. Trusty. Roiſter Doiſter ſelfe your wower is with
Surely ſome thing there is with vs they haue to doe.

Actus. v. Scæna. v.

M. Merygreeke. Ralph Roister. Gawyn Goodlucke. Tristram Trustie. C. Custance.

M. Mery. YOnd I ſee Gawyn Goodlucke, to whome lyeth my meſſage,
I will firſt ſalute him after his long voyage,
And then make all thing well concerning your behalfe.
R. Royster. Yea for the paſhe of God.
M. Mery. Hence out of ſight ye calfe,
Till I haue ſpoke with them, and then I will you fet,
R. Royster. In Gods name.
M. Mery. What maſter Gawin Goodluck wel met
And from your long voyage I bid you right welcome
Ga. Good. I thanke you. [home.
M. Mery. I come to you from an honeſt mome.
Ga. Good. Who is that?
M. Mery. Roiſter Doiſter that doughtie kite.
C. Custance. Fye, I can ſcarce abide ye ſhoulde his name recite. [all paſt,
M. Mery. Ye muſt take him to fauour, and pardon
He heareth of your returne, and is full yll agaſt.
Ga. Good. I am ryght well content he haue with vs ſome chere. [be there.
C. Custance. Fye vpon him beaſt, then wyll not I
Ga. Good. Why Cuſtance do ye hate hym more than ye loue me?

C. Custance. But for your mynde ſir, where he were would I not be?
T. Trusty. He woulde make vs al laugh.
M. Mery. Ye nere had better ſport. [vs reſort.
Ga. Good. I pray you ſweete Cuſtance, let him to
C. Custance. To your will I aſſent.
M. Mery. Why, ſuche a foole it is,
As no man for good paſtime would forgoe or miſſe.
G. Goodl. Fet him to go wyth vs.
M. Mery. He will be a glad man. *Ex.*
T. Trusty. We muſt to make vs mirth, maintaine hym all we can.
And loe yond he commeth and Merygreeke with him.
C. Custance. At his firſt entrance ye ſhall ſee I wyll him trim.
But firſt let vs hearken the gentlemans wiſe talke. [ſtalke.
T. Trusty. I pray you marke if euer ye ſawe crane ſo

Actus. v. Scæna. vj.

R. Roister. M. Merygreeke. C. Custance. G. Goodlucke. T. Trustie. D. Doughtie. Harpax.

R. Royster. MAy I then be bolde?
M. Mery. I warrant you on my worde,
They ſay they ſhall be ſicke, but ye be at theyr borde.
R. Royster. Thei wer not angry then.
M. Mery. Yes at firſt, and made ſtrange
But when I ſayd your anger to fauour ſhoulde change,
And therewith had commended you accordingly,
They were all in loue with your maſhyp by and by.
And cried you mercy that they had done you wrong.
R. Royster. For why, no man, woman, nor childe can hate me long. [one day,
M. Mery. We feare (quod they) he will be auenged
Then for a peny giue all our liues we may.
R Royster. Sayd they ſo in deede.
M. Mery. Did they? yea, euen with one voice

He will forgiue all (quod I) Oh how they did reioyce.
R Royster. Ha, ha, ha. [good moode,
M. Mery. Goe fette hym (ſay they) while he is in
For haue his anger who luſt, we will not by the Roode.
R. Royster. I pray God that it be all true, that thou
And that ſhe fight no more. [haſt me tolde,
M. Mery. I warrant you, be bolde
Too them, and ſalute them.
R. Royster. Sirs, I greete you all well.
Omnes. Your maiſterſhip is welcom.
C. Custance. Sauyng my quarell.
For ſure I will put you vp into the Eſchequer.
M. Mery. Why ſo? better nay: Wherfore?
C. Custance. For an vſurer.
R. Royster. I am no vſurer good miſtreſſe by his armes. [mans harmes?
M. Mery. When tooke he gaine of money to any
C. Custance. Yes, a fowle vſurer he is, ye ſhall ſee els. [no mo quarels?
R. Royster. Didſt not thou promiſe ſhe would picke
C. Custance. He will lende no blowes, but he haue in recompence
Fiftene for one, whiche is to muche of conſcience.
R. Royster. Ah dame, by the auncient lawe of armes, a man
Hath no honour to foile his handes on a woman.
C. Custance. And where other vſurers take their gaines yerely,
This man is angry but he haue his by and by.
Ga. Goodl. Sir, doe not for hir ſake beare me your diſpleaſure. [at leaſure.
M. Mery. Well, he ſhall with you talke therof more
Vpon your good vſage, he will now ſhake your hande.
R. Royster. And much heartily welcome from a ſtraunge lande.
M. Mery. Be not afearde Gawyn to let him ſhake your fyſt. [I wiſt.
Ga. Goodl. Oh the moſte honeſte gentleman that ere
I beſeeche your maſhyp to take payne to ſuppe with vs.
M. Mery. He ſhall not ſay you nay and I too, by Ieſus.

Bicauſe ye ſhall be friends, and let all quarels paſſe.

R. Royster. I wyll be as good friends with them as ere I was.

M. Mery. Then let me ſet your quier that we may haue a ſong.

R. Royster. Goe.

G. Goodluck. I haue hearde no melodie all this yeare long.

M Mery. Come on ſirs quickly.

R. Royster. Sing on ſirs, for my frends ſake.

D. Dough. Cal ye theſe your frends?

R. Royster. Sing on, and no mo words make.

Here they ſing.

Ga. Good. The Lord preſerue our moſt noble Queene of renowne,
And hir virtues rewarde with the heauenly crowne.

C. Custance. The Lorde ſtrengthen hir moſt excellent Maieſtie,
Long to reigne ouer vs in all proſperitie.

T. Trusty. That hir godly proceedings the faith to defende,
He may ſtabliſhe and maintaine through to the ende.

M. Mery. God graunt hir as ſhe doth, the Goſpell to protect,
Learning and vertue to aduaunce, and vice to correct.

R. Royster. God graunt hir louyng ſubiects both the minde and grace,
Hir moſt godly procedyngs worthily to imbrace.

Harpax. Hir highneſſe moſt worthy counſellers God proſper,
With honour and loue of all men to miniſter.

Omnes. God graunt the nobilitie hir to ſerue and loue,
With all the whole commontie as doth them behoue.

AMEN.

Certaine Songs to be ſong by

thoſe which ſhall vſe this Comedie or Enterlude.

The Seconde Song.

WHo ſo to marry a minion Wyfe,
Hath hadde good chaunce and happe,
Muſt loue hir and cheriſhe hir all his life,
And dandle hir in his lappe.

If ſhe will fare well, yf ſhe wyll go gay,
A good huſbande euer ſtyll,
What euer ſhe luſt to doe, or to ſay,
Muſt lette hir haue hir owne will.

About what affaires ſo euer he goe,
He muſt ſhewe hir all his mynde,
None of hys counſell ſhe may be kept free,
Elſe is he a man vnkynde.

The fourth Song.

I Mun be maried a Sunday
I mun be maried a Sunday,
Who ſoeuer ſhall come that way,
I mun be maried a Sunday.

Royſter Doyſter is my name,
Royſter Doyſter is my name,
A luſtie brute I am the ſame,
I mun be maried a Sunday.

Chriſtian Cuſtance haue I ſounde,
Chriſtian Cuſtance haue I founde,
A Wydowe worthe a thouſande pounde,
I mun be maried a ſunday.

Cuſtance is as ſweete as honey,
Cuſtance is as ſweete as honey,
I hir lambe and ſhe my coney,
I mun be maried a Sunday.

When we ſhall make our weddyng feaſt,
When we ſhall make oure weddyng feaſt,
There ſhall bee cheere for man and beaſt,
I mun be maried a Sunday.
I mun be maried a Sunday, etc.

The Pſalmodie

P*Lacebo dilexi*, [die,
Maiſter Roiſter Doiſter wil ſtreight go home and
Our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt his ſoule haue mercie vpon:
Thus you ſee to day a man, to morrow Iohn.

Yet ſauing for a womans extreeme crueltie,
He might haue lyued yet a moneth or two or three,
But in ſpite of Cuſtance which hath him weried,
His maſhyp ſhall be worſhipfully buried.
And while ſome piece of his ſoule is yet hym within,
Some parte of his funeralls let vs here beginne.
Dirige. He will go darklyng to his graue.
Neque lux, neque crux, niſi ſolum clinke,
Neuer gentman ſo went toward heauen I thinke

Yet ſirs as ye wyll the bliſſe of heauen win,
When he commeth to the graue lay hym ſoftly in,
And all men take heede by this one Gentleman,
How you ſette your loue vpon an vnkinde woman:
For theſe women be all ſuche madde pieuiſh elues,
They wyll not be woonne except it pleaſe them ſelues.
But in faith Cuſtance if euer ye come in hell,
Maiſter Roiſter Doiſter ſhall ſerue you as well. [knaue.
Good night Roger olde knaue, Farewel Roger olde
Good night Roger olde knaue, knaue, knap.
Nequando. *Audiui vocem.* *Requiem æternam.*

The Peale of belles rong by the parish Clerk, and Roister Doisters foure men.

The first Bell a Triple.
When dyed he? When dyed he?

The seconde.
We haue hym, We haue hym.

The thirde
Royſter Doyſter, Royſter Doyſter.

The fourth Bell.
He commeth, He commeth.

The greate Bell.
Our owne, Our owne.

FINIS.

Muir & Paterson, Printers, Edinburgh.

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